

*The  
Presidio and Militia  
on the  
Northern Frontier of New Spain  
1570–1700*



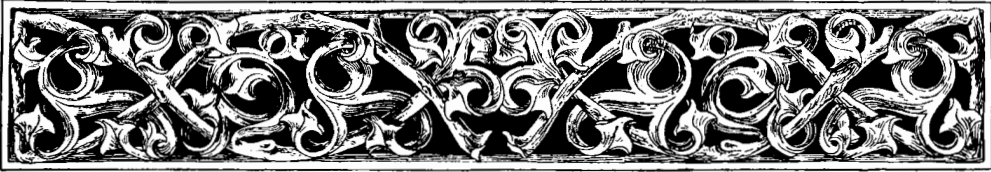
Thomas H. Naylor & Charles W. Polzer, S.J.



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*The  
Presidio and Militia  
on the  
Northern Frontier of New Spain  
1570–1700*





The  
Presidio and Militia  
on the  
Northern Frontier of New Spain

A Documentary History

Volume One: 1570–1700

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Thomas H. Naylor

*and*

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The University of Arizona Press  
Tucson

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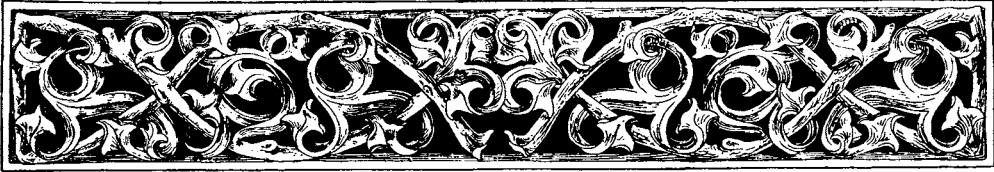
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Charles W. Polzer, S.J.  
*General Editor*

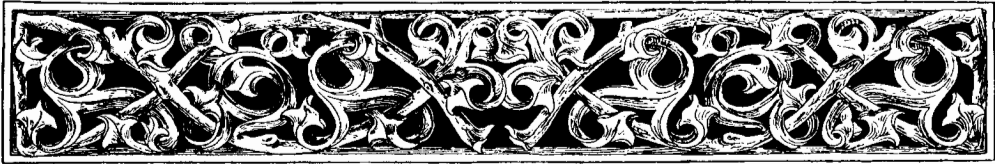
Thomas H. Naylor  
*Volume Editor*

## Introduction



*A Soldier*





## Introduction

### *The Documentary Relations of the Southwest*

**T**he publication of this first, full-length volume in the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) series has been more challenge than experiment. Prior to publication there were no models to follow, no patterns to imitate, no exemplars to emulate. Documentary histories abound, but none to the knowledge of the editors has attempted to achieve the goals set before this series. Those goals were not designed by some unique genius in the editors' minds; they were reflections of new realities in the realm of historical study and documentary accessibility. Only time and use will determine if those goals were properly achieved.

To understand this book and those that will follow in the DRSW series a reader should know something about the project that launched these documentary histories, because they are considered as components of a more complex historiography. In 1975 the Documentary Relations of the Southwest project was devised to address what was seen as a fundamental need in the pursuit of Spanish colonial studies in the "American Southwest." That need was for greater access to the primary documents which recorded contact with native peoples and the cultural changes brought about by interaction between them and their Spanish conquerors. Although scholars of Spanish colonial history are fully cognizant of the immense documentary record at their disposal, the non-scholar often assumes the record is scant, if it exists at all. This assumption is reasonable because relatively few published documents have ever appeared on library shelves. Not only was there a need for greater accessibility, but also there was a need for greater accuracy because most available translations have used English cultural models and definitions to convey meaning. This practice has led to many kinds of errors and misunderstandings about Spanish and Native American cultures, particularly with respect to social organization and material artifacts.

The DRSW project was designed as a comprehensive solution to this obviously complex problem. The Spanish written record staggers the imagination. In Mexico City alone the weight of accumulated paper threatened to collapse buildings or force them to sink in the mud of ancient Lake Texcoco! Not only is the mass of documentation unwieldy, but the scattering and duplication of records is a historian's nightmare. How would it be possible to publish a select series of

documents when the very documentary base was so vast and disorganized? The DRSW answer was to computerize the analysis of archival holdings and create Master Indexes that would offer some degree of bibliographic control. Through this method, documents scattered by the labyrinthian minds of long-deceased archivists and by the fortunes of nations were organized topically and chronologically.

The geographical focus of the DRSW project aided in limiting the number of documents that required analysis. Any records that did not *primarily* pertain to northern New Spain were excluded from the Master Indexes. Consequently the editors of these volumes make no assertions about the nature of the presidio as a Spanish institution outside this geographical sector. This disclaimer is not made to avoid critical appraisal of our findings; it is mentioned only so that the reader will be explicitly aware of the limits we have placed on our study and our conclusions.

Knowing something about the origin of the project title "Documentary Relations of the Southwest" will shed considerable light on the philosophy underlying the publication of these documents. Already the reader will have noticed an equivalence in our use of "Southwest" and "northern New Spain." Geographically they are co-terminous; culturally and politically these names denote very distinct realities. In the beginning the DRSW attributed to itself the locative "Southwest" with the understanding that it included the classic, contemporary southwestern United States, and by extension much of northern Mexico. Some, including ourselves, have called this region the "Greater Southwest." But soon after the DRSW project was launched, it became clear that we needed to limit ourselves not only geographically, but chronologically. We chose to limit our investigations to the Spanish colonial period—which immediately made the name "Southwest" anachronistic! Simultaneously many Mexican colleagues pointed out the "imperialist" overtones in blanketing their "North" with a name like the "Greater Southwest." It is hard to foresee the controversies that can rage over superficially innocent terms. While most North Americans immediately grasp the meaning of the Southwest, they are quite puzzled by the term "northern New Spain." Rarely do they recall that part of the United States from California to Florida was once all a part of colonial New Spain. The DRSW project has learned to live with this compromise of convenience and hopes that imposing it on others will not result in further confusion.

If this is the rationale underlying the meaning of "Southwest," what about the rest of the project name? Persons knowledgeable about the origins of American anthropology usually realize that major contributions were made through the use of the famous, but now little used, *Jesuit Relations of North America*. These letters, written from the northeastern American frontier by early missionaries to their European friends and religious superiors, contained rich ethnographic, linguistic, and historic data. Many letters found their way into print in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, finally being translated and published in the United States in the nineteenth century. These documents were the missing link between the transformed cultures of the late 1800s and the pre-colonial cultures of indigenous American Indians in the 1600s. Used and reused, the informational base became so familiar that modern scholars rarely consult these *letres edificantes*; subsequently the *Jesuit Relations of North America* were abandoned like an overworked mine dump. And, curiously, an assumption arose that no more new information was available; few scholars alluded to the fact that vast stores of

historical and cultural information remained to be discovered in Spanish archives the world over.

Initially the DRSW project focused on the availability of Jesuit materials in those Spanish archives; then the idea blossomed of publishing the "Jesuit Relations of the Southwest." But scholars were quick to point out that the other major missionary order responsible for acculturation in the Southwest was the Order of Friars Minor, the Franciscans. Why not a "Franciscan Relations of the Southwest"? The question was reasonable, but it did not go far enough—there were still large numbers of critically important documents that were not missionary in origin, namely the civil and military documents. Then and there the Documentary Relations of the Southwest was born. Thus the overall program was divided into three sub-series: the Jesuit Relations, the Franciscan Relations, and the Civil-Military Relations. It was an undisguised attempt to organize the vast documentary record for the Southwest in such a way that scholars unfamiliar with Spanish archives could gain access to untapped information. As of 1985, one volume each of the Jesuit and Franciscan Relations has been published,<sup>1</sup> but neither had the advantage of presenting the original Spanish texts. This first volume in the Civil-Military series sets the precedent of a measured, bilingual publication whose rationale will be discussed below.

## Documentary History

History would appear so familiar to every person that misconceptions about it abound. Because of our individual acquaintance with the past, history comes quickly to mind. Too often in school, the learning of history passes unquestioned; it was redundant and unloved probably because youth's temporal perspective is too new, too brief, to appreciate the arches of time. Having never known the past by experience and having learned about it through reading, the most common error about history we carry into adulthood is that history develops from the written record. When one treats history in a more professional sense, it becomes immediately evident that history depends on more than writing for validity. Even the most renowned book in Western civilization, known as *The Book*, or *Scripture*, was first an accumulation of oral traditions. The writing came after. And modern professional historians realize that every bit of evidence that survives in writings, in buildings, in ruins, in art, artifacts, or oral tradition, all contribute to the stream of historical evidence asking for interpretation and synthesis.

Documentary history, then, may seem redundant at first glance. If history is constructed only from the written record, then the documents of history are themselves history. Clearly this is an inadequate conclusion because history provides knowledge beyond the surviving record. So the presentation of documents,

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1. Charles W. Polzer, S.J., *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain* (University of Arizona Press, 1976); Daniel S. Matson and Bernard L. Fontana, trans. and ed., *Friar Bringas Reports to the King: Methods of Indoctrination on the Frontier of New Spain, 1796–97* (University of Arizona Press, 1977).



as seen in this volume, for example, constitutes only the first stage in a very subtle process of organizing and interpreting evidence that goes beyond the surviving record.

Many people are familiar with auxiliary textbooks that have titles like *The Documentary History of the American People*, *The Essential Documents of American Government*, or *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. Students have found these collections, often enough, ponderous and boring. But the truth is that such documents are not furnished because they ought to be committed to memory or totally absorbed; they are provided so that we may scrutinize the fundamental evidence in order to concur or disagree with the interpretations commonly offered. Thus documentary history goes a long step beyond historical synthesis and interpretation; it invites critical appraisal of the very stuff to be interpreted.

The documentary editor is keenly aware that even in presenting raw data for historical interpretation the reader is being brought into contact with what is only a selection from a much broader evidentiary base, unless the edition includes all the collected papers. Just as the professional historian has usually reviewed a vast number of documents before he presents his synthesis, the documentary historian makes a similar review before he selects those documents which he considers key elements in a far less obvious synthesis. Hence the documentary historian is equally synthesist and analyst, and he is as equally professional as the interpretive historian. The difference between the documentary historian and the author-historian arises from the presentation of evidence and the scope of interpretation.

### *The Nature of These Documentary Volumes*

These two volumes on the evolution of the presidial system in northern New Spain adhere to the philosophy of documentary history outlined above. Moreover, these volumes have been prepared with a distinct view in mind about the historiography of Spanish colonial studies in the United States. It would be beneficial to review, even if briefly, what this view entails because these documents are presented only as a component of that complex historiography.

Since the founding of the nation, generations of Americans have become less and less cognizant of the strong influence Spain has had on our national destiny. In the immediate half-century after the American War of Independence most of the other nations of the New World followed suit and declared themselves independent of the interests of their mother countries. The first quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed many diplomats and literateurs who were conversant, if not fascinated, with the new directions being taken in the whole Western Hemisphere. The fate of the Spanish nations was then closer to the consciousness of the United States. But soon the new republic distracted itself with fixations about Manifest Destiny and began to concentrate on land acquisition and continental railroads. As the century drew to its close, American interest in Spain rekindled briskly enough to justify a war against the debilitated, dying Spanish empire. And at the same time, in the academic world, a reconsideration of Manifest Destiny

brought to light a whole new set of relationships to the lands and peoples that were once a part of that sprawling empire.

One of the most eminent U.S. historians of the twentieth century, Herbert Eugene Bolton, emerged as a disciple of those who strove to understand those relationships. So rapid and so forceful was Bolton's rise in the field of Spanish colonial studies that students today equate his name with the concept of the "Borderlands"—frequently forgetting to add "Spanish."<sup>2</sup> His name is tumbled into the trilogy of Turner, Bolton, and Webb, whose emphasis is on the historiographic hypothesis of the frontier.<sup>3</sup> So rapidly has history sought to assert itself as a social science, few observers have remembered to keep historians like Bolton within the context of their own historiographical development. In a very real sense the publication of these volumes is a return to that point in time when Spanish colonial studies were wrenched away from their logical, deepening development by a wave of interest in the new social science.

At the turn of the twentieth century the vogue in history was to treat the evidence of the past according to abstract schema. It was the dawn of modern sociology. Probably few historical phenomena at the time lent themselves to such analysis better than the fallen Spanish empire. Spain's rigid bureaucracy was easily categorized into social institutions which were most prominently evidenced in the New World by 1) presidios, 2) missions, 3) mines (reales), and 4) haciendas. These institutions were related to places, to the land; but equally important were the institutions that related to Indian community, labor, and the Church—the Indian congregación, repartimiento, and Inquisición. Bolton recognized the critical role of the mission and used this observation as the subject of his classic address to the American Historical Association: "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies."<sup>4</sup> Subsequently other studies appeared on haciendas, the encomienda, mining, and the repartimiento.<sup>5</sup> But oddly enough the presidio was largely bypassed, quite probably because an analysis of three centuries of this particular institution is less subject to generalization. The studies that have been published in the last quarter-century on the presidio have leaned heavily on data available for the late Bourbon period, thus leaving almost two centuries unexplained.<sup>6</sup> Rarely have blocks of documents been made available for

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2. See John Francis Bannon, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1964). These essays present a useful overview of the development of the "Bolton thesis" that never existed in Bannon's view; see p. 3.

3. See Wilbur R. Jacobs, John W. Caughey, and Joe B. Frantz, *Turner, Bolton and Webb: Three Historians of the American Frontier* (University of Washington Press, 1965).

4. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies." First published in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII (October, 1917), pp. 42–61.

5. See Part 2, Note 1, for a listing of some of these scholarly studies.

6. See Max Moorhead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). Written from the perspective of institutional history, this study still devotes disproportionate space to the eighteenth-century military. This is quite understandable because relatively little information on the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century presidios has been organized.

general scholarship so that new theses can be tested and refined. It is profoundly hoped that these volumes and future volumes in the DRSW series will provide the evidence for more advanced and accurate historical synthesis and interpretation.

It has been customary in documentary editing to publish the complete papers of an influential leader, an entire political body, or a significant, historical event. These volumes on the evolution of the presidial system fulfill none of these expectations, although in some sense they combine features of them all. These documents are careful selections from the letters of highly stationed royal officials, field reports of presidial commanders, accounts of militia captains, pleas of missionaries, and recommendations of inspectors-general. They have come from various archives—whether major Spanish depositories such as the Archivo General de Indias in Seville or smaller regional and religious archives in Mexico and the United States. Thus, the underlying unity of the collection is due to the fact that all the documents deal with a single topic. The criteria for selection were devised after extensive reading of topically relevant material. One basic test helped immensely to maintain the theme of the evolution of the presidial system: what were the reasons for the establishment of any presidio? Were these strategic policy decisions or were they responses to practical conditions on the frontier? Were these reasons always the same or did they change from time to time? Were presidios established in conjunction with missionary expansion? With mining activity? The general conclusion reached at the beginning of this study was that presidios were established in response to a need for local or regional police duties. Initial pacification of native peoples was left largely to missionary teams who on occasion were backed up by the presence of militia or professional military units. Although the mission program was generally successful, tensions arose between missionaries and colonials over land and Indian labor. Such tensions were easily transferred to the native communities and soon the problems of pacification passed into the hands of the presidial commanders. In the later stages of presidial development the garrisons were heavily engaged in protective maneuvers against marauding hostiles who had refused to accept any program of acculturation. The eighteenth century was in some respect the legacy of a failed Indian policy, whether ecclesiastical or civil. This is not to imply that protection for Spanish settlements was not a primary concern in the early days of presidios on the northern frontier; it was. But by the eighteenth century the Apache menace had so penetrated the whole frontier that the presidial forces had to be mobilized according to new strategies and tactics. The weakened northern frontier became a liability in the age of expanding foreign interests.

As mentioned above, documentary publication has as a primary purpose the presentation of evidence so that investigators can forge new interpretations or reconfirm earlier conclusions. Publishing the data invites broader participation and understanding. Hence it is logical to expect the fullest possible reproduction of available information. But experience has shown that the meticulous publication of the collected papers of any one person or any one group borders on the monumental, if not the impossible, whether in sheer mass or in finance. Although the essential task of this type of editing may be simplified by using chronological or geographical arrangements to organize the documentary material, the reader may find himself bewildered in handling a given topic. Selection for the editor is rarely

a problem; most editors worry only about having exhaustively included all the scattered writings.

The approach taken by the Documentary Relations of the Southwest differs significantly from classic documentary editing because the documents are selected according to a topical norm from thousands of possible examples. In the case of the evolution of the presidial system one possibility was to select one or two presidios and attempt to amass all the documents pertaining to them. Another alternative was to select one presidial commander and follow his career, drawing inferences about the institution through the device of annotation. Neither of these approaches appeared satisfactory because they were too limiting, so the more laborious approach of comparing and selecting exemplary documents from among thousands was chosen.

We have used the phrase "the evolution of the presidial system" in northern New Spain because we did not want to overextend our conclusions. The presidio was an institution universal to the Spanish empire, but in this study only documents that pertain to the presidios north of the 22nd parallel of north latitude are included. What happened in these regions may well have occurred in other parts of the empire, and we suspect it did. However, the function of documentary history would be better served without anticipating any universalist inferences. The notion of "evolution" was employed to suggest that these military garrisons as established in the sixteenth century were not the same as the garrisons established in the eighteenth. So much information has survived from the later Bourbon period that what is known about those presidios is inferred for the presidios of earlier centuries. Such inferences are at best questionable, as a study of the documentation reveals. One can almost safely generalize that no social institutions survive for centuries without substantial change. Certainly the Spanish mission and the Spanish presidio underwent significant change.

### *Methodology Employed in Selection*

When the Documentary Relations project began, the editors were concerned about the problem of selectivity. Some of these concerns have been addressed in the preceding paragraphs, but it is most evident that attempting publications of this scope would have been unthinkable without the assistance of the DRSW Master Indexes. These computerized, bibliographic data banks made the task of selecting relevant documents manageable. Furthermore, they have contributed immensely to the writing of annotations, which would have otherwise been an editor's nightmare because no ready references to these historical materials have ever been previously compiled for consultation. In fact, it was the very lack of such handy references that enticed the DRSW editorial staff to compose *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide* (University of Arizona Press, 1981). Although comparatively little new information was placed in that reference work, it marked the first time that so much scattered information was put under one cover. This introduction is not the proper place to discuss the intricacies of the compilation of the DRSW Master Indexes, but the reader would be well advised to con-

sult *Northern New Spain* should a more critical evaluation of these indexes be required.

After the topic on the evolution of the presidial system was chosen for these first volumes in the Civil-Military series of the DRSW, the Master Indexes were searched for pertinent references. The earliest lists presented in excess of 1,200 possible document groups that required closer inspection and analysis. It was evident that the establishment of presidios in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was highly correlated with Indian rebellions in already settled areas of the northern frontier. Presidial forces depended heavily on militia and not on professional soldiering. Slowly the burden of frontier protection devolved on career soldiers, and the garrisons took on the character of military enclaves with strategic defense as a key consideration. Because this pattern emerged early in the analytical phase of handling the documents, a decision was made to restrict the chronological extension from 1570 through 1760 so that the stringent Bourbon reforms, which were intensively militaristic in application, could be left for later study. Furthermore, currently available literature on the presidio is relatively rich for the later part of the eighteenth century. At this writing the most widely known works are *The Presidio*, by Max Moorhead, and various studies of civil/military figures by Albert Barnaby Thomas.<sup>7</sup> The military reports of the Marqués de Rubí, Nicolás LaFora, and Hugo O'Connor have all seen widespread use, but all of these deal with the presidio after royal reforms in 1756 and 1772.<sup>8</sup> One of the most important military inspections by General Pedro de Rivera in 1724–27 has never been widely available; this report is being separately published in the current series.<sup>9</sup> In fact, scholarship has bypassed most of the period from 1600 through 1760. Singular contributions to an understanding of the Spanish military presence in northern New Spain for the last quarter of the sixteenth century must be credited to Philip Wayne Powell, whose pioneering work has become fundamental to presidial study.<sup>10</sup> And in 1980 Fomento Cultural Banamex published an important study on the Indian frontier of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth cen-

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7. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1932) and *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776–1783* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).

8. Nicolás de Lafora, *Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la América Septentrional perteneciente al Rey de España* (Editorial Robredo, 1939), translated by Lawrence Kinnaird as *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolás de LaFora's Description, 1766–1768* (Quivira Society, 1958). Lafora was the engineer who traveled with the Marqués de Rubí. Also Enrique González Flores and Francisco R. Almada, *Informe de Hugo de O'Connor sobre el estado de las Provincias Internas del Norte, 1771–76* (Editorial Cultural, 1952).

9. The convoluted language of the Rivera report was translated and the report discussed in a doctoral dissertation by Henrietta Murphy at the University of Texas in 1937. The complete work was never published, but a summary article, "The Journey of Pedro de Rivera, 1724–1728," appeared in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (October, 1937), pp. 125–141.

10. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* (University of California Press, 1952); see Part 2, Note 8.

tury by Guillermo Porras Muñoz.<sup>11</sup> Smaller monographs abound, but none provide the comprehensive study still required.

Inspection of the documentary base revealed that material was available for most of the established presidios according to specific themes. For example, pleas and recommendations for the erection of presidios to control rebellious Indian nations were quite numerous. But how often would the same theme have to be presented to demonstrate the issues, the flow of argument, and the structure of these documents? Hundreds of pages of bureaucratic repetition seemed undesirable, if not wasteful, so the decision was made to handle as many established presidios as possible according to a variety of common themes. This has served the purpose of exposing significant themes without exhausting the scholarship that remains to be developed by future investigators. So the criteria of selection involved both topical as well as thematic aspects.

Without question the final selection of the documents for inclusion in these volumes was the most difficult problem to resolve. At this point a certain measure of arbitrariness colored the criteria. The choice of any document was made on the presumption that it had already met the earlier tests of topicality and thematic relevance. The final test added notions of clarity, thoroughness, style, and integrity with the whole. Certainly this process will strike the average documentary editor as unusual because the principles of selectivity expressed here seem to go beyond the bounds normally dictated by the documents themselves. Yet there were neither reasonable alternatives nor compelling propositions. This is mentioned not by way of excuse, but by way of explanation because the issue of selectivity and the reasons for making certain selections are crucial in topical, documentary editing.

### *Editorial Methodology in These Volumes*

The customary procedure in documentary editing, once the body of documents has been determined, is to establish textual accuracy. Frequently enough the problem here is to read or interpolate correctly when handwriting or printing falters, fades, or becomes undecipherable. The editorial process passes quickly to annotation and completion. But this is not the procedure that was followed in developing these texts; the process was immensely more complex. Because of this complexity the user should be aware of the sequences followed and the various points at which error or interpolation may have affected the final text as presented.

A key assumption incorporated in the editorial methodology was the importance of accessibility to the information contained in the documents themselves. Previous use of these documents has often been limited by ignorance of the language and paleography. Therefore, translation was deemed essential and critical. These "documents," then, have been in some sense created from their original archetypes. No translator would be so bold as to presume that a final rendering in

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11. Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *La Frontera con los Indios de Nueva Vizcaya en el Siglo XVII* (Fomento Cultural Banamex, 1980); see Part 2, Note 19.

another language equates the original writing. The strict documentary historian may prefer to avoid translation all together, and he would employ standard techniques in presenting a printed version of the text in the original language. The DRSW procedure, however, varies significantly because the translation was perceived as the crucial medium of information transfer.

The editors were then faced with the decision to include or exclude the original text. Although further editorial dilemmas could be eliminated by excluding the original text, such a choice would have obviated one of the primary purposes of editing this documentary series—to achieve accuracy and resolve ambiguity. One immediate solution presented itself: reproduce the originals in facsimile and print the translations. But this alternative restricted the ability to edit out large portions of bureaucratic and disfunctional rhetoric. In the typical Spanish document, paragraphs, even pages, can be consumed in repetitious formality. Therefore, it was decided to include a somewhat modernized version of the original, thus avoiding costly reproductions of questionable utility.

This decision was also influenced by considering the virtue of publishing either a facsimile or slavishly rendered, printed version. Few readers have the paleographic skill to use these versions with efficiency, and even diligent, trained readers find them tedious. After weighing all these alternatives the editorial decision was made to publish a Spanish text in modern orthography with abbreviations extended so that a maximum degree of readability would result.

With all these factors considered, an overall editorial scheme emerged to publish readable translations, each followed by the original text in modern Spanish orthography. Annotations were made to the English text only, and chapter introductions were intended to explain only the historical setting and significance for each documentary group. This composite scheme necessitated an elaborate editorial procedure. Once a document was selected, the original text was transcribed by hand or machine, depending on the legibility and the degree of difficulty in deciphering the script. The transcription was written according to contemporary rules of orthography; accents were added; capitalization was corrected; abbreviations were expanded. In those instances where words or passages were illegible, due either to poor penmanship or to the deterioration of the document, a conjectural reading is printed in italics, punctuated with a question mark and enclosed in brackets. Dates originally written out were reduced to numerals; all other numbers were retained as they appeared in the original Spanish. Many documents are replete with titles, ranks, and honorary forms of address. For facility in reading, many of these devices were excised or reduced in frequency. Because these documents were written before standardization in capitalization, the editors chose to follow the modern rules of capitalization in Spanish. The Spanish transcription was also broken into logical paragraphs. Archaic usage was silently modernized. In the Spanish originals proper names appear in a variety of ways. When there was no confusion as to the identity of the name in question, then it was rendered into accepted modern usage. Thus *Indehee* became *Indé* and *Tharumares* was corrected to *Tarahumaras*. Minor alternate spellings were made consistent to reflect the most commonly occurring form. Thus *Toosona* is standardized to *Toozona* as *Joba* to *Jova*. We employed *Vizcaya* with a *z* throughout. Where any question existed as to the identification of any name, it was left as originally written.

Invariably there are many who belong to the editorial school that prefers to publish an untouched, original version. This was a defensible policy before the age of microform reproduction when a scholar's chance of viewing the original text was remote. Now, however, the original can be so easily consulted that printed replicas are outmoded. If editorial changes were to be applied to a text at all, then it seemed better to render the text more readable and accessible by the editorial procedures described.

Provisional texts were read against the original to insure accuracy. When the editor was satisfied with the established text, a rough translation, often more a transliteration, was made by the person to whom the document was assigned. When a final translation was done, another check was made against the verified Spanish transcription for accuracy and thoroughness in the English translation.

The staff of translators was instructed to strive for a high degree of readability in English. This required a radical departure from Spanish grammatical construction. For example, the English use of the passive voice does not equal the Spanish use of the reflexive form; consequently, the subjects of Spanish sentences are not verbally the same as the subjects of the translations. Word order is critical in the arrangement of ideas. English tends to be more positional and concrete; Spanish enjoys the flexibility that results from case and gender endings. Moreover, the structure of modifiers in Spanish, if followed literally in English, produces ponderous, prepositional phrase-chains. In general, Spanish is not English and vice versa. Hence the decision was made to write as exactly as possible in English what was being said in Spanish. This decision resulted in the composition of "free" translations that altered the structural expression of the Spanish without, it is hoped, changing the meaning. Free translations are deceptive devices because one is sorely tempted to follow the source document as a measure of comparison, only to find that operative ideas are imbedded in the translation through the use of different words and phrases.

A word is in order about crafting the English translations to appear somewhat archaic. Somehow the idea continues to prevail that the translation of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century documents ought to employ quaint anachronisms and outmoded constructions to "capture the flavor of the original." What is usually preserved in this process is ambiguity and disconformity of language. The contents and subjects of the documents impart sufficient flavor in themselves. Clarity, accuracy, and readability were the only criteria of the translators; periodizing the style was considered an aberration better left to novelists than historians.

In the course of research and compilation for these volumes the editors have visited nearly all the military installations and a majority of other places mentioned in the documents. Intervening landforms and the human geography were personally inspected. This close acquaintance has greatly aided in making more precise and accurate translations than might have been derived exclusively from the Spanish descriptions. For example, where the original Spanish text reads "lomas de florida," and it is certain that the writer is referring to mountains 1000 meters above him, the phrase was translated as the "Florida mountains" and not the "Florida hillocks." "Arroyo de piactla" was not translated literally when it was known that the drainage carried a major flow of water throughout the year. By



## Introduction

the same token, the "arroyo de janos," if seen during the dry season, was not described as a true river because it appears then as a dry wash. In such cases agreement was with the original Spanish. Our primary concern was to aid the reader in identifying the place being described and to assure that the English translation would accurately reflect what was seen by the writer.

As previously stated, there are no abbreviations in the translations. Unless the user is familiar with the literature and conventions of a given chronological period, the meaning of abbreviations can be most puzzling and unsettling. Because the translators of the documents and the editors have had broad experience with period conventions, it was judged best to interpolate the abbreviations on the premise that an educated guess was better than none. Whether an "M." stood for "Merced" or "Magestad" rarely affected the meaning. When someone encounters "Ds. neo Sr. g. de ms. as. a VRa en cuyos Sos. SSos.," there is a sinking feeling that an important idea may have been overlooked.

The translations also continue to employ corrected spelling for persons and places. Perhaps the day will come when scholars will want to study the orthographic variations that are numerous scattered throughout the documents. But the editors of this series felt that preserving such variations in translation would only add to the difficulty in using the documents for historical purposes.

Some words in Spanish now have accepted meaning in English. These words are left untranslated in the English versions. Other Spanish terms and titles do not have a precise English equivalent and they are italicized upon initial appearance in each document; thereafter they appear in normal type. This policy may at first appear unnerving to the English reader because he will frequently encounter words that have "English" correlatives. For example, "criollo" will appear instead of "creole" because the Spanish term remains less contaminated with inadmissible connotations (a criollo is strictly a New World offspring of peninsular parents). "Alcaldes" are really not mayors, nor "alféreces," ensigns. Descriptive definitions for each will be found in the Glossary. In general, the English translations retain hispanic terms and names. Place names are not translated, and anglicizations of such places as Sevilla and México (Mexico City) are not used.

## Annotation

If documentary history is famous for anything, it is annotation. One of the most versatile tools permitted in the hands of the documentary historian is his prerogative to annotate the text, to explain what may be less evident to the reader. How this is accomplished has given rise to widely differing philosophies of annotation. At one extreme are those who prefer little or no annotation because they fear annotation may be editorial distortion. Opposing this view are those who feel that a reader is poorly served unless the editors—on the presumption they are knowledgeable—address questions, point out inaccuracies, and detect deficiencies in the texts. And there are some of this school who reach such extremes that the documents are themselves overwhelmed by erudition. Elaboration approaches pedantry, and historiographical debates are conducted in fine print. Annotations in many cases have grown almost larger than the texts they were supposed to ex-

plain. Undoubtedly this serves some need in the academic world, but others are left to wonder about the importance of the exercise.

The policy for annotating the DRSW series takes a middle course. Our view has been that notes should supplement and explain material in the texts. Notes should add to the reader's understanding and appreciation of the historical dynamic. If a certain governor engages Apache marauders, it is less instructive to know he was schooled in Zaragoza than that he had previous experience fighting the Tarahumara.

Annotations have been kept as brief and direct as possible. The main use of annotation has been to identify persons, places, and related events. These explanations occur at the first entry in the text; subsequent occurrences are not annotated unless the particular case merits restatement. The index provides page references for these initial notes. Very few annotations have been used to discuss bibliographic cross references; this is genuinely the prerogative of the scholar.

Clearly, the information in the annotations has been taken from a variety of sources, primary as well as secondary. Notes are not encumbered with elaborate source information, although the bibliography for the series does include all the sources used in the extraction of pertinent information. Generally the editors have made extensive use of the recently developed resources of the DRSW Project at the Arizona State Museum, a research tool sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The DRSW Master Indexes provided detailed information on northern New Spain from documentary collections in Italy, Spain, Mexico, and the United States; large parts of these collections were available at the University of Arizona libraries. Together with the Master Indexes the editors also used the DRSW BIOFILE SOUTHWEST, which is an ancillary project leading to the compilation of a comprehensive biographical dictionary for historic persons who lived in northern New Spain. Details about minor personages, hitherto unknown, were frequently found in this computerized file. Use was also made of the DRSW GEOFILE to find obscure locations and correlate them to modern cartography. Hundreds of the latest maps were provided by the U.S. Department of Defense and by DETENAL of the Republic of Mexico. Even with these powerful informational tools some confusions and contradictions remain; in such cases deference was made to the primary sources, awaiting the day when more enlightened scholarship will resolve the conflicts.

### *The Presidio: Toward a Definition*

Spanish colonial scholars have readily accepted the notion of the presidio as a basic social institution of colonization in the New World, and rightly so.<sup>12</sup> In a study of this kind, dedicated to a deeper understanding of the development of that

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12. Most contemporary surveys of Latin American history discuss the colonial period in terms of the more common institutions: presidio, mission, hacienda, real, encomienda, and repartimiento. For a representative treatment of the nineteenth-century institutional approach, see Frank W. Blackmar, *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest* (Johns Hopkins,

institution, it would be beneficial to reflect on the definition of "presidio" because it does not always connote the same thing. The editors of these volumes rested comfortably in what they had come to understand as the classic definition of presidio, which might be loosely translated as a "garrison," or later as a "fort." The first misgivings about the universality of its meaning came during a research trip to the Archivo General de la Nación in México. A well-read historian of a later period of Mexican history expressed his astonishment that so much time and energy could be devoted to a subject of questionable taste; for him "presidio" was primarily a penal institution. His understanding corresponded to a modern use of the term, not to its pre-colonial use in Spanish. He saw the presidio historically as many others might describe the French Foreign Legion. The editors were cogently reminded that not everyone reads the world of record in the same familiar terms; in fact, the word "presidio" and the notion behind it is far more complex than is immediately apparent.

Classical Latin employs the word "praesidium" to describe a military base placed on the frontier as a defensive post.<sup>13</sup> The notion involves a unit that is "set before"—very similar to the modern idea of a defensive perimeter. In Roman history the existence of these praesidia, manned by the legions, soon contributed to the idea of praesidium as a protector or defender. Similarly, the Roman "praeses" (which is the root for the English word "president") is not only a leading official; he is the "defender," the "protector." Hence the "setting before" with its defensive connotation fused easily with the protective function of administrative authority. These divergent qualities of the word can lead to genuine confusion when one thinks of the Praesidium in contemporary Communist states, a notion which has lost its militaristic antecedents.

Although the early Spanish use of "presidio" derives directly from Latin usage, Spain was considered less a frontier than a territory to be conquered. Con-

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1891; Rio Grande Reprint, 1976). On missions, see Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXIII, No. 2, pp. 42–61 (Washington, 1920); on haciendas, see Francois Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (University of California Press, 1966); on presidios, see Max Moorhead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975); on reales, see Robert C. West, *The Mining Community of Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District*, Ibero-Americana No. 30 (University of California Press, 1949); for the encomienda, see Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (University of California Press, 1966); and for the repartimiento, see also Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Studies of the Administration of the Indians in New Spain: II, The Civil Congregation*, Ibero-Americana No. 7 (1934), and *III, The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala*, Ibero-Americana No. 13 (1938). In general the studies presented in the Ibero-Americana series follow the course of institutional studies.

Recent studies on Spanish colonial America treat the presidio in summary fashion. Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodríguez O., in the *Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (University of California Press, 1980), define the presidio as a fort in a defensive line (p. 169). James Lockhart and Stuart Schwartz, in *Early Latin America* (Cambridge, 1983), define the presidio in northern New Spain as "paid, standing soldiery housed in fixed installations" (p. 292).

13. "Praesidium" as defined in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* does not suggest any penal connotation. Explanatory entries do indicate that these kinds of military posts were mentioned by Tacitus and Livy in relation to African campaigns.

sequently the dispersal of Roman legionnaires was accomplished by "castra," which were temporary camps established during offensive campaigns. Roman involvement with Hispania arose historically through an interest in protecting the Greek communities on the peninsula from harassment by North African invaders. The residue of this policy is seen in the etymology of the Spanish "castillo," which derives from the Latin "castrum." Alliances between Romans and local inhabitants stimulated the rise of the feudal system of castles, or fortified military encampments largely concerned with waging small wars (guerillas). Soon these encampments became permanent strongholds and that system came to dominate Spanish military language. Spaniards used "castillo" (ironically, "little camp"), "fortaleza," and "fuerte" (strongholds) to describe their military posts—but not "presidio". The reason seems to be that "presidio" connotes a frontier status which did not pertain to the Iberian situation. Not until the time of Fernando II at the turn of the sixteenth century did the term reenter Spanish military usage because his policy of containing the Muslims in North Africa called for an imperium supported by the Catholic Kings that was distinct and independent from feudal alliances. In other words, the systems of castillos and fortalezas that were dependent on local autonomy were incapable of sustaining military campaigns along a defensive perimeter in foreign territory. Granted that too much should not be made of the labels that attach to military posts, an awareness of their etymologies does aid in understanding something about the offensive or defensive, temporary or permanent, character of these military entities.

Spanish history is dominated by centuries of conflict with Muslim invaders and inhabitants on the peninsula. Perhaps no event is more prominent in Spain's history than the *Reconquista*, ultimately achieved by Fernando II and Isabella in the same year that Columbus discovered America. In the concluding years of that campaign the Spanish forces established military posts near the major Muslim fortifications of Andalusía. These were semi-permanent garrisons from which continuous attacks were mounted against the weakening Islamic kingdom of Granada. The policy of Fernando and Isabella during the concluding years of the *Reconquista* hinged on their ability to maintain unity among the nobles and to reorganize the Spanish military through the *hermandad* aided by foreign mercenaries.<sup>14</sup> The final collapse of the Kingdom of Granada came in 1492, and Fernando realized these gains could be protected only by a systematic invasion of North Africa. And so in 1505 the reorganized Spanish army, fresh from the Italian wars, seized the presidio of Mers-el-Kebir west of the Muslim stronghold at Oran. By 1510 Spain had taken Algiers and concentrated its military forces in the famous presidio of the Peñol de Algel (Vélez), which was a small island dominating the bay and port.<sup>15</sup> The presidio had returned as an instrument of imperial policy.

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14. See Marvin Lunenfeld, *The Council of the Santa Hermandad: A Study of the Pacification Forces of Ferdinand and Isabella* (University of Miami Press, 1970). The *hermandad* operated as a rural police force, but it occasioned the dissolution of feudal autonomies as the primary source for protection.

15. On the reorganization of the Spanish army, see Paul Stewart, "Army of the Catholic Kings, 1474–1516," doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1962. On the campaigns of Spanish forces in North Africa, see Andrew C. Hess, *Forgotten Frontiers: History of the 16th Century Ibero-African Frontier* (University of Chicago, 1978).

Although this brief overview of Spanish military history may seem obtuse, it is only through an acquaintance with this history that one can explain the origin and use of the term "presidio" in Spanish documentation. "Presidio" was not a mere synonym for castillo or fuerte; it implies a full set of military, imperial, and civil relationships that are not clearly delineated. Perhaps greater precision is necessary if inadmissible interpretations are to be avoided. For example, it is clear that the *Recopilación*, in referring to presidios, maintains their distinction from castillos and fuertes, but it does so without defining the differences. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Spanish crown understood presidios as protective garrisons on frontiers, especially in conjunction with ports and trade routes. Occasional reference is made in Spanish civil documents to the payment of presidial salaries by leagues of merchants in Sevilla or Cádiz; what agreements the merchant community had with the imperial treasury in this regard remains an open question. Many titles of the *Leyes de Indias* mention the ports and presidios of Havana, Cartagena, and Puerto Bello, but they never mention the presidios found in the interior. In the later reorganization of the mainland presidios, reference is made to the *Reglamentos* of the presidio of Havana, so it is important and useful to understand both the relationships and the distinctions between these major posts and the "de facto" presidios on the distant frontiers.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently the term "presidio" does not enter into ordinary, written Spanish until well into the colonial era in the New World. This usage occurs approximately at the same time that Felipe II intensified military actions in Spanish Morocco in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The military purpose of the African presidial system was to protect both the maritime and overland routes of trade against hostile Muslim tribes who were aided and abetted by Turkish adventurers. Some of the presidios along this frontier were manned by persons avoiding criminal penalties on the peninsula, so the institution indirectly began to take on overtones of a penal colony relatively early although the service of criminals in presidios was not its fundamental characteristic. In general, the emergence of presidios as the military arm of Spanish imperial policy coincides with the rise of Spain as an empire of Western Europe.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, in the Indies, presidios were first established to protect routes of maritime trade as well as the isolated Christian communities dotting the Caribbean islands.<sup>18</sup> Each major port had an assigned presidio, organized in much the

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16. See the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, Book III, Title IX, on the establishment and location of presidios; other references to presidios throughout the *Recopilación* are consistent. Castillo de Bovadilla, in the *Política para Corregidores* (1640), mentions presidios precisely as frontier military garrisons and describes the duties in several such regions in Spain. He cites the legal commentaries of Paulus, the *Institutiones* of Justinian, and the commentaries of Budeo, who describes soldiers in these military posts as "praesidiarios." Despite several attempts to determine the origins of the use of the term "presidio," no fixed date has yet been found and no precise document can be cited.

17. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Harper and Row, 1972). On the history of the presidio of the Peñol de Algel, or Vélez, see Rafael Pezzi, *Los presidios menores de Africa* (Madrid, 1893).

18. No study of the presidio as an instrument of Spanish policy in the Caribbean is known to the editors, yet the presidios of Havana and Puerto Rico were prominent in the Spanish defense of Caribbean trade.

same way as the fortified outposts along the North African coast. With the discovery of the rich silver deposits in New Spain such as San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, the Spaniards encountered a situation reminiscent of the Maghrib, where hostile tribesmen interdicted important trade routes. And the Spanish response in the New World greatly resembled the African policy. Small garrisons of soldiers, some with their families, joined with friendly Indian allies who helped protect against hostile marauders. The presidios acted as self-contained outposts with a pronounced air of permanence. They were partial communities that were expected to become self-supporting, that is, not to depend totally on external systems of supply—with perhaps the major exception of munitions. Food and animal husbandry were primary concerns for the presidial forces whether in Africa or America.

Historians of New Spain agree that the presidial phenomenon takes firm root during the viceroyalty of Don Martín Enríquez de Almanza (1568–1580).<sup>19</sup> As discussed above, the role of the Spanish military in North Africa brought clearly evident influences to bear on the military situation of the New World. However, one other highly significant change in Spanish military policy occurred at this same time and appears to have had an equally significant influence on the establishment and operation of presidial forces in the New World. In 1562 Felipe II decided on the establishment of a Spanish militia as a major means of protecting cities, villages, and regions of the monarchy. Provincial militia had been considered by Carlos V, but for whatever reason, they were not implemented until the reign of Felipe II.<sup>20</sup> This marks an important shift away from the feudal nature of internal defense and political vassalage. In many ways this policy was much more congruent with the situation in the New World where feudal loyalties had nearly no meaning or application. As the documents for this period will show, the early presidios of New Spain were staffed by regional militia with the salaries of officers being paid by the royal treasury.

Strangely, no significant, comparative study has ever been prepared for the presidio as a major institution of Spanish frontier policy.<sup>21</sup> This introduction is not the proper forum for a study of this scope, but it should be clear from the documents presented in these volumes that the presidio as an institution deserves a thorough analysis as it involves so many basic principles of social organization affecting culture change. Every European country that engaged in overseas colonization devised a military component that differed only by the degree of influence and importance; Spain was no exception.

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19. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550–1600* (University of California Press, 1952), and *Mexico's Miguel Caldera: The Taming of America's First Frontier* (University of Arizona Press, 1977); see also Moorhead, *The Presidio*. Powell has addressed a number of questions similar to this introduction in "Genesis of the Frontier Presidio in North America," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (April, 1982) pp. 125–141.

20. Conde de Clonard (Serafín María de Soto), *Historia Organica de las armas de la infantería y caballería españolas desde la creación del ejército permanente hasta el día*, Vol. III, p. 430ff.

21. This is also the observation of Mario Góngora in *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1975).

## The Presidio in Northern New Spain: A Chronological Development

### CHAPTER ONE: THE CHICHIMECA WAR

These documents begin with the Chichimeca War in northern New Spain in 1576. Although the war itself had broken out a quarter-century before, it was not until the viceregal administration of Martín Enríquez de Almanza that a system of presidios was decided upon as a solution to the nomadic warfare along the exposed routes to the mines of Zacatecas.<sup>22</sup> Coincidentally, the policies of Felipe II in Morocco made the establishment of presidial garrisons in northern New Spain logical and acceptable. Hence, our editorial decision was made to launch this documentary study beginning with these critical years. As for the Chichimeca War itself, Philip Wayne Powell has written two classic, synthetic works that treat the major events and persons involved: *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* (1952) and *Mexico's Miguel Caldera* (1977).<sup>23</sup>

Most of the documents chosen for the thirty-year period from 1576 through 1606 that are treated in Chapter One move quickly to a discussion of Spanish attempts at "pacification" and the methods of achieving peace with the nomadic tribes north of Mesoamerica. Spain under the Hapsburgs was obsessed with bringing newly conquered peoples into the fold of imperial authority. Even though hostile Indians might threaten the stability and progress of empire, Spain's primary concern was to impose peace through conquest. The serious student of Spanish colonial policy must exercise caution in affixing labels to Spanish intentions; the descriptive terms of "conquistador" and "conquest" decorate most of the early documents, but the connotation is vastly different from post-Napoleonic usage. Spanish "conquest" in the early centuries was a thoroughly complex concept embodying persuasion, conversion, and limited force. Conquest had distinct theological overtones in ridding the world of the dominance of the devil. Thus the presidio, like the mission, was only an element in a comprehensive policy that aimed at complete acculturation. The Hapsburg monarchs were far more concerned with acculturation than their Bourbon successors, who were forging defensive bulwarks against invasion and encroachment by other powers, a policy that reflected the much-changed world situation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>24</sup>

Once the Spanish crown accepted the plan to establish presidios in northern

22. Background literature for the Chichimeca War and Peace will be found in the references for Chapter One.

23. See above, Note 19.

24. The policies of the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons are subject to almost as many interpretations as historians who write about them. For the Hapsburg policies see R. Trevor Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621* (Harper and Row, 1965); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain* (Basic Books, 1971); J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (Mentor, 1966); Robert A. Kann, *The Hapsburg Empire: A Study in Integration and Disintegration* (Octagon, 1979); and Otto von Hapsburg, *Charles V* (Praeger, 1970). For the Bourbon policies, see W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *Eighteenth Century*

New Spain, the burden of protection was borne more and more by royal garrisons assisted by resident militia. Prospectors were replaced by ranchers, and Spanish settlements took on the aspect of permanence. And the task of pacifying native groups was handed over to religious orders of the Catholic Church. At the very time that the presidio became the preferred institution for frontier protection, Viceroy Martín Enríquez nurtured the idea of sending Franciscan, and later Jesuit, missionaries among the hostile tribes on the assumption that peace would be more certainly achieved through evangelization than militarization.<sup>25</sup> To a degree the viceroy was correct—at least until the bloody Acaxee revolt of 1602, followed in a few years by the Xixime revolt. Evangelization was not the perfect answer, although it did continue to hold promise.

Students of Mexican history seem to agree with the periodization suggested by Robert Ricard (*Conquête Spirituelle de Mexique*, 1933) in that the “spiritual conquest” of Mexico was completed by 1572.<sup>26</sup> Why some historians have assumed that Ricard’s thesis should apply to the northern frontier is one of those curiosities of historiography. Even Ricard restricted his conclusions to Mesoamerican Mexico; he did not intend to extend his findings to the whole viceroyalty. Hence, the conquest, both spiritual and temporal, of northern New Spain is a separate and distinct social phenomenon. Colonization from 1572 to the end of the colonial epoch in 1810 involved different forms of native contact, different schemes of exploitation, different approaches to pacification, and different expectations on the part of second- and third-generation colonists. The emergence of the presidio as the major instrument of military policy contrasts sharply with the age of the conquistador and the establishment of the northern kingdoms which were only tenuous, feudal reminiscences soon transformed by changes in royal policy and colonial organization.

## CHAPTER TWO: EARLY REBELLIONS

Some twenty years of hopeful efforts at pacification of the nomadic northern tribes through missionary evangelization were truncated in 1594 by the murder of Gonzalo de Tapia, a vibrant, young Jesuit assigned to the new missions of Sinaloa. His martyrdom was merely the prelude to wider native discontent and rejection of the Spanish policy to achieve peace through conversion and directed culture change.<sup>27</sup> Unrest had infected the mountain regions as early as 1592, when the

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*Spain, 1700–1788: A Political, Diplomatic, and Institutional History* (Macmillan, 1979), and *Spain under the Bourbons, 1700–1833* (Macmillan, 1973).

25. The pacification policy of Viceroy Enríquez is clearly revealed in his instructions to his successor Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, the Conde de Coruña, in 1580. See *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid, 1857) Vol. 26, p. 373ff.

26. Robert Ricard, *Conquête Spirituelle de Mexique*, Vol. XX of *Travaux et Memoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie* (University of Paris, 1933). Translated and edited by Lesley Byrd Simpson as *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico* (University of California Press, 1966).

27. See W. Eugene Shiels, *Gonzalo de Tapia, Founder of the First Permanent Jesuit Mission in North America* (American Catholic Historical Association, 1934).



transplanted Tlaxcalan community at San Andrés under Franciscan care was ferociously attacked. Problems rarely broke out with the newer conversions, as in the case of Padre Tapia, but more commonly with apparently stable converts like the Indians of the Sierra de Topia, the Acaxees. In 1602 a small band of discontented Indians murdered seven Spaniards who had continued to oppress them by brutal service in the mines being worked in those remote mountains. Missionaries were sent in to pacify the Indians, but little was accomplished without the threat of force. These were the formative years of Spanish policy that tried to play missionary pacification off against sheer force. The Acaxee rebellion was followed in less than a decade by the Xixime rebellion—both precursors of a wider rejection of Spanish policy.

Chapter Two concludes with the tragic events of the Tepehuan revolt that shocked the Spaniards by its violence. Ten religious and nearly 200 civilians were massacred. It was an occurrence that temporarily interrupted the northern advance by reducing critical manpower and threatening internal stability in the mission pueblos. These events brought about substantial modifications in the relationship of mission to presidio, of missionary to colonist. The role of pacifier was not left as exclusively to the isolated clergyman in the mountain towns as before; the missionary had to work in much closer partnership with the military.

Only after the Tepehuan revolt subsided could the Spaniards realistically consider expansion along the northwest coast and up the central corridor of the Sierra Madre. One of New Spain's most celebrated military leaders, Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, worked near magic in pacifying Indian tribes in cooperation with the Jesuit missionaries as they approached the deserts of Sonora. At nearly the same time that the Tepehuanes were exterminating Spanish invaders in the mountains, Hurdaide accompanied the Jesuits into Yaqui territory, where imperial expansion had been thwarted for many years.<sup>28</sup> Initial contact with native groups was apparently less abrasive than longer-term social control through missionaries and *corregidores*; only after missions were established and Spanish towns had grown up did Indians resort to force in attempts to return to traditional socio-political patterns.

A reader who is well acquainted with the colonial history of northern New Spain may note that no mention is made about the expansion into New Mexico which occurred during this same period. No documents were included about this significant episode in the northern thrust because it does not, in the opinion of the editors, contribute anything significant to the understanding of the evolution of the presidial system. New Mexican history because of its importance and charm has enjoyed extensive study and analysis from the earliest expeditions of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, and Juan de Oñate to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The reader has access to many important, printed documents about New Mexico prepared by Charles Hackett, George Hammond and Agapito Rey, France Scholes, Albert Schroeder and Daniel Matson, and Ralph

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28. Very little published information is available on this remarkable mestizo "Indian fighter." See Harry P. Johnson, "Diego Martínez de Hurdaide: Defender of Spain's Pacific Coast Frontier," in *Greater America*, pp. 199–218. The richest secondary source on military activities for this period is Andrés Pérez de Rivas, *Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe* (Editorial Layac, 1944), 3 vols.

Twitchell.<sup>29</sup> But access to documents dealing with areas outside of New Mexico as presented in these volumes has been far more limited for the general scholar.

### CHAPTER THREE: MID-CENTURY CHALLENGES

Frontier expansion in the first half of the seventeenth century reveals a consolidation and a refinement of Indian policy in which both the presidio and the mission played key roles. This study has not attempted to underscore the routine aspects of that consolidation; this is a subject for further investigation and elaboration. Rather, Chapter Three moves on to assess the overall situation on the frontier at mid-century. The all-important Toboso revolt is discussed with the subsequent establishment of the presidio of Cerro Gordo. These events relate to the increased importance of travel and supply to the most distant frontier of New Mexico and the string of silver mines around Parral. One of the better summary reports for the century will be found in the ornate language of Diego de Medrano, who has described conditions in Nueva Vizcaya. Not every modern scholar agrees with Medrano's overview, but this is what makes the stuff of documentary history—a contemporary critic as seen by the hindsight scholar.<sup>30</sup>

Within the last decade more and more studies have been appearing that touch on the military history of northern New Spain. Few of these have been documentary studies, and each has been constructed to conform to a particular historiographical thesis or theme. Probably the most significant works that have dealt with Indian revolts and Spanish policy have been those by María del Carmen Velásquez, María Elena Galaviz de Capdevielle, and Guillermo Porras Muñoz.<sup>31</sup> The last-mentioned author has provided the most thorough, available treatise on

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29. Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier (Carnegie, 1923–37), 3 vols., and with Charmion Clair Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682* (University of New Mexico Press, 1942, 1970), 2 vols.; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628* (University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 2 vols., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542* (University of New Mexico Press, 1940), and the *Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594* (University of New Mexico Press, 1966); France Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659–1670* (Historical Society of New Mexico, 1942); Albert H. Schroeder and Daniel S. Matson, *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal* (School of American Research, 1965); and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Torch Press, 1911–12), 2 vols., and *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (Torch Press, 1914), 2 vols.

30. See Guillermo Porras Muñoz, *La Frontera con los Indios de Nueva Vizcaya en el Siglo XVII* (Fomenta Cultural Banamex, 1980). María del Carmen Velásquez has challenged Porras's dependence on Medrano in *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. 30, no. 4 (No. 120), April–June, 1981, pp. 605–611.

31. See María del Carmen Velásquez, *Establecimiento y pérdida del septentrion de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1974); and María Elena Galaviz de Capdevielle, *Rebeliones indígenas en el Norte del Reino de la Nueva España* (Editorial Campesina, 1967). For Muñoz, see Note 19.

Nueva Vizcaya for the seventeenth century; he too draws heavily on the sources that comprise Chapter Three.

The last chapter in this documentary study begins immediately after the famous revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680. No documents dealing with this well-known historical episode have been included because the subject of this study is not the chronology of Indian rebellions, but the changing role of the presidio as a frontier institution. Military history can so quickly become a chronicle of campaign strategy and tactics that the far more significant, and frequently subtle, social effects of military policy are obscured. Without doubt, presidial and missionary activity in northern New Spain during the last quarter of the seventeenth century was deeply affected by the twelve-year loss of New Mexico until its reconquest by Don Diego de Vargas in 1692.<sup>32</sup>

#### CHAPTER FOUR: NORTHERN REBELLIONS

The documents chosen for the final part of Volume One have attempted to show the wide range of problems and conditions that impinged on the presidios. Personalities seemed to outweigh impersonal policies. Conflicts that were present throughout presidial history in previous years emerge with more insistence for solution than before. Corruption that had always been rampant in the management of the presidios clutched more tightly and hampered the efficient functioning of the military. Quasi-permanent enterprises in mining and ranching enticed officers to protect relatives and family interests before those of the crown. Presidial captains, all with the higher rank of field commanders, displayed strong divergence of opinions about the proper way to deal with warring natives. Indeed, conditions on the frontier changed so dramatically that hostile Indian activity was almost institutionalized. The Apache menace, which had not been known either in its extent or intensity during previous decades, was emerging as northern New Spain's nemesis. From these years until the close of the nineteenth century the military power of three nations would be challenged.

Striking with uncommon swiftness, the Indians suddenly appeared throughout the northern provinces and, just as quickly, vanished. Such warfare called for a change in strategy and tactics. Spaniards were less ready to erect presidios according to the old concept of fortified outposts; mobility was becoming paramount. Then, too, a fortified garrison required a larger complement of soldiers because one-third had to remain behind merely to protect the fortification and livestock. The end of the seventeenth century saw the dawn of the era of the *compañía volante*, the flying company, returning the presidio to its more pristine characteristics—counter-insurgency, which was much more reminiscent of fighting in the Maghrib than patrolling royal roads in Zacatecas.

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32. J. Manuel Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (University of New Mexico, 1940) remains the only available documentary source on this important re-establishment of Spanish power in the north. A large documentary editing project on the papers of Diego de Vargas has begun under the leadership of John L. Kessell of Albuquerque; the project is partially sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

Conveniently, and by editorial intent, this first volume of documents concludes at nearly the turn of the eighteenth century, when Spain experienced a major policy change with the ascendancy of the Bourbons to the imperial throne. Their royal policy emphasized the role of the military, expecting a much greater degree of professionalism than was characteristic of the Spanish Indian fighter on the frontier. A discussion of these changes and their effect on eighteenth-century presidio policy, however, properly belongs to the next volume in this series. If these documents have served to expose the complex influences brought to bear by the presidio upon the expansion of the northern frontier of New Spain, this initial study will have achieved its primary goal.

### *The Organization of the Frontier Presidios*

The study of Spain under the Hapsburgs challenges the imagination because the empire was just forming at the moment the New World burst into European awareness. The magnitude of the discovery, exploration, and exploitation of these new continents naturally had a sweeping effect on Spain's imperial organization. And the human tendency to impose old structures on new realities was every bit as characteristic of the early Spanish empire as any other. Although old forms rarely suited the situation, familiarity prevailed and they were imposed, but not without efforts at modification and adaptation. Now the historian, in looking back on those times, is tempted to describe Spanish policy as highly disorganized and almost inherently fickle. Certainly the appearance of the presidio in northern New Spain seems to have been the application of an old concept in a new context. Inasmuch as Spain was a major part of the old Roman empire, it could claim the idea of the presidio as a part of its heritage, although the presidio had only recently been incorporated as an instrument of Spanish policy.

North of central Mexico the Spaniards had no reason for the organized military conquest of a region or its peoples. Spanish expansion into the silver-rich districts began largely through private prospecting and contact with peaceful nations. The Indian inhabitants were viewed as an available labor pool which was exploited by slave raids and periodical forced labor. In opposition, the Indians opened hostilities but failed to deter the spread of these practices. Spanish trade routes were exposed to continual attack; isolated ranches were repeatedly raided and burned. Although small Spanish towns may have remained unscathed, the ability to expand and communicate was greatly jeopardized. Military conquest was manifestly impossible because the Indians outnumbered the Spaniards, and the annihilation of the natives would have destroyed the advantages of an available labor force. The Spaniards were logically forced to employ counter-insurgency tactics from fortified, safe bases—in other words, from presidios.

As a military model, the Reconquista in Spain really did not fit the New World situation. The undeveloped communities in the north did not correspond to the feudal organization of the peninsula. In planning warfare, frontal advances and area conquest by well-established units simply did not correspond to conditions the Spaniards encountered overseas. It is well known that military service in Spain was rewarded by a distribution of reconquered land and titles of nobility, a

system that was followed also in the New World. But it was far more difficult to evaluate service against an ill-defined enemy or to assign a reasonable amount of land in an imperfectly known country. Underlying these problems was the entire philosophy of conquest, land ownership, and political sovereignty. Spain's answer was facile enough, although it did not adequately assess the rights of the Indians to their own land. Presidios sprang up to protect the colonists, the miners, and the missionaries; protection was guaranteed by the crown through a curious combination of professional military and a self-serving militia. Friendly Indians served in campaigns against hostiles, but their service was rewarded mostly by food, clothing, and some durable trade goods. Indian service did not merit title to land that was, or had been, theirs before the coming of the Spaniard. Presidial protection was intended for the Spanish settlers and for the neighboring natives only to the degree they shared in royal enterprises. Such was the frontier presidio. First conceived as a protective unit for trade routes and neighboring settlements, the presidio also tried to serve as a device to reward soldiers with salaries, titles, and land.

The earliest presidios, in the 1560s, were frequently little more than garrisons of four or five armed men employed by the Crown. Their small numbers were usually adequate against superior numbers because their firepower and mobility surpassed any threat from hostile natives. However, as the Indian tribes acquired horses and livestock, they soon achieved greater mobility and became a growing threat to the once superior Spanish arms. These changes began to occur in the later part of the sixteenth century at the same time the presidio was gaining a firm institutional foothold in New Spain. Presidial complements ceased to consist of a *caudillo* (later *cabo*, or corporal) and four or five soldiers. The new generation of military protection usually called for twenty to twenty-five men who were considered to be on active duty. The commanding officer, who received an annual salary from the king, normally held the rank of *capitán*. His subalterns held the positions of *alférez* or *sargento* who in turn commanded smaller patrols with a *cabo* and four to ten men. The salaries of the soldiers were relatively low because their services were already encumbered by title to parcels of land that included military service. Salaried soldiers, non-commissioned and commissioned officers were a later development. The actual size of a unit in the field was not predetermined; the particular situation determined the strength and number of men assigned. Field patrols and escorts consisted normally of four to six men. Punitive expeditions might number from twenty to several hundred men.

In succeeding years many presidial garrisons were increased to an assigned strength of fifty men (*plazas*, or places). A presidial commander could rely on a fiscal allowance of around 600 pesos per annum based on the size and importance of his command. A *capitán's* salary could rise as high as 3,000 pesos, but he, like the soldiers, was expected to spend a great deal of his pay on equipment and special services. More often than not the full complement of men never existed, so the presidial commander used excess funds to pay for auxiliaries or long-term militia, or to offset the expenses he incurred in the operational tasks of the garrison. For more than a half-century, roughly from 1630 to 1680, the northern frontier saw little expansion, and the presidial companies were allowed to diminish in the southern provinces or to split up in the northern. For example, the very old presidio of Sinaloa, which had a nominal complement of fifty plazas, usually main-

tained only five or ten men at the headquarters and sent two units into the field—one in Sonora with approximately twenty-five men and another in Sinaloa with about twenty. One of the Sinaloa detachments was stationed for many years at Cucurpe (Sonora), which might lead one to think this was a separate presidio when in fact it was not.

Perhaps it would be useful to apply “de jure” and “de facto” terminology to the various presidios. Established presidios (de jure) permitted an assessment of the strength and extent of royal support in an area. The actual presence of presidial troops in a place constituted a de facto presidio, semi-permanent in many cases. Officers and men on detached duty followed the same patterns as men at headquarters; they acquired ranches, mines, and small businesses in the locale of their duty assignment. Thus an *alférez* of the presidio of Sinaloa, whose salary was paid by the crown as a contribution to the presidial defense of Sinaloa, may well have been a major landholder and resident of Sonora. The northern frontier was an amorphous situation which must have puzzled the Council of the Indies as much as modern historians.

Depending on the isolation of a Spanish settlement or mission and the intensity of hostilities, individual soldiers might be assigned for protection, but this was neither as regular nor as widespread a practice as some have thought. During the period covered by this documentary study, individual assignments were limited in strength and time, and only with the imposition of the Bourbon military reforms did the assignment of individual soldiers to a mission or settlement become regularized—for protection as well as surveillance. Some historians have almost inextricably interwoven the relationship between presidio and mission, giving the impression, for example, that no missionary ever ventured out without military escort.<sup>33</sup> Granted that the cooperation between these institutions was important, the immediate presence of the military was not a *sine qua non* of Spanish colonial policy. In fact, missionaries did not always enjoy, or even want, military escorts. Ranchers and miners on the other hand were usually delighted to have a small detachment assigned for their protection, even if it were militia on temporary duty.

To calculate the strength and distribution of forces throughout the northern provinces borders on the impossible because units were detached from their juridical headquarters on temporary or semi-permanent duty. There was no fixed concept of divisions, regiments, battalions, squads, or platoons that applied to presidios during this period. Presidial complements rarely exceeded 100 men, were commonly restricted to 50, and frequently never numbered more than 25 or 30. No fixed rule determined the number of men at a presidio; need alone was the determinant. In fact, the poor distribution and imbalance in troop strength throughout the frontier was one of the central issues faced by Inspector General Pedro de Rivera in 1724, but by then more than 150 years of presidial activity had

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33. The mission and the presidio were key elements in Spanish Indian policy, and in this respect they were historically linked. But linkage in policy does not mean linkage in manpower. This incorrect assumption has probably resulted from generalized discussions with only minimal documentary research. For some of these early, generalized statements see Wilhelm Roscher, *The Spanish Colonial System* (Holt, 1904).

elapsed in this haphazard fashion.<sup>34</sup> In many ways the reforms introduced in the eighteenth century are the greatest clues to the degree and the kind of disorganization that characterized the previous system.

Military organization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries maintained enough of a hierarchical arrangement for us to understand to some extent the relationships between the ranks and the duties of various officers. Although the separation of powers in the Spanish political system was blurred by their union in one person, distinctions were nevertheless maintained, and the division of responsibility sharpens as rank diminishes. The lowest echelon of military organization was obviously the *soldado*, a mere footsoldier or mounted dragoon. His immediate superior was a *cabo*, or squad leader, who roughly corresponded to a modern corporal. Several squads were headed by a *sargento*, whose primary duties were to instruct the soldiers, maintain discipline, supply materials, and keep the accounts. In this regard the *sargento* differed little from the modern master sergeant, who has traditionally held the highest non-commissioned office.

The lowest ranking officer, who would today be considered a commissioned officer, was the *alférez*, equivalent to the rank of lieutenant; some have opted to translate this rank as "ensign," which is probably more misleading than it would be to retain the Spanish term. In the Spanish colonial system it would be misleading to translate *alférez* as "lieutenant" because the Spaniards freely used the term "*teniente*" to indicate an officer who could exercise powers due a ranking person in whose place he served. Thus an *alférez* who commands a field operation is not infrequently called a "*teniente*" because he was holding the power of the *capitán* during the campaign, and sometimes in the same document that *alférez* may be called "*capitán*" because he actually exercised the powers he held by delegation! An *alférez* ranked below a *capitán*, who in most instances was the chief field officer. The rank of *capitán* can be extremely difficult to pin down because a *sargento* or an *alférez* might act as a *capitán de campaña*, thus leading to confusion in the use of terms in many campaign diaries. References were not always to rank, but often to functions in the field.

The captain of a *presidio* usually held the rank of that name, but the manner in which he received his commission sometimes carried with it a higher rank such that he may have been called "general." A document may speak about a certain officer as "*capitán*," but when the same person is in company with several other *presidial* commanders, he may be called "general." And it would be especially misleading to think of these men as "*capitanes generales*" because that title belonged to the viceroy as the resident commander-in-chief or sometimes to the governor of a province.<sup>35</sup> An ordinary *capitán* was outranked by a *sargento mayor*, a military commission frequently held by lieutenant governors or *alcaldes*

34. Rivera's report will be reproduced in a later volume of this study.

35. The governor of a province was called the *capitán general* by virtue of his military authority, much as the U.S. Constitution calls the President the Commander-in-Chief. The term "*capitán general*" in the Spanish army apparently did not hold currency until the turn of the seventeenth century. See Clonard, *Historia Organica*, Vol. III, p. 582; he claims this was the highest rank until 1696, when several other ranks were distinguished. Clonard's work is most useful in attempting to sort through the confusions of military nomenclature.

*mayores*. Confusion abounds, particularly because at the higher levels of civil authority an office might carry military rank and privilege. Although the *sargento mayor* held one of the highest ranks below the governor, he was sometimes outranked by a general who may have been appointed by the king and council or the viceroy. It is hardly any wonder that disputes arose from time to time throughout the northern frontier about which person legitimately held authority. The entire issue is clouded even more by conflicts arising from appointment for reasons of nobility versus the purchase of an office by an aspiring frontiersman.<sup>36</sup>

Many military ranks were conferred on civilian settlers, ranchers, merchants, miners, etc. Their duties may not have demanded full-time service, although in some cases they most certainly did. One of the highest ranking militia officers was the *maestre de campo*, who would be roughly equivalent to the civilian who raised a small frontier army in order to conduct a particular campaign or maintain an organized system of defense. The *maestre de campo* was often assisted by an *ayudante*, an assistant of lower rank who could not always exercise the powers of the higher office. Thus a distinction was maintained between an *ayudante* and a *teniente* (who was able to exercise powers of the higher rank).

The daily life of the presidial soldier is better described from reading the documents than from making generalizations. This is also true in assessing the effect of the presidio in shaping colonial society. It is again hoped that the presentation of the documents in these two volumes will generate much more detailed, interpretative studies of the presidio and Spanish colonial society in the "greater Southwest."

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36. See Chapter Four of this study and the case of Admiral Isidro Atondo y Antillón.

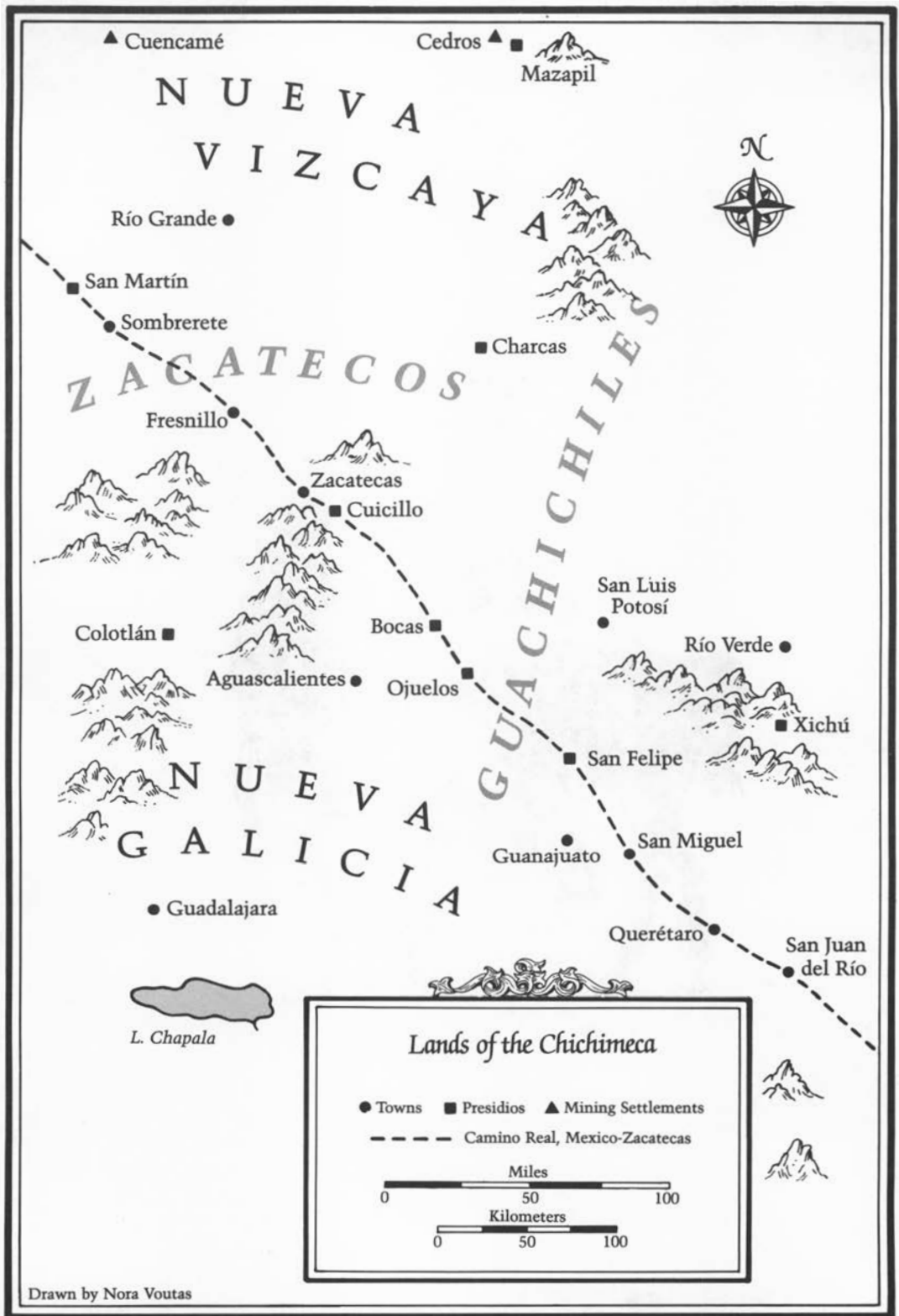


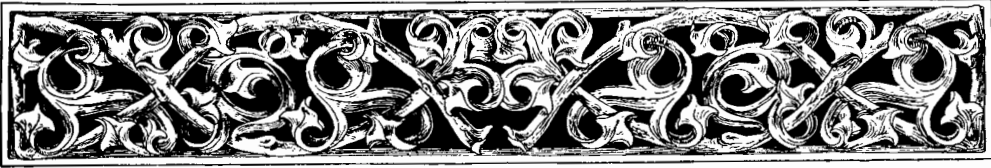


# I



*A Viceroy*





## The Chichimeca War and Peace

(1576 – 1606)

**S**pain's conquest of the Aztec Empire was so astonishingly easy, and its consolidation of that gain throughout central and southern Mexico so rapid, that it is tempting to forget that Spanish expansion to the north was often fiercely opposed by native groups. That opposition took the form of open warfare, and its continued recurrence for two and one half centuries caused the Spaniards to implement and maintain a presidial system to protect their expansion north from central Mexico. The genesis of that system was in Spain and North Africa, but in the last third of the sixteenth century, conditions demanded that it be established on the northern frontier of New Spain.

Twenty years of relative peace followed the conquest of Tenochtitlan. In two decades the Spaniards moved quickly to subjugate nearly all of southern and central Mexico, greatly aided by shrewd diplomacy, "liberated" allies, and their silent ally, European diseases. To the north and west, their control was established by 1540 across the Bajío to Michoacán and Guadalajara, and beyond to Compostela and to the western-slope outpost of Culiacán. This advance went almost unchallenged. The speed and zeal with which conquistadores and missionaries imposed their Catholicism, government, and culture upon the defeated Indians had left the natives leaderless and profoundly demoralized.

In 1540 the Tarascans of Michoacán and Jalisco sensed an opportunity to drive the Spaniards out. Many Spanish colonists had joined Vázquez de Coronado's expedition to seek the fabled treasures of Cíbola. Sparsely occupied by Christians, the area was left militarily weakened. The Tarascans, always resentful of the harsh treatment by their conquerors, seized the moment to rebel. What followed was the shortlived (1540–41), but bloody, Mixtón War. The natives were well organized. They destroyed European settlements and beat back repeated Spanish counter-attacks to subdue them. Only after the viceroy himself took the field at the head of a large force was the rebellion quelled. The Mixtón War, coupled with fierce resistance by Mayas in the Yucatán and hostilities encountered by the northern explorers, served to remind the Spaniards in the 1540s that they could expect systematic opposition wherever they sought to further extend the frontier.

Despite the threat of resistance, that expansion was quick in coming. Although gold captured the imagination of the very first conquerors, it soon became

apparent that silver was far more abundant in New Spain. It could be readily extracted with new technology and processed into bars for shipment to a bullion-hungry Spain and Europe. From bases around Guadalajara and Querétaro, missionaries and prospectors pushed north again after peace was restored. In 1546 one such party under Juan de Tolosa made camp under a large hump-shaped mountain 200 kilometers beyond the fringe of settlement. When the friars and explorers approached the local natives, wild Zacateco Indians, they were given chunks of shining ore. In this way, tradition holds, the fabulous silver mines of Zacatecas were discovered. The discovery resulted in the New World's first mining rush; soon La Bufa Mountain was covered with diggings. Hundreds came, forming first a camp which grew into a town, and then a small city. Many others followed. When Zacatecas grew crowded with claims, the seekers fanned out even farther in search of new bonanzas. By 1560 a farflung mining frontier had developed, with camps and towns spread over an immense area of the Mexican central plateau.

The region of the new mining discoveries was occupied by Indian groups very different from the sophisticated, culturally advanced people of central Mexico. The Spaniards had achieved rapid hegemony over the highly developed Mexicas, Tlaxcalans, and Tarascans by deposing their native theocratic and military leaders and filling the void with Catholic churchmen and crown officials. The wild bands of the north were not vulnerable to such tactics. On the great plateau north of central Mexico lived the Chichimecas, called the "dirty dogs" by their far-advanced southern neighbors. By any standard the Chichimecas were primitive, mostly nomadic hunter-gatherers who wandered, often naked, over the vast mountain-studded plains. Of these northern nations, the two largest and most important were the Guachichil and Zacateco. They were warlike and fierce, sometimes fighting each other. Loosely organized into bands with localized leaders, they were expert at survival in a harsh, arid land.

The influx of miners and others who swarmed north created a demand for supplies and a need for governmental control. To facilitate this, viceregal officials in México established a royal road, *camino real*, that ran to Zacatecas. Other secondary roads branched off this main artery to serve those mines and population centers that proliferated in the adjacent country. As the mining boom grew, so did the number and frequency of the pack trains and wagon caravans that plied the roads to Zacatecas and beyond. From Spain and México came implements for mining and essential commodities such as mercury. From the agriculturally rich Bajío region came foodstuffs difficult to grow on the dry and rocky plateau. But mostly came the trappings of civilization—the myriad items the Spaniards found necessary to maintain a proper existence in a new land. Tools, shoes, dishes, nails, bolts of cloth, pots and pans, wine, scissors, paper, knives, and farming implements were but a few of the countless commodities transported through the Chichimeca country to the mining communities.

To the Chichimecas the Spanish presence in their land was nowhere more obvious than in the ever-increasing trains of pack animals, carts, and wagons on the long, isolated stretches of the silver highways. The roads ran through the heartland of Chichimeca occupation, and over the long distances between Spanish settlements the Indians were masters of the terrain. It was inevitable that the bellicose warriors would attack the vulnerable and laden supply trains that ran right through their domain. And it was the practical goods they carried that the pillag-



*Typical Chichimecan landscape on the road to Zacatecas*

ing Indians quickly came to prize and covet—the clothing and foodstuffs, especially. Thus began in 1550 the Chichimeca War. For forty years it raged on as the longest and most costly continuous conflict between European settlers and native Americans.

The war took its toll in lives, stolen goods, and animals, and disrupted commerce. Vital shipments to and from the mines were delayed or lost. Prices on the frontier soared as merchants and freighters added in the costs of their losses and the uncertainty of doing business. No person away from a population center was safe, and the entire frontier was gripped by fear of the dreaded Chichimecas. Their savage ways were well known—victims were dismembered or disemboweled while still alive, some were taken captive and then slowly tortured, all were eventually scalped. More than a few Spaniards quit the frontier and returned to safer havens to the south rather than risk a hideous death at the hands of the naked raiders. Many claims could not be worked because of the ever-present danger, which resulted in the loss of mining revenue and taxes to the crown.

This fact was not lost on royal officials. As the depredations grew worse and more costly, some meager steps were taken to stem the tide. In the early 1550s merchants and large landowners contributed to a royal donation to fund three punitive-diplomatic forays, but these proved ineffective. Slightly later a few frontier municipal officials received commissions for the same purpose, but these, too, achieved nothing. Another government action in 1567 sent a lieutenant captain-general to the north with an offer of peace and full pardon. But the Chichimeca chiefs it reached wanted no part of it. The failure of these few attempts by the crown to quell the raiding rendered any defense a private concern, so Spanish

settlers devised new means to meet the threat. One was the *casafuerte*, or ranch blockhouse, that also doubled as a refuge for travelers. Some of them functioned as inns and were stocked with firearms and other weapons. Privately supported escorts of armed riders accompanied the wagon and pack trains as a deterrent to attack. Some of the big wagons were reinforced to become a kind of rolling *casafuerte*, thus offering defenders a mini-fort from which they could turn back the marauders.

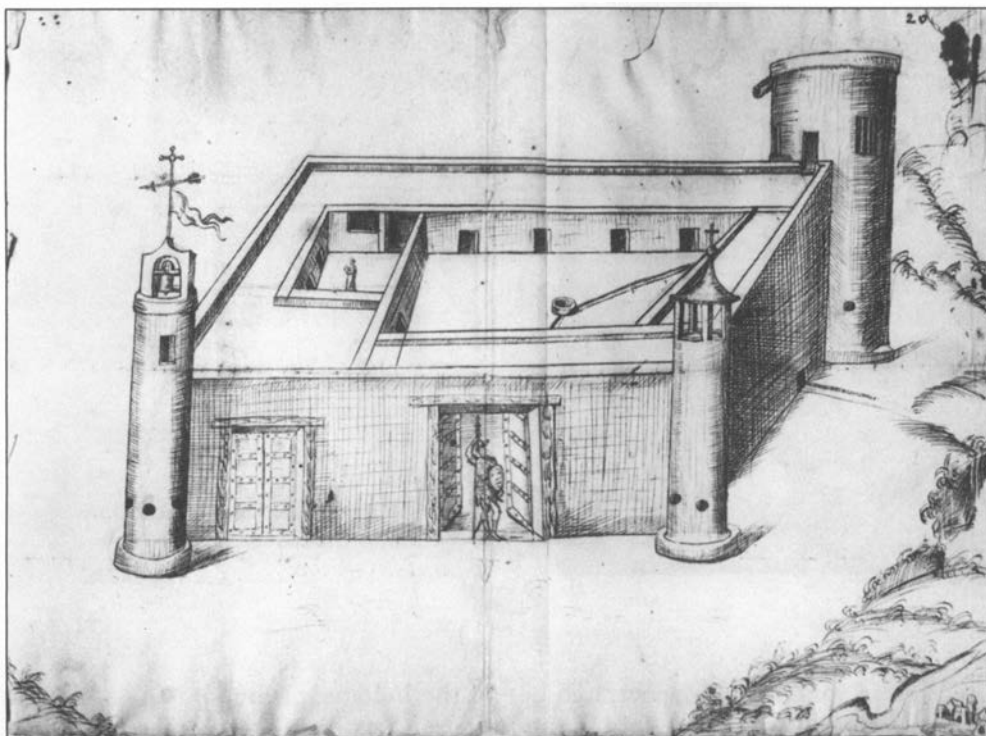
Despite these innovations, none of the government or private remedies came anywhere close to their desired effect. By the end of the 1560s the northern frontier was desperate for help and clamoring for royal assistance. The cry was loudly heard by New Spain's fourth viceroy, Martín Enríquez. Enríquez arrived in Mexico late in 1568 and early the following year began to hold conferences with important officials in the colony to seek justification for a new viceregal policy he was planning. Enríquez proposed total, relentless war—literally, a *guerra a fuego y a sangre*. They would take the battle to the Indians and punish them for their depredations. To put this policy into action he sought the advice of experienced Indian fighters and sent to the north two learned and highly respected fact finders, Gonzalo de las Casas and Doctor Francisco de Sande, *fiscal* of the Audiencia of México.

Of paramount concern was the México-Zacatecas road and the safety of its traffic. By late 1569 the first forts along the route were under construction at Ojuelos and Portezuelo. These first presidios were initially termed "*casas fuertes*," indicating they were an outgrowth of the original concept and did probably resemble blockhouses. From the royal treasury in México, Viceroy Enríquez also paid the salaries of the soldiers to garrison them—twelve men at first but more later. In the beginning these soldiers employed the simple strategy of escorting the supply trains; but that, too, changed in reaction to more sophisticated Indian attacks.

Five more forts were soon added at vulnerable spots along the road. The design of these forts reflected the concept of "classic" presidio construction, that is, four walls enclosing an interior quadrangle with bastions or battlements at two or more corners. This layout allowed for living quarters for the occupants, storage and repair areas, stables, offices, chapel, and an exercise and parade ground—all protected within the perimeter of buildings and walls. The model drawing for the 1576 presidio at Jalpa shows this design clearly.

The 1570s saw the addition of forts and garrisons, some placed in established towns. Protecting travel on the roads remained their primary purpose, but by 1580 it became obvious that this limited, defensive policy was still inadequate. During that same decade the Chichimecas raised the level of their attacks to include assaults on larger, well-armed Spanish parties. The natives were now mounted, having acquired Spanish horses and mastered the art of riding; they had also learned to use captured and stolen arms. Their boldness had also grown, and following the lead of the Guachichiles, they became more adept at making alliances with other dissident bands. As a result the raiders were more deadly and mobile, better disciplined, and far more numerous. New defensive tactics by the Spaniards were required to cope with widening destruction and growing threat.

The conferences called by Enríquez had concluded that waging war on the Chichimecas was justified because of their cruel treatment of enemies and bar-



*Presidio model of Jalpa, 1576, from a drawing in the Archivo General de Indias*

baric way of life. This position was supported in a scholarly treatise by Gonzalo de las Casas on the nature of Indians and the war against them.<sup>1</sup> Armed with legal authorization for a wider war, the next step was to call a meeting of the principal Spanish military captains. To the presidio of Cuicillo near Zacatecas went the viceroy's representative, Gerónimo de Orozco, president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. He was joined there in late 1580 by frontier commanders; together they reached several critical decisions. They proposed that the number of presidios be considerably increased. Far more soldiers would be needed at each one to carry the war effectively to the Indians. Finally, the salaries of the soldiers should be tripled to induce men of higher quality to join the military and remain on duty at the northern outposts.<sup>2</sup> These recommendations were carried out, forming the foundation of an expanded, far more aggressive policy of the Spaniards to protect their settlements and supply lines.

During the 1580s the Chichimeca War assumed new proportions as more than twenty new forts and garrisons were manned at strategic and vulnerable locations. The audacity of the raiders had grown to such an extent that many new soldiers had to be stationed in existing towns, at recently constructed presidios, in the passes, or at other critical points along the travel routes. In 1582 this policy received more impetus from a petition by beleaguered stockmen who asked for more forceful military action to defeat the Chichimecas.<sup>3</sup> It brought about the establishment of a presidio in the San Fernando Valley, a Guachichil stronghold. The





*Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga, Marqués de Villamanrique, Viceroy of New Spain, 1585–1590*

erection of this presidio penetrated one of the Indians' prime foraging areas and became another way of pressuring the hostiles. The Spaniards increased their reliance on pacified Indian allies such as Tarascans and Otomíes in their fight against the Chichimecas. The tradition of using native auxiliaries had begun with Tlaxcalan aid against the Aztecs, and the practice continued whenever Spaniards encountered violent native opposition. Historically the justification to wage war on unbelievers or apostates carried approval to enslave those captured in the hostilities, and this practice increased in the 1580s. The opportunity to acquire slaves was as much an incentive for recruits as higher salaries, and this was specifically spelled out in the stockmen's petition. They advocated perpetual slavery for the Chichimecas, arguing that it would entice more soldiers to the frontier. The ranchers realized this policy also held dangers, for it was well known that some of the most audacious of the Chichimeca leaders were escaped slaves. For this reason they felt it imperative that Chichimeca captives not be held in their homeland and that the chiefs be removed as far as possible from the war zone.

In 1585 this enslavement policy greatly alarmed the new viceroy, the Marqués de Villamanrique (1585–1590). Inexperienced in the ways of the New World, he believed that it was precisely the presence of all the soldiers that kept the frontier in flames. Villamanrique accurately perceived that the war was his administration's biggest challenge, and he sought to end it by suppressing the presidios and banning all forms of slavery. To the people of the frontier this was foolhardy idealism. Well acquainted with the Chichimecas, they feared the removal of soldiers would be viewed by the rebels as an admission of defeat; the region would be at their mercy. Civilians and soldiers alike rose in opposition to what they considered a disastrous policy, and the viceroy was compelled to curtail his plans. Nonetheless, the cost of the war to the king's treasury could not be ignored nor the fact that the huge outlay of monies had not produced a Spanish victory.

Not surprisingly, it was a cleric who first enunciated an acceptable alternative to the "fire and blood" policy. In 1584 the bishop of Guadalajara, Domingo de Alzola, wrote to the archbishop of México.<sup>4</sup> In his letter he stressed the need for missionaries to play a greater role in the pacification of the warring tribes. The bishop was not unaware that from the beginning of the northern advance priests and friars had accompanied the explorers and miners. Many had attempted to found missions among the Chichimecas, but without protection the churchmen were unable to make inroads against Indian hostility. Already, the list of Franciscan martyrs in the Chichimeca was a long one. Bishop Alzola was convinced the region had to be pacified before the missionaries would have a chance at success. His proposal contained a very significant alternative approach to control the Chichimecas. He recommended the establishment of "peace settlements" at various places in the zone of fighting. These neutral establishments would be staffed by several friars and groups of Christian Indian converts from the south. These Tlaxcalans and Mexicans would serve as examples to the rest.

Others who boasted firsthand experience with the problem echoed agreement with the bishop's plan. None was better qualified than Captain-General Rodrigo del Río de Loza, a veteran Chichimeca fighter since the days of Viceroy Enríquez. Now in failing health, he, too, was weary of the ceaseless attacks and the Spaniards' seeming inability to halt them by force. Río de Loza supported a plan to induce the rebels to lay down their arms through peaceful means. The viceroy welcomed these sentiments. Frustrated in his early attempts to disband the presidios entirely, Villamanrique remained committed, nonetheless, to reduce the amount of money spent on maintaining troops who, he felt, were only provoking the Indians. They were little better than self-interested slavers. If he succeeded, he could comply with the king's instructions to cut expenditures for the war as well as attain his personal goal of curbing enslavement and possibly achieving peace. Supported by reports, he instructed his commanders to begin negotiations with the principal Chichimeca chiefs. Trusted frontier captains such as Río de Loza, Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, Miguel Caldera, and Francisco de Urdiñola cautiously began talks with the rebel leaders. Their offer to the warriors was straightforward. If they would live peacefully in settlements, the Spaniards would provide them at no cost with the material goods they had been plundering from the supply trains and Spanish communities. It was a bold attempt at peace by purchase.

By the time Villamanrique left office and the second Luis de Velasco succeeded him in 1590, the plan had begun to work. Although Velasco countermanded his predecessor's orders to disband the presidios because he agreed with the frontiersmen that the Chichimecas could not be fully trusted, he did give full support to the policy of provisioning the Indians in exchange for their remaining at peace. This marked the first application of a strategy of pacifying warring native Americans through welfare—a strategy that would be employed again and again by Spaniards and other European powers throughout the colonial period, and later by Mexico and the United States, all with relative success.

The presidios now assumed the role of peace agencies. The captains were made responsible for large stores of peace goods, often personally overseeing their distribution to pacified Chichimecas. These articles included a variety of things, some as unlikely as Spanish reading primers, but most were items of more obvious utility. Clothing and household utensils had been prized booty from the

plundered trains, and to those things were added food staples, leather goods, and blankets. Agricultural implements were intended to encourage the Indians to become farmers. No longer engaged in fighting Indians, the presidial commanders became, in fact and name, "protectors" of their native charges. They were expected to keep the Indians at peace and protect them from the harmful influences of still-hostile neighboring groups and mistreatment by avaricious Spanish miners and slavers.

The cessation of hostilities also helped convert Bishop Alzola's wishes to reality. The distribution of goods was often attended by resident friars, recently returned to abandoned missions and the newly formed peace settlements. They were essential to the crown's overall commitment to spread the faith, and they formed a vital link in efforts to transform the natives into productive Spanish citizens. Basic to this plan was the resettlement of hispanicized Tlaxcalans among the pacified Chichimecas. This was accomplished in 1591 when confidence in the Chichimeca peace so permitted. In a hundred big wagons nearly 1000 Tlaxcalans, Spain's former allies against the Aztecs, arrived at the Cuicillo presidio to be divided into groups destined for farflung peace establishments. The Spanish authorities badly needed the Tlaxcalans as models of Christian living, and before leaving for the wilds of the north, Indian leaders exacted such concessions as the right to their own barrios and perpetual freedom from all tribute and other taxes.

As the Chichimeca Peace took hold and settled over the land, the duties of the presidials changed. A line of forts was still deemed necessary that, staffed by regular troops, would remain on alert. At other presidios, however, the soldiers were discharged; many remained near their former posts as secular teachers to former enemies. The beginnings of a frontier militia class took root where part-time soldiers were needed to help with the disbursement of peace goods but who otherwise formed the genesis of a civilian populace.

By the end of the sixteenth century the viceregal government in México could point with pride to a stable calm among the Chichimecas. The purchased peace was much less expensive than war and proved far more effective. A defensive policy utilizing a network of garrisoned forts had first been implemented, then expanded, and finally redirected in response to changing needs and strategies. But the basic military institution that was established in the 1570s survived its first quarter-century intact. Though reduced in number, presidios remained on the frontier in a more versatile role, still poised to challenge any new threats to Spain's northern advance.

#### NOTES

N.B. The editors acknowledge their considerable indebtedness to Professor Philip Wayne Powell for the assistance rendered in this particular chapter. Several of the documents presented here were originally identified by him in his research on the sixteenth-century frontier. By no means are they the "key" documents in his study because the thrust of the present volumes conforms to a different purpose; they are exemplary documents intended to illustrate the character and problems facing the presidio at the time of its emergence as a permanent frontier institution.

## Introduction

1. Gonzalo de las Casas, "Noticia de los chichimecas y justicia de la guerra que se les ha hecho por los españoles," in Hermann Trimborn, *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des präkolumbischen Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1936), pp. 152–185.
2. A.G.I. México 20, Enríquez to the king, Otumba, December 15, 1580.
3. A.G.I. Patronato 181.
4. A.G.I. Indiferente General 1092, "Copia del memorial que el Obispo de Guadalajara dió al Arzobispo de México, Gobernador de Nueva España, cerca de la guerra de los Chichimecas" (1584).

## Doctor Orozco to the King on How to End the Chichimeca War

*In the period covered by Chapter One, the successful termination of the Chichimeca War shaped the character of Spain's march to the north. Consequently, this chapter deals with the forging and maintenance of that peace. The documentary thread of the story is picked up in 1576 with a very succinct letter to the king from Dr. Juan Bautista de Orozco. Until 1574, when he was replaced by his brother, Gerónimo, Orozco had been in charge of conducting the war against the Chichimecas. While in that position he was praised for victories over the Indians and the capture of many of their chiefs in battle. In that light, his letter is especially revealing. Even before leaving his post as commander, Orozco soured on the outlook for a military solution. Now, nearly two years later, the king was again seeking his opinions. His reply was a strong and carefully reasoned argument that the Spaniards should cease trying to defeat the Chichimecas on the battlefield.*

*Like most other observers of his time, Orozco felt the Chichimecas were nearly hopeless human beings and held little expectation for their conversion to civilized, Christian subjects. The solution as he saw it was to swamp the rebellious tribes in a flood of settlers. Basically, his idea was safety in numbers. He wanted the new immigrants to establish a network of the towns that would enable them to ignore and ostracize the belligerents. It is questionable how effective this plan, in and of itself, would have been. Doubtless many more people would be initially subjected to Chichimeca raids with the inevitable pressures for military retaliation and defense—exactly the thing Orozco argued was fruitless. But given time and enough steadfast colonists, the raiders could have been overwhelmed demographically and culturally.*

*The depth of Dr. Orozco's experience in the land of war is apparent throughout. Knowing intimately the dangers they could expect and the raw, often uninviting, land the colonists were being asked to populate, the king's correspondent recommended that the newcomers be afforded generous economic concessions and incentives. This stance took courage because the Spanish crown was concerned with nothing so much as its purse. Gains in the New World were jealously watched, for the extension of the realm's dominions also meant more potential revenue for the royal coffers. The sales tax and a percentage cut from the production of metals were the government's most lucrative methods of adding to its treasury, and it was a reduction in these levies that Orozco felt was needed to draw colonists to the Chichimeca. Crucial to these colonization plans were the faithful Tlaxcalans, who seemed to figure in everyone's scheme to end the fighting; they would form an ethnic bridge between the unconverted native and the*

*Spaniard. They would have to be given special consideration as well, as indeed they were fifteen years later when major portions of Orozco's plan were put into operation.*

*Dr. Orozco also offers some telling comments concerning the viceroy's distance from the problem and the slanted and biased reports that sometimes reached him. The viceregal tendency to appoint friends from Spain to important posts combined both these failings. Orozco's wisdom is further revealed when he sheds his peninsular bias by cautioning that the person in charge of the settlement effort be a Mexican-born criollo. He realized that fresh arrivals from Spain were often unsuited and ill prepared for an existence on the frontier. The chance of success was far greater with native-born peoples.*

*Near the end of his letter Orozco refers to the deadly epidemic which began to sweep New Spain earlier that year. It raged for five years and at the end of that period the Indian population of central Mexico fell to under 2,000,000. It was especially virulent in the highlands around México, and the drastic drop in population caused labor shortages and economic stagnation. This specter alarmed Orozco. He gives the impression that the plague did not effect the Chichimecas, or if so, then to a lesser extent. This may not have been the case. While it is true that the northern nomads were farther from the centers of the epidemic and that their culture did not include contagion-spreading urban living, they undoubtedly suffered, too. A far more probable reason for Orozco's view was that limited contact with the Chichimecas did not afford the Spaniards an opportunity to know of sickness or gauge its impact upon them.*

**T**o His Royal Catholic Majesty:

I have received two letters from your majesty dated August 20 of last year. One arrived on a vessel that made port at San Juan de Ulloa on February 14 of this year [1576]. The other came with the fleet under the command of general Don Antonio Manrique which is presently in the port.<sup>1</sup> By these letters your majesty has done me a great grace and favor so that, above and beyond my duty and with greater care, I shall henceforth be more aware of the things that bear on your majesty's service in these parts. I shall do this, as your majesty orders, in order to impart any suitable information to whomever accepts my goodwill and desire, which is always to serve your majesty as I should.

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1. The first armada and flota of Nueva España mentioned here, consisting of twelve ships under the command of Captain-General Diego Maldonado, sailed from Cádiz on June 12, 1575, and according to the shipping records actually made port at San Juan de Ulloa on February 13, 1576. The flota was carrying 1,855 *quintales* of mercury. The second armada and flota destined for Nueva España sailed from Cádiz on July 5, 1576, with 27 ships under the command of Captain-General Don Antonio Manrique. The flota, carrying 2,807 *quintales* of mercury, arrived at San Juan de Ulloa on September 27, 1576. The shipments of mercury reflect the mining boom under way in Nueva Galicia. San Juan de Ulloa was the fortress established on the island opposite Veracruz to protect the port.

## CHICHIMECA WAR

What I have to tell you at present is well known to your majesty. There is a war raging here in Nueva España and Nueva Galicia with the Chichimeca Indians. It has been going on for a long time, probably thirty years, more or less, since it began.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that it will rage on endlessly because of the difficulties arising from the manner in which it has been conducted and in finding a remedy.

## CAUSING DIFFICULTIES

How important this matter is! Death and destruction have taken place and innumerable difficulties continue to occur. How great a need this land has for a quick remedy! There are not adequate words with which I could even exaggerate this to your majesty. And there will be even fewer when all this destruction ceases and your majesty no longer has reason to protect your vassals under the shadow of your wings, trying to maintain them in peace and justice, while ridding the land of those marauders. It is neither possible to travel freely on the roads nor to work the mines, which, for the most part, lie in the lands at war. If for no other reason than the loss of the royal fifth to your majesty, it should behoove you to remedy the situation.<sup>3</sup> Because of the experience I have in this matter (having served your majesty in the pacification of these Indians here in Nueva Galicia as well as in Nueva España) it appears to me that I would fail in my duty to your majesty if I did not explain my understanding of this matter. I dare to say that in this land there is no other person as qualified as I am to give you a better or truer report.

To recount the beginnings of this war and the events that deal with the life and ceremonies of the Indians would make a long history. Nevertheless, from the transcript of a letter which I wrote to the Viceroy Don Martín Enriquez from Nueva Galicia during the month of July, 1570, your majesty can see some of the causes and reasons for the war.<sup>4</sup> From the way I see it, the principal reason is that those people are very restless and of an evil disposition; they are the friends of war and were never faithful subjects.

The places where these marauders do the most destruction are in the most distant pueblos of Nueva España and on the haciendas, cattle ranches, and farms that line its borders. The same applies to the mines and the roads leading to them because they are the most recently founded settlements. Not only do they wreak havoc in these parts, but as they have become more clever and knowledgeable, they have elicited the help of guides to enter many leagues into lands at peace and bring destruction on the royal highways as well as in the towns of your majesty's native vassals. And they are able to escape because of the ruggedness of the land

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2. The hostilities in Nueva Galicia began in 1550 with the invasion of Indian territories by Spaniards who rushed into the area after the silver strikes, which began in 1546 at Zacatecas. The confrontation, known as the Chichimeca War, lasted from 1550 to 1590.

3. The quinto was the "King's fifth," or the royal share based upon Iberian law that anything below ground belonged to the crown. In fact, the tax was sometimes higher or lower than a fifth, depending upon production and specific circumstances.



*Martín Enríquez de Almanza,  
Viceroy of New Spain, 1568–1580*

and the difficulty of stopping them. In this way they have emerged victorious and have depopulated many Indian towns, cattle ranches, farms, and mines, especially in Nueva Galicia. Because of this the mines that are operating are very costly.

The standing order which has existed in this war from the beginning of the destruction has allowed the ordinary justices of the frontier areas to proceed against the delinquents and to punish them. The audiencias and viceroys have inflicted punishment on these persons as they saw fit. To accomplish this they have awarded captain's commissions but without providing any salary. Also along the royal roads some forts have been built in the areas where they are most needed for the shelter and defense of travelers. Some Spanish villages have been settled.<sup>5</sup> And

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4. Martín Enríquez de Almanza served as Viceroy of New Spain from 1568 to 1580. In attempts to contain the Chichimecas, he founded the first presidios along the routes leading north from México. He is also known for instituting the Inquisition in 1571, establishing the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in New Spain, and laying the cornerstone of the cathedral in México in 1573. He subsequently served as viceroy of Perú from 1581 to 1588.

5. Initially the only protective strategy on the mining roads had been fortified wagons organized into trains and small fortifications near the mines themselves. Garrisoned towns and forts located away from the communities were established in the 1550s; the first presidios were founded in the 1570s under Viceroy Enríquez. Because of under-staffing and low pay, which led to the abuses enumerated in this document, the presidios had the effect of exacerbating the war.



besides all of this the viceroys have always provided for a lieutenant captain-general, a principal figure who personally assists in the war in order to take care of the needs that could arise.<sup>6</sup> However, for the captains and soldiers who are involved in this war the reward and salary they receive have been the spoils in Indians, selling them for slaves, a practice which has been permitted.<sup>7</sup> They have continued to prosecute the Indians, finding them guilty and condemning them. Moreover, regarding this particular situation, great disorder continues because the war has never been properly directed; nor from the beginning has the truth been clear. In the beginning it was the easiest solution, but now this right to spoils has become the principal goal of the soldiers and continues to be the cause of great excesses. For this end, they have mounted expeditions into the interior, usually delaying one, two, three, four, and more months, to bring out a great number of prisoners, the greater part of whom are women and children (apparently in the belief that this would destroy them). Thus they have captured and sold the guilty as well as the innocent and perpetrated many deaths and atrocities without the knowledge or correction of those in charge. With such bad treatment many of the Indians who had come to be our friends have all now become our enemies, associating with one another to our peril. Because of this, each day this war has been expanded further, making it more difficult and costly.

The current order is that—other than the lieutenant-general who is provided for as I have stated—the commissions for captain which were awarded without salary have been made salaried positions, paying the soldiers as well as the captains. The companies consist of about fifteen to twenty or thirty soldiers according to the needs and locale where they are stationed. Few in number, these companies patrol the frontiers and other areas where they are assigned or needed.

At the beginning of this present year I was in charge of this matter and, by commission of the viceroy and audiencia of Nueva España, made a personal inspection of these lands and their frontiers. A copy of a letter I wrote to the viceroy accompanies this so that your majesty will have a general understanding about certain things concerning this war. It seems to me that this war has been carelessly waged and has proven to be very prolonged, costly, and unproductive. Moreover, this war should be terminated because (1) it is the cause of this land's deterioration; (2) it will not have the intended result given the new order that is now in effect for the companies of salaried soldiers; and (3) to establish borders with these Indians is like erecting gates upon the open countryside since these lands

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6. The *teniente de capitán-general* was an administrator charged with military matters on the frontier. The first such appointment, made by Viceroy Gastón de Peralta (1566–68), had charge of frontier wars within the jurisdictions of the audiencias of both México and Guadalajara. Under Viceroy Enriquez, separate administrators were appointed for each audiencia. The administrators supervised warfare and defense, including the establishment of defensive towns and presidios.

7. Indian slavery was theoretically abolished under the "New Laws" of 1542, and Indian laborers were henceforth to be paid for their services. But resistance was so strong from *encomenderos* and clergy alike that the crown had to back off from its legislation. In 1549 labor provisions of *encomienda* were revoked and the institution became one of tribute only. However, Indians who were captured while fighting against Spaniards were excepted from the prohibition against enslavement.

are so extensive and open to so many entries and exits at will. Thus it is impossible for these garrisons of soldiers to be able to guard the enemies' movements or prevent them from doing their intended evil. With God's help, it seems to me, the order as given could be a good beginning and end to this matter and would totally resolve this situation in Nueva España.

Wherefore I suppose that most of the lands these warlike Indians inhabit have been discovered, known, and explored by Spaniards. Thus it is known that there are valleys with good cattle pastures and land with rivers to irrigate farms as well as with good and healthful climates. And there are many mountains which, as it is known, yield for Nueva España its greatest wealth through the many mines and lodes that have been discovered and can be exploited. It is very well known that silver is commonly found only in the mountains. These said lands have climates in which all the crops of Castilla can be sown and reaped and thus, if they were pacified and settled, would be of noted service to your majesty because of their great utility and productivity. Besides, there will be many Indians to whom the holy gospel can be preached.<sup>8</sup>

In order that this land be pacified and that the Indians no longer come to wage war against our homes and fields, but rather go elsewhere, it would behoove your majesty to determine how the Indian lands should be populated. Indeed, as it is reported, the lands are useful and the population must be where there is the most need. Doing it that way, the Indians will have something to look forward to and return for. Otherwise, it will be something that can only cause them fear and dismay.

Those places with the greatest need for settlement and where there is the largest concentration of Indians within their boundaries as well as being the most convenient to populate are two: one in a place called Río Verde<sup>9</sup> and the other at the mines of Charcas.<sup>10</sup> They are unpopulated and there are more or less twenty-five to thirty leagues between them.<sup>11</sup> In each of these places there should be at least 100 Spaniards or more, and within their boundaries mines as well as villages and other currently small places should also be populated.

Moreover, in order to prevent communication and intercourse between the Indians of the interior so that they cannot join together in order to carry out their customary destruction, it would be most fitting that a cold shoulder be turned on them so that those who have caused the damages stay in the middle of the Span-

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8. The peaceful conversion of Indians to Christianity became crown policy with the Laws of Burgos, promulgated December 27, 1512.

9. The Río Verde is a tributary of the Río Pánuco and drains an area in what is today southern San Luis Potosí. The area was explored in 1592 by Miguel Caldera, and early in the seventeenth century a settlement and mission were established by the Franciscans at the present site of the city of Río Verde, San Luis Potosí. The region is better watered and more rugged than the plateaus to the west; Otomíes and Chichimecas remained unpopulated in the Río Verde area until well into the seventeenth century.

10. Located in western San Luis Potosí, Charcas was first occupied in 1573-74, but Guachichil hostilities caused its abandonment. It was resettled in 1582.

11. This estimate is about 30 percent too low. The actual straight-line distance between Río Verde and Charcas is 175 kilometers.

ish populations. In order to achieve this and discourage the Indians, it is necessary to create another town in the valley of Extremadura,<sup>12</sup> which is between the port of Pánuco<sup>13</sup> here in Nueva España and the mines of Mazapil<sup>14</sup> in Nueva Galicia. This settlement should have upwards of 150 Spaniards. Within its territory some of the discovered mining camps will be populated and other small settlements will be created which will be necessary for the maintenance of the new town. The creation of those three principal towns and the others within their territories will inevitably bring many peaceful Indians. Through them and with the Christian teaching and the help of God all the others will be attracted in a prudent manner. Or at least the majority of them will want to come after having seen their own state of turmoil in contrast with the peaceful situation demonstrated at the mines of Mazapil. In case this does not come about—which I doubt—after having summoned and notified the Indians, war will be even more justified in order to force those to come who do not want to.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, using the Indians that will come to peace, it will be easier and less costly to wage war against the enemy Indians inside of their own lands. As long as war is waged against them from some distance, those places already populated in these frontier areas will be safer. In this way, they can be secured and the land settled.

All agree that the creation of the above-mentioned towns is the most advantageous thing to do because all the land can be traveled and plowed going from one point to another and because of the trade that those towns will have with one another. In cultivating the land, its richness will be discovered. If this has not been done it has been because no one has dared to consider it or has had the boldness to do it. It is something that can be done and therefore doing it will not cause any harm or inconvenience.

In order to establish the proposed settlements most advantageously, it is necessary to have not only soldiers but men skilled in the land who can bring with them those things necessary to set up such settlements, as well as much livestock. It is most necessary to seek upwards of 500 to 600 Spaniards, who will be needed to begin the establishment of these towns as well as to till the soil and work the mines. This is for the service of Our Lord God and that of your majesty, and in order to attract such people it is fitting to set forth a plan. Moreover, all of

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12. The valley of Extremadura is the area of the present city of Monterrey, Nuevo León.

13. The Villa de San Esteban del Puerto (Pánuco) was founded on the south bank of the Río Pánuco in 1523 by Hernán Cortés.

14. The mines of Mazapil are today located in extreme northeastern Zacatecas. Silver was discovered there in 1568, and the mines included Concepción del Oro, Mazapil, Santa Rosa, and Aránzazu.

15. The concept of a "just war" against the Indians rested upon the *Requirimiento*, which was first used in the New World in 1514. This manifesto was to be read to any Indians before hostilities could be launched. In part it required that the Indians acknowledge the Christian church and its leader the pope as the ruler of the world and allow the faith to be preached to them. The price of refusal was justifiable warfare against them by the Spaniards in which the men could be killed, the women and children enslaved, and their properties confiscated or destroyed.

that being referred to will best achieve its purpose if your majesty provides for the following things.

The first and most necessary thing is for your majesty to assign a person to be in charge of this operation because, as it has happened until now, it is not prudent to have changes in the persons dealing with this. Up to this point it has been a cause without a leader since the viceroys who have been in charge of it have neither seen nor visited the land and they make all appointments according to their personal friendships. And since everyone informs them in his own way, the viceroys do not see what is happening or understand the situation for what it is. To the designated person your majesty could grant the title of *adelantado*, governor, and captain-general, or one which his services merit.<sup>16</sup>

Also they will make use of the new ordinances that your majesty issues to protect the discoveries, populations, and pacifications that are being made again in the places for which I have information. It was dated on July 13, 1573, in the forest at Segovia,<sup>17</sup> with your majesty amplifying what they contain in the following articles:

The article in which your majesty orders the settlers to pay no more than a tenth value of the metals and precious stones for a period of ten years is changed so that they pay no more than a twentieth part for a period of fifty years.<sup>18</sup>

Also, instead of your majesty suspending his *alcabala* for twenty years, it is to be suspended for fifty years.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, regarding those persons who are signed up to establish the settlements and to carry out what has been resolved, your majesty says that in order to

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16. New dominions for the crown were sought by *adelantados*, who were licensed by the king by proving sufficient financial backing to insure the probable success of the expedition. Backers were to be reimbursed by profits taken from the new domains. The *adelantado* had the right to exact labor from the Indians, to appoint municipal officers for the first year, to possess a tract of land in his own right, and to bestow lands upon his followers. He recruited soldiers and settlers by offering inducements from the conquest and exacted from them pledges of loyalty to himself, just as he pledged his to the king. Missionaries always accompanied such expeditions to insure the spiritual conquest of the natives, while royal officials kept account of all treasure confiscated, mines discovered, or other visible sources of wealth as assurance that the king receive his "royal fifth." He who received the license might be given the title "adelantado," "governor," "captain-general," or any combination of these.

17. Segovia, a day's journey north of Madrid and the Escorial, was a favorite city of Felipe II and he spent considerable time there.

18. The quinto (see Note 3) was established as the tax on minerals for a period of ten years by royal decree dated 1504 and remained the law until the eighteenth century. However, temporary reductions were made from time to time as an inducement for development in new districts or in those where the results were poor or operating costs high.

19. The *alcabala* was a sales tax which had a fixed rate of 2 percent until 1636, when it was doubled in New Spain. The rate varied throughout the colonial period, climbing as high as 14 to 15 percent at times. The *alcabala* was imposed at every transaction, i.e. producer, middleman, merchant, buyer. Certain goods were exempted from the tax, however: grains sold from public granaries, bread, books, paintings, arms, horses, etc.

honor them and their descendents he is making them *hijosdalgos*<sup>20</sup> in all parts of the Indies and that this is to be extended to all your majesty's kingdoms and dominions.

In addition to the above articles, since those who are involved in settling the area will not all be rich, it will be necessary for your majesty to help financially those poor people who will necessarily be involved. At least 40,000 pesos of gold from the mines would be needed for their immediate expenses and sustenance until they have gotten settled and have sown and harvested their own foodstuffs.<sup>21</sup> Given the knowledge of these lands, the only supplies on which they can rely are those that they carry with them.

Also, so that the settlements are quickly and more easily established and in order that the Spanish people have a greater desire to take part, it would behoove your majesty to extend the right to recruit from the Indian pueblos of Nueva España some 3,000 Indians with their women and children so that with the Spaniards they can populate the three principal settlements that are to be established.<sup>22</sup> These Indians will be a great help and very useful since they will present an opportunity to settle down to those Indians who once again come as friends. For the given situation, this action will be most advantageous.

Furthermore, your majesty must provide for the necessary religious personnel and from the beginning give orders so they will be supplied with all the necessary things.

Also, there are reports that forty or fifty days' journey from the valley of Extremadura toward the northeast there are many towns of people who are clothed and of good breeding and where it is suspected that there is wealth.<sup>23</sup> Such things as clean cotton blankets and idols and small eagles of silver and low-grade gold have been discovered among the items of barter in the possession of Indians from these interior lands. It will be necessary that your majesty give permission for the discovery and exploration of this land that is called New Mexico, as it will be an opportunity for many Spaniards to go there.<sup>24</sup>

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20. In Spain *hidalgos* were the lesser nobility who lived off small rents from modest rural domains and who sometimes worked with their hands (unthinkable to the higher nobility of *caballeros* and *grandees*). Such was the upward social and economic mobility in the New World, however, that numerous members of the working class ascended to the status of *hidalgos*. Promise of the title, herein indicated, was only one of the inducements sometimes held out to frontier settlers.

21. Inducements to settlers varied over time and geographic area. Livestock provisions for a year and seeds for planting to carry them over to the first harvest were commonplace.

22. The Spanish government made extensive use of hispanicized and christianized Indian allies in helping to tame frontier areas in return for certain considerations. The idea of employing Tlaxcalan settlers to set an example of sedentary, agricultural life was first proposed by the king in 1586, perhaps in response to this very letter.

23. The distance estimated is correct but the direction is northwest, not northeast.

24. Though it had been more than 30 years since the return of the Marcos de Niza/Coronado expeditions, the lure of New Mexico had not abated. Even though the tales of immense riches had been shown to be inaccurate, this fact was often ignored and many Spaniards continued to believe that the lands to the north contained treasure. Well-made

It will serve your majesty to provide for carrying out that which I have submitted to be done as concerns the granting of favors and liberties which will best persuade and encourage those persons involved. The land which is nearly in ruin will be improved and reorganized, and the Indian war will be completely stopped—the best remedy that can be obtained. None of our fighting men, who have experience in this land, understand it, and have information about it, will disagree with this opinion because I have consulted most of them about it.

On various occasions I have informed the viceroy of Nueva España about this matter, telling him how much it would behoove him to establish these settlements for the pacification of this land and how much it would benefit your royal treasury. Thus far, a favorable solution has not been achieved. For this reason, I am notifying your majesty that, although the viceroy of Nueva España does not seem to think it is a bad idea, being able to do it becomes difficult, especially in regard to relocating the friendly Indians, given the fact that your majesty has prohibited this.<sup>25</sup> Showing determination in this matter, the viceroy negotiated with the native leaders of Tlaxcala concerning how they might supply the Indians. I do not know the particulars, as they say.

Because the losses and gains in any undertaking are known and it is understood what should follow, I want to rise and respond to the difficulties with which I am dealing and then consider them for what they are. The difficulties are the above-mentioned conditions. The first is the reduction to one-twentieth that your majesty has made, and the second is that the alcabala should not be paid because the lands are neither pacified nor belong to anyone.<sup>26</sup> Your majesty will lose nothing; on the contrary you will gain from what is newly acquired.

Moreover, those who personally offer to risk their lives and haciendas in your majesty's service and carry out the said pacifications rightfully deserve that you grant them the honor of *hijosdalgos*.

It is evident that without relocating the friendly Indians the task of settling the land with Spaniards cannot be done, given the consequences. But it is something that can be done and even with their acquiescence. The lands can be populated and everything accomplished for the service of your majesty; the Indians will remain good vassals as they have been. For this reason the major difficulty is with the assistance that your majesty has to extend to those who are in need. As regards this, it should be considered that, if 40,000 or 50,000 *ducados* from your royal treasury are spent, those who go to establish those settlements and achieve pacification will spend more than 13,000 of their own without counting the hard

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articles of clothing and precious jewelry and religious items received in trade from the northern groups only served to confirm this idea.

25. The relocation of Indians into *congregaciones*, or civil settlements, frequently led Spaniards to confiscate productive lands and water "abandoned" by those Indians. Because of abuses, Felipe II outlawed *congregaciones* in 1560. An exception had to be made for the Tlaxcalans in this case.

26. New settlements were generally exempted from paying certain taxes for about twenty years. The sales tax was not imposed on Nueva España until 1558, but the ordinance appears to have been ignored until 1575. Obviously, the settlers in Nueva Galicia were opposing the imposition of the tax.

ship and danger to their personal lives and fortunes. Eventually, everything will come back to your majesty's treasury in profit or in service. It could also be that in a few years your majesty would have a very large income from that which is newly discovered. Likewise it should be noted that this action is essential and not voluntary since there is a need for a solution and an expenditure. At present a much larger sum of gold pesos is being spent and will continue being spent in this unproductive war. The carrying out of this order with God's help will be of significant consequence. Afterwards everything that happens is in His hands. I consider this to be such a good cause that I think it is impossible that in the end there will not be improvement—with divine help. Thus I am at peace with the problems I set forth.

In coming to the importance of this matter it is clearly understood that whoever prevents so many deaths will have done a great and distinguished service for our Lord God and your majesty and will be worthy of great reward. Moreover, the conquest of all of Nueva España was nothing in comparison to this task. Also, populating the land as mentioned will not only achieve the peace being sought but will also extend the boundaries of your majesty's dominions. And with the many mines, your royal treasury will be enlarged and your vassals will remain more peaceful, prosperous, and rich. Furthermore, I cannot foresee anything else but an increase in the communication and commerce with these newly discovered lands. Not even China, where your majesty has spent such a large sum of gold pesos, can compare to these lands which are so important to our royal service.<sup>27</sup> For [in China] enough people of quality can be found, but not for these new lands. Because I am telling the truth I could say much more, but time will reveal and be witness to everything I am saying.

Since this subject has been raised and without departing from the purpose, I will advise your majesty as to the state of need in which this land and its people exist. God has been served through our sins since the plague has taken away a large number of the natives. Since it has not ended, I cannot cite the number of those affected.<sup>28</sup> May our Lord God solve this problem as required and may He be pleased with my desire to see the Indians settled where I have mentioned rather than being buried there. If this plague were to please God, rather than having taken the friendly Indians, He would have taken the Chichimecas and eliminated them as He is doing with the others. Thus our plans would not be necessary since He who is the true planner does what is most needed.

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27. This is a reference to the Philippines and the so-called "China trade" between Manila and Acapulco. Ferdinand Magellan claimed the Philippine Islands for Spain in 1521. Additional voyages were made in 1542, but it was not until 1564 that Miguel López de Legazpi opened trade between Mexico and the Islands. Manila was founded in 1571, and trade with the Orient was further developed during the following three decades. Mexican bullion was shipped from Acapulco in the Manila Galleons, which then returned with textiles, spices, porcelains, and other luxury goods. These were then transported overland to Veracruz and shipped on to Spain.

28. The meaning here might seem ambiguous, but until the nineteenth century the natural causes of diseases such as smallpox were unknown and they were sometimes viewed as divine retribution for human frailties. One of the most devastating epidemics in central Mexico began in 1576. It continued unabated for several years and killed tens of thousands of Indians.

Although it is already known, I am notifying your majesty of this and beg your majesty to order that it be attentively considered since the entire government of Nueva España depends upon it. Although there are many advantages concerning this matter, the thing that most supports it, as well as all the trade with Spain, and which attracts people and gives value to everything, is the silver that is taken from the mines of that land. Nevertheless, the wealth of this land is already depleted and the mines which are at present profitable are becoming less so. They produce metals which have less than legal assay, and they, too, are going to be depleted as was the wealth of the Guadalajara mine.<sup>29</sup> Besides, to obtain a profit from silver is much more costly than before, and therefore the miners in general are very poor and in debt.<sup>30</sup> As silver profits diminish and cease, all commerce, which is the mainstay of this land, will necessarily follow suit. For overall growth, the silver production must be maintained and increased. The best way to accomplish this is by establishing those settlements since, given that particular land, silver production will be assured and should increase. I have no doubt that within twenty years of their establishment they will be the most prosperous of Nueva España. For these reasons—even if there were no Chichimeca Indians in the world nor had they done the damage they have—your majesty should order that those lands be populated since it would be in your best interests and those of our Lord God.

Also it is best that the said towns are now established so that Nueva España grows and has the strength to remain always peaceful in the service of your majesty. Moreover, to establish many Spanish cities and villas in the peaceful areas of Nueva España, it behooves your majesty to grant permission for unrestricted passage on all the fleets that are coming to this land—to bring, in the company of their wives and children, all types of married men who are either farmers or officials. Single persons should not be allowed; nor should it be done any other way, because married men will not disturb the peacefulness of this land.<sup>31</sup> Rather, they

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29. The primitive state of Spanish mining technology was a limiting factor in mineral extraction. Blasting powder was not used in New Spain until the eighteenth century, and miners were limited to exploiting the richer, shallow, soft oxidized ores lying above the water table which could be readily extracted with probes, crowbars, wedges, and sledge hammers. The "mine of Guadalajara" probably refers to silver mines in the Guadalajara district. These would include Etzatlán and Ocotitlán to the west of Guadalajara.

30. Miners in the sixteenth century habitually complained to authorities that mining was unprofitable, particularly because of the price of mercury, which was a crown monopoly, and the lack of free slave-labor. In spite of their complaint, there was little variation in silver production from 1559 until the late 1570s and early 1580s, and, indeed, there was a slight rise from 1565 to 1575. This increase was probably due to the discovery of new mines and the introduction of the patio amalgamation process. The decline in the decade following 1575 may be attributed to a labor shortage caused by the epidemic of 1576 and the Chichimeca War, which peaked during those years.

31. Marriageable Spanish women were always in short supply. For example, between 1520 and 1540, the number of Spanish women who immigrated was less than 6 percent of the total. Unlike the English colonies, single unaccompanied women were prohibited from coming to the New World. Only family members such as sisters, nieces, and other female members could accompany male immigrants. Unattached Spanish males, particularly fortune-seekers attracted to the mining areas, were always a problem for frontier authorities—hence the request for married colonists.



will cultivate it and populate it, helping in everything that is necessary. This is the goal which for many years I have already made known in reports during the inspection by your royal council which were ordered to be drawn up in Nueva Galicia. The usefulness and advantage to which I have referred consists in the fact that one Spanish vassal in this land produces, and is worth more to your majesty, than four in Castilla. For every worldly purpose it behooves the service of your majesty that Nueva España be much more populated with Spaniards, principally of the quality mentioned.

Returning to my judgment concerning war with these Indians, I must say that from my experience it would be a very difficult, costly, lengthy, and an almost impossible task to try to subdue this country and destroy these Indians. This is so because currently they move from one ranchería to another and do not make a stand; nor can they be easily followed because of the ruggedness of the land through which they flee. Thus it is more convenient to accede to the alternative, which is to populate their lands as I have suggested. Moreover, in order to best execute this expedition the majority of the people should be experienced and from this country. In order to achieve this it would be best that the person being entrusted was known and one with whom there was a continuing exchange of reports and who also had the necessary skills for such an undertaking. Since these requisites will be found here in this land before they will in Spain, your majesty will be best served by entrusting the matter to your viceroy so that he can commission the person best suited for the task. Such a person will be obliged to have the three principal settlements I mentioned founded, built, and populated within four years. They are to be cities, one the provincial capital and the other two auxiliaries. Upward of 500 Spaniards are to be divided among them. Your majesty will make these grants and liberties official and permanent for those to whom they have been extended.

I would like to make this enterprise better known to your majesty, but it has not been possible because seeing the things here with one's eyes and understanding the situation are not the same as giving an account by letter, which does not permit a full explanation. I am not sending a description of the land because no one has been found who can adequately describe it. I beg your majesty to forgive me this importunity. It is done with zeal and will lighten my conscience and that of your majesty. May our Lord favor your royal and Catholic person for many long and happy years with the acquisition of greater kingdoms and benefits in his holy service. From México. November 25, 1576. Royal Catholic Majesty. Your majesty's servant who kisses your royal feet, Doctor Juan [Bautista] de Orozco.<sup>32</sup>

*From the original in the Archivo General de Indias, México 69*

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32. Juan Bautista de Orozco was an oidor in the Audiencia of México as early as 1557. By 1567 he had been transferred to the Audiencia of Guadalajara, and in 1569 he held the position of *teniente de capitán general* for the Chichimeca War. He remained in that post until he was made *presidente* of the audiencia in 1575. In these letters, dated from México, he is identified as the *alcalde de crimen* (criminal prosecutor) of the Audiencia of México, indicating his recent return to that city. Dr. Orozco was a popular administrator and was credited with the capture and punishment of some eighty Chichimeca chiefs.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**D**os cartas de vuestra majestad de 20 de agosto del año pasado he recibido, la una en un navío que entró en el puerto de San Juan de Ulloa. A 14 de febrero de este presente año; y la otra en la flota que está al presente en el puerto general don Antonio Manrique. Y por la merced y favor que en ellas vuestra majestad me hace, de más de la obligación que tengo advertiré, con mayor cuidado de aquí adelante, las cosas que convinieren al servicio de vuestra majestad en estas partes para dar el aviso que convenga como vuestra majestad me lo manda, a quien humildemente su persona reciba mi voluntad y deseo que es y será siempre de acertar a servir a vuestra majestad como debo.

Guerra Chichimeca

Lo que de presente se ofrece es que, como a vuestra majestad es notorio, en esta Nueva España y Nueva Galicia se tiene guerra con los indios chichimecas, la cual viene de muy atrás porque puede haber treinta años poco más o menos se comenzó y no lleva término de se acabar [a lo que me parece], así por la dificultad de ella como por el modo que se ha tenido y tiene en ponerle remedio.

Dando Que Hacer

Cuan importante sea este negocio y los daños y muertes que se han hecho y hacen y cuantos inconvenientes se siguen y pueden seguir y cuanta necesidad tiene esta tierra que se remedie con brevedad, con ningún género de palabras lo puedo encarecer a vuestra majestad, más de que cuando todos los daños cesaran y no hubiera razón que a vuestra majestad moviera para tener estos sus vasallos debajo de la sombra de sus alas, manteniéndolos en paz y en justicia, quitando las fuerzas que estos salteadores hacen. Sólo por el interés que a vuestra majestad se sigue y puede seguir y lo que se pierde de sus reales quintos por no se poder andar los caminos libremente y beneficiar las minas, que las más están en tierra de guerra, conviene vuestra majestad mande poner en ello el remedio que convenga. Y por la experiencia que tengo de este negocio, habiendo servido a vuestra majestad en la pacificación de estos indios así en la Nueva Galicia como en la Nueva España, me pareció no cumplía ni hacía el deber si a vuestra majestad no daba razón de lo que en este caso entiendo. En el cual oso decir que en esta tierra no hay persona que como yo pueda dar mejor ni más verdadera relación.

Decir los principios de esta guerra y las ocasiones que para ella se han dado y la vida y ceremonias de los indios sería hacer una historia larga, pero por el traslado de una carta que desde la Nueva Galicia escribí al virrey don Martín Enríquez por el mes de julio del año de 1570 años, que con ésta envió podrá vuestra majestad mandar ver algunas causas y razones de ella, aunque la más principal es [a lo que entiendo] ser aquella gente muy inquieta de mala inclinación, amigos de guerra y que jamás en su infidelidad fueron sujetos.

Las partes y lugares donde estos salteadores hacen los daños son en los últimos pueblos de esta Nueva España y en haciendas, estancias de ganado y labores que confinan con sus términos y tierras y así mismo las minas y caminos que van a ellas porque son las últimas poblaciones de lo descubierto. Y no solamente hacen los daños en las partes que hay pero como se han hecho ladinos y expertos entran con guías que tienen muchas leguas en las tierras de paz y hacen daños en los caminos reales como en los pueblos de los naturales vasallos de vuestra majestad y se salen a su salvo, lo cual no se les puede estorbar por la aspereza de la tierra

sino con gran dificultad. Y de esta manera han andado victoriosos y despoblado muchos pueblos de indios y estancias de ganados y labranzas y minas, especialmente la Nueva Galicia. Y por esta razón las minas que ahora se benefician son con muy grandes gastos y costos.

Es la orden que se ha tenido en esta guerra a los principios de los daños: que las justicias ordinarias de las comarcas procedían contra los delincuentes y los castigaban y las audiencias y virreyes cometían el castigo a las personas que les parecía; y para ello han dado condutas de capitanes sin ningún salario. Así mismo en los caminos reales se han hecho algunas casas fuertes en las partes más necesarias para amparo y defensa de los pasajeros. Y se han poblado algunas villas de españoles y siempre los virreyes han proveído de más de esto por teniente de capitán general, una persona principal que asista en la guerra personalmente para proveer a las necesidades que se ofrecían. Pero los capitanes y soldados que en esta guerra han entendido, el premio y salario que han tenido han sido las presas que se han hecho en los Indios, vendiéndolos por esclavos por algún tiempo que se les ha permitido, precediendo los procesos y culpas por donde los condenaron. Más en este particular se ha hecho y hace grandísimo desorden porque demás de no ser bien guiada la guerra ni a los principios haber sacado la verdad en limpio, que entonces fuera el remedio más fácil siendo como ha sido el fin principal de los soldados, las presas se han hecho y hacen hasta el día de hoy grandes excesos. Y para ello han hecho entradas la tierra adentro ordinariamente en que suelen tardar un mes y dos y tres y cuatro meses y más tiempo trayéndose grandes presas y la mayor parte de ellas mujeres y niños [que por ventura pensaban por este modo acabarlos] por el cual se han prendido y vendido así los culpados como no culpados y hecho muchas muertes y crueldades sin poderlo saber todo los que gobiernan ni poderlos remediar. Y con estos malos tratamientos muchos de ellos que vinieran a ser amigos, se han hecho ya todos nuestros enemigos teniendo trato y conocimiento unos con otros en nuestro daño y así se ha enconado cada día más esta guerra haciéndose más dificultosa y costosa.

Y la orden que al presente se guarda es que, demás del teniente general que se provee como tengo referido, las condutas de capitanes que se daban sin salario se han hecho asalariadas, pagando así a los soldados como a los capitanes. Y las compañías son de a quince o veinte o treinta soldados más o menos, conforme a la necesidad o partes donde están. Y estas compañías son pocas las cuales asisten y corren las fronteras y lugares que les está señalado y donde más conviene.

Pues estando yo al principio de este presente año entendiendo en este negocio y viendo por vista de hechos estas tierras y sus fronteras, por comisión del virrey y audiencia de esta Nueva España, escribí al virrey una carta cuyo traslado va con esta por el cual vuestra majestad entenderá algunas cosas en general de esta guerra. Y pareciéndome que se ha seguido flojamente y que va muy a la larga y que de lo que se ha gastado y gasta se saca poco fruto y que conviene acabarlo pues por causa de ella la tierra va en disminución; y así mismo viendo que con la nueva orden que ahora se tienen en las compañías de soldados asalariados, no se consigue el efecto que se pretende. Y que hacer fronteras con estos indios es como poner puertas al campo por ser las tierras tan largas y de tantas entradas y salidas a su propósito que es imposible con las guarniciones de soldados que hay poderles guardar los pasos ni estorbarles que dejen de hacer mal. Y con el favor divino me parece que por la orden que dice se podría dar buen principio y fin a este negocio que sería el total remedio de esta Nueva España.

Para lo cual presupongo que estas tierras que habitan los indios de guerra las más de ellas están descubiertas y son sabidas, conocidas y andadas por españoles y se sabe que en ellas hay valles de muy buenos pastos para ganados con tierra y ríos de riego para labores y de muy saludables y buenos temples y de muchos montes y de donde se sabe que está la mayor riqueza de toda la Nueva España, por las muchas minas y vetas que están descubiertas que se podrían beneficiar y como es cosa notoria la plata se halla ordinariamente en los cerros y no en [lo de más].

Y las dichas tierras son de temples donde se pueden sembrar y coger todas las cosas de Castilla, las cuales si se pacificasen y poblasen se haría muy señalado servicio a vuestra majestad por la grande utilidad y provecho que de ello resultaría; demás que hay muchos indios a quien se podrá predicar el santo evangelio.

Y conviene, para que esta tierra se pacifique y los indios no vengan a hacernos guerra dentro a nuestras casas y tierras, antes se alejen de ellas, que vuestra majestad provea como se pueblen sus tierras de ellos pues como está referido son útiles. Y la población ha de ser adonde hay más necesidad porque haciéndose así, los indios tendrán harto que mirar y volver por sí, demás que será la cosa que más temor y desmayo les pueda dar.

Las partes y lugares donde hay mayor necesidad de poblar luego, donde hay más cómodas para poblar son dos poblaciones, la una donde dicen el Río Verde y la otra en las minas de las Charcas, que están despobladas que hay distancia de la una a la otra de veinticinco o treinta leguas poco más o menos, y en cada una de estas poblaciones ha de haber por lo menos de cien españoles para arriba y entre ellas por la misma frontera se han de poblar algunas minas que hay y otras villas y lugares pequeños por el presente.

Item conviene para evitar la comunicación y trato que estos indios tienen unos con otros la tierra adentro y que no puedan hacer juntas para venir a hacer daño como suelen, se les han de tornar las espaldas de manera que los que hacen los daños queden en medio de las poblaciones de los españoles. Para cuyo efecto y que de todo punto se les quite el ánimo es necesario hacer otra población en el valle que llaman de Extremadura, que es entre el puerto de Pánuco de esta Nueva España y las minas del Mazapil que son de la Nueva Galicia en la cual ha de haber por lo menos de ciento cincuenta españoles para arriba. Y en su comarca se poblarán algunas minas que hay descubiertas y se harán otras poblaciones pequeñas, las que fueren necesarias para el sustento de la dicha población. Y haciéndose las tres poblaciones principales dichas y las demás y sus comarcas, forzosamente han de venir muchos indios de paz y con ellos y con la doctrina, teniendo prudencia, se traerán todos con el ayuda de Dios de paz, o la mayor parte porque ellos la desean habiendo visto sus propios daños como la experiencia lo ha demostrado en las minas del Mazapil que están muchos de paz.

Y cuando esto no se consiguiese, lo cual tengo por cosa sin duda, siendo llamados y requeridos se habrá justificado más la guerra para que se les pueda hacer a los que no quisieren venir. Y con los mismos indios que vinieren de paz dentro de sus propias tierras se les hará guerra con mayor facilidad y a menor costa. Y mientras más lejos se les hiciere la guerra, más seguros quedarán los que ahora están poblados en estas fronteras y de esta manera se podrán asegurar y la tierra se poblará.

De hacer las poblaciones que están dichas, ninguna persona niega que este negocio no sea la cosa más provechosa que se puede hacer porque haciéndose se ha de caminar y arar toda la tierra andando de unas partes a otras y con el comercio

que las poblaciones han de tener unas con otras. Cultivando la tierra, se ha de descubrir la riqueza de ella, y sino se ha hecho ha sido porque ninguna persona ha osado pensarlo ni tenido atrevimiento para ello, siendo cosa que se puede hacer y haciéndose así no es cosa de que se puede seguir daño ni inconveniente ninguno.

Para hacer las poblaciones como está referido son necesarios, para que aproveche, no solamente soldados sino hombres prácticos en la tierra y que tengan mucha posibilidad para que puedan llevar las cosas necesarias para asentar semejantes poblaciones, y así mismo muchos ganados mayores y menores. Y para cultivar y sembrar las tierras y sembrar y beneficiar las minas, que hay muchos y buenos, que es lo más importante que se ha de pretender y por lo menos serán necesarios, de presente para comenzar ha hacer las dichas poblaciones, de quinientos a seiscientos españoles para arriba. Y para poder sacar la tal gente convendrá dar traza cual convenga, así para el servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor como para el de vuestra majestad; y tendrá buen efecto todo lo referido proveyendo vuestra majestad acerca de ello las cosas siguientes:

Lo primero y más necesario es porque no conviene haya mudanza en la persona que tratare este negocio, como hasta aquí ha habido, vuestra majestad provea una persona tal a quien lo encargue porque hasta aquí ha estado el negocio sin dueño por causa que los virreyes que lo han tenido a su cargo no han visto la tierra ni asistido en ella, y así lo que proveen es por relaciones. Y como cada uno les informa de su manera y ellos no ven lo que pasa ni entienden diferentemente este negocio de los que es. Y a la tal persona podrá vuestra majestad hacer merced de dar título de adelantado gobernador y capitán general o como sus servicios lo merecieren.

Item aprovecharán las nuevas ordenanzas que vuestra majestad manda: guardar los descubrimientos, poblaciones y pacificaciones que se hicieren de nuevo en estas partes de las cuales tengo noticia. Su fecha, el Bosque de Segovia a 13 de julio del año de 1573, ampliándolas vuestra majestad de más de lo en ellas contenido en los capítulos siguientes:

El capítulo que vuestra majestad manda que los pobladores no paguen más de la décima de los metales y piedras preciosas por tiempo de diez años, se amplíe que no paguen más del veinten, o por tiempo de cincuenta años.

Y también en el que vuestra majestad remite su alcabala por veinte años, se remita por cincuenta años.

Item a las personas que se registraren para hacer la población y amplíen lo capitulado, dice vuestra majestad que por honrar las personas de los que así obligaren y de sus descendientes vuestra majestad los hace hijosdalgos en todas las partes de las Indias, se amplíe que lo sean en todos los reinos y señoríos de vuestra majestad.

Item demás de los dichos capítulos por cuanto las personas que hubieren de hacer las dichas poblaciones no serán todos ricos y forzosamente irán muchos pobres, será necesario que vuestra majestad de su real hacienda los socorra. Que por lo menos serían menester cuarenta mil pesos del oro de minas de que tendrán necesidad para sus gastos y sustentación por una vez hasta que hayan hecho asiento y sembrado y cogido la comida, pues como está referido las tierras son conocidas y sabidas y donde no hay más bastimentos de los que se llevaren.

Item para que con mayor facilidad y brevedad se hagan las poblaciones y la gente española vaya con mejor voluntad conviene vuestra majestad mande dar licencia para que de los pueblos de indios de esta Nueva España se puedan sacar,

siendo de su voluntad, tres mil indios con sus mujeres e hijos para que pueblen con los españoles en las tres más principales poblaciones que se hicieren. Estos ayudarán mucho y serán ellos muy aprovechados y harán pie donde los indios que vinieren de nuevo a ser amigos hagan asiento y esto es una de las cosas que para este efecto más conviene proveer.

Item vuestra majestad provea así mismo de los religiosos que fueren necesarios y para los principios les mande proveer de las cosas necesarias.

Item porque se tiene noticia que a cuarenta o cincuenta jornadas a del valle de Extremadura, hacia el nordeste, hay muchas poblaciones de gente vestida y que tienen policía donde se sospecha que hay riqueza lo cual se ha visto por rescates que en poder de algunos indios de la tierra adentro se han hallado, así como mantas de algodón pulidas e ídolos y aguilillas de plata y de oro bajo. Será necesario vuestra majestad dé licencia para descubrir esta tierra que la llaman el Nuevo México porque será ocasión para que vayan muchos más españoles.

Siendo vuestra majestad servido de mandar proveer lo que tengo referido haciendo las mercedes y concediendo las libertades dichas, que es la cosa que más convidará y animará a las personas que lo hubieran de hacer, la tierra se remediará y reformará, que está muy perdida, y la guerra de los indios se acabará de todo punto para cuyo efecto será el mejor remedio que se puede tener. Y juntos todos los hombres de guerra, que son prácticos en esta tierra y la entienden y tienen noticia de ella, ninguno discrepará de este parecer porque los más he comunicado sobre ello.

Dando parte algunas veces de este negocio al virrey de esta Nueva España, diciéndole cuánto convenía hacer estas poblaciones para la pacificación de esta tierra y cuánto provecho redundaría a vuestra real hacienda, no me ha dado buena salida a ello; y por esta causa, doy de ello noticia a vuestra majestad aunque al virrey no le ha parecido mal, sólo pone dificultad el poderse hacer y especialmente en el sacar los indios amigos diciendo vuestra majestad lo tiene prohibido. Y mostrando voluntad al negocio, trató con los indios principales de Tlaxcala el medio que podrían tener para que ellos diesen los indios; y no se las causas como se dijo.

Y porque sabidos los daños y provechos en cualquier negocio se sabe y entiendo lo que se debe seguir, quiero dificultar esto que trato y responder a las dificultades y luego calificarlo en lo que es. Y pues las dificultades son las condiciones arriba dichas, la primera es la merced que vuestra majestad ha de hacer del veinteno y que no se pague el alcabala lo cual siendo en tierras que ni están poseídas ni pacíficas en hacerlo. Vuestra majestad no pierde nada, antes gana lo que nuevamente se adquiere.

Y cuanto a hacer vuestra majestad merced de hacer hijosdalgos a los que se ofrecen con sus personas a arriesgar sus vidas y haciendas en servicio de vuestra majestad y fueren hacer las dichas pacificaciones bien merecido lo tengan.

Pues sacar los indios amigos para poblar con los españoles, claro está que no se puede hacer sin ellos por muchos efectos, y siendo cosa que se puede hacer y saliendo con su voluntad. Las tierras que se han de poblar y todo lo que se hubiere de hacer, todo es para servicio de vuestra majestad, y los indios se quedan por vasallos como antes; de manera que la mayor dificultad es la ayuda de costa que vuestra majestad ha de dar para socorrer a los que tuvieren necesidad. A lo cual se debe considerar que, si de vuestra real hacienda se gastaren cuarenta o cincuenta mil (ducados), los que fueren a hacer la dicha población y pacificación gastarán de

lo suyo más de trece mil, sin el trabajo y riesgo así de sus personas como de sus honras a que se han de poner, y al cabo ha de redundar todo en utilidad de la real hacienda de vuestra majestad y en su servicio. Y podría ser que pocos años tuviese vuestra majestad muy gran renta de lo nuevamente descubierto. Y así mismo se debe considerar que este negocio es forzoso y no voluntario pues tienen necesidad de remedio y de gasto, y al presente se gasta y gastará muy mucha suma de pesos de oro en esta guerra sin hacer fruto y siguiéndose este orden que tengo referido será de tanto efecto con la ayuda de Dios, que después todos los sucesos son en su mano. Tengo por tan buen principio y medio éste que tengo por imposible que el fin no sea mejor con su divino favor y así tengo satisfecho a las dificultades que propuse.

Pues viniendo a la calidad del negocio, ello se deja entender, porque quien evitase tantas muertes y robos, grande y señalado servicio haría a Dios Nuestro Señor y a vuestra majestad y mucho premio merecería; y más, siendo tan dificultoso que conquistar toda la Nueva España en comparación de ello, no fue nada y poblándose la tierra en la forma referida no sólo se conseguirá la paz que se pretende, pero alargar se han los límites y términos de estos señoríos de vuestra majestad. Y con las muchas minas que hay vuestra real hacienda se aumentaría y vuestros vasallos quedarán más quietos, prósperos y ricos. Y con la comunicación y comercio que aquellas nuevas tierras estando descubiertas tengan se aumentarán éstas y no siento otra cosa. En estas partes tan importantes a nuestro real servicio ni la China, donde tanta suma de pesos del oro vuestra majestad ha gastado, no se puede comparar con esto, y se hallaría para el efecto harta más gente y de más pero el tiempo que lo descubrirá será testigo de todo.

Y porque se ofrece, sin salir del propósito, advertiré a vuestra majestad el estado en que está esta tierra la cual y la gente de ella está necesitada. [Y ha sido Dios servido por nuestros pecados que de peste ha llevado muy gran suma de los naturales,] y no refiero el número porque no ha cesado. Dios Nuestro Señor lo remedie como es menester y se sirva con todo que yo más quisiera verlos poblados donde tengo referido que no enterrados. Y si esta peste fuese Dios servido, que ya que lleva los amigos diese en los chichimecas y los acabase como va haciendo a los demás, no serían necesarias nuestras trazas, El que es verdadero trazador de la que convenga.

Advierto así mismo a vuestra majestad de una cosa, la cual aunque es notoria, suplico a vuestra majestad la mande atentamente considerar porque de ella depende todo el principal gobierno de esta Nueva España, y es que aunque en ella hay muchos aprovechamientos, la cosa que más la sustenta y todas las contrataciones con España y la que trae la gente y la que da el valor a todas las cosas es la plata que se saca de las minas que en ella hay. Pues la grosedad de esta tierra ya es pasada y las minas que al presente se benefician van en mucha disminución y los metales tienen menos ley y se van acabando y al fin se han de acabar como hizo la riqueza de la mina de Guadalajara; y el beneficio de la plata es muy más costoso que de antes por lo cual los mineros en general están muy pobres y adeudados. Y cesando y disminuyendo el beneficio de la plata, forzosamente han de cesar y disminuir se todas las contrataciones de manera que el sustento de esta tierra y que vaya todo en crecimiento consiste en sustentar y acrecentar la plata. Y el mejor medio para hacer esto es haciéndose las poblaciones dichas pues con aquella tierra se sustentará y aumentará ésta. Y no tengo duda que haciéndose las dichas poblaciones, antes de veinte años será en ellas la mayor grosedad de esta Nueva España;

por las cuales razones, aunque en el mundo no hubiera indios chichimecas ni hicieran los daños que han hecho, debe vuestra majestad mandar poblar las dichas tierras pues tanto convence al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de vuestra majestad.

Item conviene ahora se hagan las dichas poblaciones para que esta Nueva España se aumente y tenga fuerza para que siempre esté y permanezca pacífica en servicio de vuestra majestad. Hacer así mismo muchas poblaciones de ciudades y villas de españoles en lo que está pacífico de esta Nueva España para lo cual conviene vuestra majestad dé licencia para que puedan libremente pasar todas las flotas que a esta tierra vinieren, todo género de hombres como sean casados y traigan sus mujeres e hijos, los cuales han de ser labradores u oficiales, y no de otra gente soltera ni de otra manera porque los tales no inquietarán la tierra, antes la cultivarán y poblarán ayudando en todo lo que se ofreciere que será fin de fruto y efecto como muchos años ya lo tengo declarado en las informaciones que se mandaron hacer en la Nueva Galicia sobre la visita de su real consejo. Y consiste en esto la utilidad y provecho que tengo referido porque renta y vale más a vuestra majestad un vasallo español en esta tierra que en Castilla cuatro. Y para todos los efectos del mundo conviene el servicio de vuestra majestad que esta Nueva España esté muy más poblada de españoles, principalmente siendo la gente de la calidad referida.

Y volviendo a mi presupuesto de la guerra de estos indios, por la experiencia que tengo digo que pretender allanar la tierra o acabar estos indios por vía de guerra será cosa tan dificultosa y costosa y tan larga que casi la tengo por imposible, a lo menos lo es por el modo que ahora se sigue porque ellos andan en rancharías y no aguardan a pelear ni se pueden congruamente seguir por la aspereza de la tierra donde es su huída. Y así conviene acudir a la fuente que es poblar sus propias tierras como tengo dicho. Y para poder mejor hacerse esta jornada pues la mayor parte de la gente ha de ser práctica y de esta tierra, para poderla sacar convendría que la persona a quien se encomendase fuese conocida y con quien de buena voluntad fuese teniendo noticia de él y que tuviese posibilidad y las demás calidades que se requiere para semejante negocio. Y esto se hallará antes en esta tierra que en España, podría vuestra majestad siendo servido cometerlo al virrey de ella para que pueda hacer el asiento con la persona que conviniese. Y obligándose la tal persona a que dentro de cuatro años tendrá fundadas, edificadas y pobladas las tres principales poblaciones que tengo referidas que han de ser ciudades, la una provincial y las dos sufragáneas, y repartidos en ellas por lo menos de quinientos españoles para arriba. Hará vuestra majestad, a los que lo ampliárenlo así, asentado y capitulado las mercedes y libertades dichas.

Quisiera declarar a vuestra majestad mejor este negocio, pero no ha sido posible porque las cosas que acá por los ojos se ven y en el entendimiento se aperciben y la noticia que de ellos se tienen no se pueden bien explicar por cartas pues es necesario dar mayor razón, lo cual en carta no se sufre y no envío la descripción de la tierra porque no he hallado persona que la haga como conviene. Suplico a vuestra majestad me perdone esta (importunidad) que es con celo de descargar mi conciencia y la de vuestra majestad cuya católica real persona Nuestro Señor por largo y felices años prospere con aumento de mayores reinos y servicios en su santo servicio. De México, 25 de noviembre de 1576 años. Católica Real Majestad. Criado de vuestra majestad que sus reales pies besa. El doctor Juan de Orozco.



## Captain Urdiñola's Successful Settlement of the Guachichiles

*The following letters to Captain Francisco de Urdiñola in 1587 show that even then the basic thrusts of the Chichimeca Peace were having an effect and bearing fruit. Río de Loza's plea to Urdiñola that he join him at the peace encampment underscores the paternalistic role of the leading captains in guiding the peace process. Their fatherly presence was needed to reassure the Indians of the Spaniards' sincerity and their willingness to continue to supply the peace goods. It is obvious from Río de Loza's letter that the captains were very selective in choosing persons to haul these goods from the south. These must have been lucrative, albeit risky, concessions, to judge from the many applications. The captains were primarily concerned with the prospective haulers' reputations as freighters and as men of honesty and character. As documents to follow show, the commanders themselves were ultimately held accountable for lost goods and financial discrepancies.*

1587

**M**ost excellent sir:

Our Lord has given to your grace and to all in your service very good fortune at this Eastertide. On Holy Thursday<sup>1</sup> I received your grace's letter and with it another from Juan Morlete<sup>2</sup> giving news from Mazapil that pleased me greatly. I beg you to continue maintaining the peace so as to avoid such great harm as is done each day. I have written to the father custodian<sup>3</sup> asking him to send a religious there in order to settle those wretched people, and if it is necessary, I will go with him. I think he will agree to this because it is so fitting to the service of God our Lord and his majesty. If he does, I will leave at once; but if not, I will go there anyway to see those people and if needed I will supply them at his majesty's expense with corn and settle them in a place where they can be taught

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1. This day would have been March 26.

2. Morlete had a long career on the frontier endeavoring to pacify the northern tribes. As captain at Mazapil he figures prominently in later documents in this chapter.

3. The Franciscans had been assigned this territory.

our religion. At this time your grace should be there. This is more important now than at any time since I have been lieutenant captain-general because this is the beginning of the peace. The great expenditures of his majesty in this realm can now be ended. Thus your grace needs to come with the necessary encouragement. May your grace reply to me soon so that I may do what I owe to my office. Rivera, who is carrying this, came here this Easter to ask my permission, and I did not wish to give it to him until he brings me proof from your grace concerning his services to you or if he owes anything to his majesty or in the way of supplies. May your grace see to this because neither to him, nor to others who may come, will I give any permit unless they bring a certification, just as I have not cared to give permission to the others who have come to me—even though I conceal my real thoughts from them—and who tell me of their troubles which make it impossible to serve his majesty.

Maria de Aguilar<sup>4</sup> kisses your excellency's hands, and she and I kiss those of my ladies and of Alonzo López.<sup>5</sup> May our Lord protect the excellent person of your grace. In this estancia, April 1, 1587. Excellent sir, your servant, Rodrigo del Río de Loza, kisses your grace's hands.

.....

From a letter of Rodrigo del Río de Loza, lieutenant captain-general in this realm, it is seen how through your good efforts and care there have come in peace more than 300 hostile Indians: the Guachichiles, Cavanos, and some called Natajes<sup>6</sup> from the Rocamonte, Pedregoso, Potosí, and Mahuatena mountains.<sup>7</sup> They are in such a spirit that not only will they remain at peace but they also offer to call in and bring peace to those of Matehuala<sup>8</sup> and the others that would come in from another region. In bringing this about you have done a very great service to God and to the king, our lord. It has been a great satisfaction to me and has put me under obligation to assist in any matters that concern you. Even though I am writing to Rodrigo del Río [de Loza] so he might thank you on my behalf, I still wish to do this in a letter of my own and to beg and urge you to continue ahead with the

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4. Río de Loza's wife.

5. Captain Alonzo López was Urdiñola's father-in-law. He had previously been mayor of the Indian town of Xichú.

6. These groups inhabited what is today the western part of the state of San Luis Potosí. The Guachichiles were by far the best known and most extensive of the three, their range also including parts of Zacatecas and Coahuila. The name Guachichil meant "head colored red," from their practice of wearing red feather headdresses and using red body paint. The sixteenth-century Guachichil population numbered into the tens of thousands, and at one point Spanish soldiers reported 6,000 warriors in one valley alone. The Guachichiles were adept at making alliances with neighboring tribes, and this fact along with a reputation for ferocity and cannibalism made them a feared opponent. The Natajes mentioned here should not be confused with the later Nataje Apaches farther north.

7. The Mahuatena, Pedregoso, and Rocamonte mountains are in what is today extreme northeastern Zacatecas, 25 kilometers northeast of Concepción del Oro; the Potosí mountains are in western Nuevo León, 90 kilometers south of Monterrey.

8. The region and mountains of Matehuala today lie in northern San Luis Potosí.

same diligence as you have up to now. I will exercise the same diligence in all matters that concern you, and please advise me of anything that is going wrong. May our Lord keep you. México, July 29, 1587. The Marquis [de Villamanrique], Viceroy, to Captain Francisco de Urdiñola.<sup>9</sup>

*Original in the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 28*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

1587

**E**xcelentísimo señor: haya Nuestro Señor dado a vuestra merced y a todos esos señores muy buenas salidas de pascua en vuestro servicio. Jueves Santo recibí la de vuestra merced y con ella otra del señor Juan Morlete, las nuevas del Mazapil. Me han dado mucho contento. Plega a nuestro señor llevar adelante la paz para que se estorben tantos daños como cada día se hacían. Yo he escrito al padre custodio, sea servido de enviar allá un religioso para dar asiento a aquellos miserables; y que siendo necesario iré yo con él. Yo creo acudiré a casa que tanto conviene al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y a su majestad y así si le trae, me partiré luego a ello y si no le diere, también entiendo ir allá a ver aquella gente. Y siendo necesario, proveeré ellos, a costa de su majestad, de maíz, poblando ellos en parte que puedan ser doctrinados. Tiempo es este que conviene mucho allá la presencia de vuestra merced y en ninguno lo ha sido tanto cuando de que yo soy teniente de general y vuestra merced es capitán, porque en esta coyuntura está el principio de paz. Y de quitarle a su majestad parte de la mucha costa que tiene en este reino. Y así es necesario vuestra merced acuda a esto con el calor que es razón. Y así pues ha sido vuestra merced principio sea lo medio y fin que en ninguna cosa habrá por vuestra merced sido tanto servido su majestad. Y sobre esto me responda vuestra merced luego porque yo acuda a lo que debo a mi oficio.

Rivera, portador de ésta, vino aquí esta pascua a pedirme licencia. Yo nó se la he querido dar hasta que me traiga certificación de vuestra merced de lo que ha servido y si debe alguna cosa a su majestad o de bastimentos. Vuestra merced allá lo vea, porque yo a ese ni a los demás que vinieren no les daré licencia sin traer certificación como no la he querido dar a los demás que ante mí han venido aunque disimulo con ellos por las muchas lástimas que me cuentan y de sus malos están imposibilitados para poder servir a su majestad. María de Aguilar besa a vuestra merced las manos y ella y yo las de esas mis señoras y del señor Alonzo López. Nuestro señor la excelente persona de vuestra merced guarde ello. Esta estancia y de 1 abril de 1587, excelente señor. Besa las manos a vuestra merced su servidor Rodrigo del Río de Loza.

Por carta de Rodrigo del Río de Loza, teniente de capitán general en ese reino y entendido como mediante vuestra buena diligencia y cuidado, se han venido de paces mas de trescientos indios de los de guerra, guachichiles y cavanos y algunos

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9. From the context of these letters it appears that Urdiñola was for the time being in the area of Mazapil.

## Settlement of the Guachichiles

dichas natajes de los de la sierra de Rocamonte, Pedregoso y Potosí y Mahuatena. Y que están de manera que no solo se entiende permanecerán en la paz sino que se ofrecen a llamar y traer a ella a los de Matehuala y a los demás que quedaren—por venir en otra comarca. Habéis hecho en éste un muy grande servicio a Dios y al rey nuestro señor. Y a mí me habeis dado particular contento y puesto en obligación de acudir a todas las cosas que os tocaren. Y aunque yo escribo a Rodrigo del Río que de mi parte os agradezca este cuidado y trabajo, he querido yo hacerlo por carta mía para rogaros y encargaros lo llevéis adelante con el cuidado que hasta aquí. Que yo le tendré de todo lo que os tocare y siempre me daréis cuenta de lo que en ello fuere deshaciendo. Nuestro Señor os guarde. De México, 29 de julio de 1587. El Marqués [de Villamanrique], al capitán Francisco de Urdiñola.

## The Accounts of Captain Juan Morlete

By 1600 a broad area of the vast Chichimeca had been subdued. The labors of the various captains had triumphed, for the peace was holding firm and still gaining in adherents. Nonetheless, the crown was paying dearly to keep the frontier quiet. Salaries and the myriad provisions were costing the king as much as 50,000 pesos annually at the end of the century, and as always, his officials were under pressure to cut expenses. Therefore the viceroy, the Conde de Monterrey, decided to find out how all this money was being spent and to see if expenditures could be trimmed without endangering the peace. To accomplish this audit he sent north an eagle-eyed treasury inspector, the aptly named Diego Infante del Aguila. He was given the powers of a judge and instructed to inspect the records and papers of any and everyone who had the slightest connection to royal funds. This included the captain-protectors, freighters, warehousemen, and provisioners. To assist Infante del Aguila, and to conduct and guide him around the Chichimeca, went Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio, a veteran frontiersman and one of the first settlers at San Luis Potosí.

For the better part of three years (1601–1603) the king's inspector and his military aide crisscrossed the former lands of war. Their unannounced arrivals brought surprise and often dismay. Under threat of jail and severe fines, rough men of the north were ordered to produce records detailing transactions involving the peace goods. Many had no idea that such demands would ever be made of them, while others were predictably lax in collecting and preserving receipts. After all, they lived on the rawest of frontiers at the end of the sixteenth century, and the men being held to account were products of it. Their lives had little use for the rigid, uncompromising, and legalistic mentality that now confronted them. Many arrangements between captain-protectors and their suppliers had simply been verbal understandings; no records existed. Some produced books that were woefully incomplete or at odds with the official tallies from México that the inspector-judge carried with him. No detail eluded the scrutiny of Infante del Aguila, and many a frontiersman found himself hard-pressed to convince the king's stern, inflexible royal auditor.

Captain Juan Morlete had long been protector of the Guachichiles at Mazapil. He died in late 1596 so the inspectors had to content themselves with only his papers. This they did at the hacienda of Francisco de Urdiñola, in northern Zacatecas, where they remained for some time. Morlete's assistant and successor, Captain Gaspar Duarte, complied with their order to present himself there with the dead captain's records. Morlete's accounts were found to be in especially good order and spelled out in detail the amounts of peace goods he received and distributed and to whom and when. The visitors praised the late captain for his exemplary service to the crown and his role in helping to settle

*the Tlaxcalans at Saltillo. Much of the time he served without salary and spent monies of his own in the settlement of the Indians. They ruled he owed nothing.*

*Along with Morlete's accounts, Duarte also brought to the attention of the inspectors various documents certain to cast his late commander in the best light. These included his appointment as captain-protector and other letters from Viceroy Velasco and the Conde de Monterrey instructing and commending him in the pacification process. These documents point up the broad powers and authority given the captains and the special responsibility they had to mete out justice while protecting the natives from corrupting outside influences. In disputes involving only Indians, Velasco wisely forbade Morlete from taking sides or passing judgment. The lawsuit against Morlete, mentioned in other letters, testifies to the opposition of some colonists to mass giveaways to the Indians. This was apparently a minority view, one obviously not shared by Viceroy Velasco.*

*Probably the most prominent service performed by Morlete for the crown was his journey to New Mexico in 1590–91 to arrest Gaspar Castaño de Sosa. In the packet of papers he brought for inspection, Captain Duarte was careful to include letters from the viceroy and king outlining Morlete's leadership in this assignment. In direct disobedience of the viceroy's orders, Castaño de Sosa led a slaving and treasure-hunting group of colonists to northern New Mexico in the summer of 1590. Morlete informed the viceroy of their departure and received in return instructions to pursue and arrest Castaño and bring him back to México for trial. This he did, taking Castaño into custody in March 1591, at Santo Domingo, and delivering him in late summer to viceregal authorities. From the orders and commendations that Morlete received it is clear that the king and viceroy saw the Castaño entrada as illegal and his slaving activities a threat to the Chichimeca Peace. Contemporaries spoke of bad blood between Morlete and Castaño, and very possibly there was, but it was certainly made worse by the latter's slave-catching raids that the conscientious captain-protector knew were undermining his accomplishments. Although that view was upheld in México when the audiencia found Castaño guilty and condemned him to exile in the Filipinas, the Council of the Indies in distant Sevilla, apparently more grateful to Castaño for reasserting Spanish presence in New Mexico, later overturned the verdict. But by then Castaño had met his death in the Moluccas.*

Accounting of what Captain Juan Morlete<sup>1</sup> received and distributed to the Guachichil Indians<sup>2</sup> from 1590 to the end of 1598.

Account of Captain Juan Morlete

**R**eceipt and disbursement of cattle, corn, beans, salt, clothing, and other things received by Captain Morlete representing the king and distributed to the Guachichil Indians. He received the provisions from the official suppliers, Diego [Fernández] de Velasco<sup>3</sup> and Juan de Monroy,<sup>4</sup> and from other royal officers of México and Zacatecas, as indicated below in the accounts furnished by these suppliers for the years 1590 to 1598.

In order to fulfill their commission from the viceroy, the Conde de Monterrey, to visit the frontiers of the Guachichil and Chichimeca<sup>5</sup> Indians, now settled and at peace, and to close and inspect the accounts of the suppliers, captains, protectors,<sup>6</sup> and chiefs who have been in charge of distributing supplies to maintain the peace, the treasury inspector Diego Infante del Aguila<sup>7</sup> and Captain Juan de Ver-

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1. Morlete was born in Arcila, Morocco. Descended from a German grandfather, he arrived in New Spain in 1575 or 1576 and settled in Mazapil. By 1583 he was employed as a royal scribe in Saltillo and held the rank of captain and assistant to Francisco de Urdiñola. In 1590 he was sent by Viceroy Velasco in pursuit of Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, the lieutenant governor of Nuevo León who had undertaken an unauthorized entrada to New Mexico. Morlete was successful in this commission, and with the help of Guachichil auxiliaries, brought the governor back in irons. From Mazapil he remained "protector of the Guachichiles" until his death in late 1596. When the Tlaxcalan colony of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala was founded adjacent to Saltillo in 1591, he was appointed its protector as well. In 1593 he also held the position of *alcalde mayor* of Saltillo.

2. The Guachichiles inhabited a large territory east of the sierras stretching from Saltillo in Coahuila southward through Zacatecas and San Luís Potosí.

3. Diego Fernández de Velasco, a peninsular Spaniard, had served in Portugal and Flanders before coming to México. His first appointment in the New World was as commander of the fortress of San Juan de Ulloa. In 1587, his brother-in-law, Viceroy Manrique de Zúñiga (1585–1590) appointed him lieutenant captain-general for all of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, and Nueva Galicia with the purpose of consolidating the administration of frontier warfare and cooperating with the frontier captains in securing peace. He was paymaster and supplier for Zacatecas from 1592 to 1594. He served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1595 to 1598 and in 1616 became governor and captain-general of Panamá.

4. Juan de Monroy of Zacatecas held the positions of local paymaster of pacification funds and of *regidor* in the *cabildo*. He succeeded Velasco as supplier from 1594 to 1598. In 1608 he was identified as a captain and *regidor* of Zacatecas.

5. During the Chichimeca War this term was also used in a generic sense to indicate numerous fierce, nomadic tribes of Indians stretching from eastern Nayarit through San Luís Potosí and from northern Jalisco and Querétaro to Coahuila.

6. The title of "Protector of the Indians" was first conferred in 1516 upon the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas, who devoted his life to protecting the Indians of America. Protectors were supposed to be placed in sizeable Indian communities to protect them from exploitation by Spaniards or their own caciques and to settle minor Indian disputes.

7. Diego Infante del Aguila was a veteran treasury inspector, or *veedor*. The *veedor* was one of four royal officials originally assigned to each colony to look after the treasury's interest in mines and assay offices where the mining tax was collected.

gara Osorio<sup>8</sup> visited the mining properties of Captain Francisco Urdiñola<sup>9</sup> at Río Grande<sup>10</sup> on March 6, 1603, to inspect the accounts of one Captain Juan Morlete, now deceased. Captain Morlete had been in charge of settling and protecting the Guachichil Indians in the mines of Mazapil and Los Cedros,<sup>11</sup> but he died without having accounted for the cattle, corn, beans, salt, clothing, and other things entrusted to him for the sustenance, clothing, and livelihood of these Indians. Therefore, in the best interests of his majesty, these inspectors examined the account books of Diego de Velasco and Juan de Monroy as well as those of other royal treasury officials in México and Zacatecas to determine whether all the supplies consigned to Captain Morlete were distributed. To this end, they also summoned before them Captain Gaspar Duarte,<sup>12</sup> one of Captain Morlete's executors. Because of Captain Morlete's trust in him, Captain Duarte had served as the former's agent, distributing the said clothing, corn, cattle, and other items. The visitors ordered him to present all papers and accounts concerning the clothing, corn, cattle, and other things distributed by Captain Morlete and himself during the entire time that Captain Morlete was captain and protector of the Indians. In accordance, the said Duarte appeared and presented an account of what Captain Morlete received and disbursed through the end of 1596 when he died. The following is an itemized account of these consignments and disbursements.

*Consignments of corn*

First, he is accountable for 4,700 fanegas of corn which he received from the supplier Diego de Velasco and Juan de Monroy, according to the account books of the royal treasury office in Zacatecas. He received this amount in seven allotments for the sustenance of the Indians between October 11, 1590, and January 4, 1596, from different persons whom he paid with his majesty's silver at varying prices. All this appears in the statement of receipts taken from the said accounts and found at the beginning of this report.

8. Juan de Vergara Osorio was one of the earliest settlers and miners in San Luís Potosí and a veteran fighter in the Chichimeca War.

9. Francisco de Urdiñola, a Basque born in 1552 near San Sebastián, arrived in New Spain as a young man. From his beginnings as a common soldier in the mid-1570s he had worked his way up through the ranks to captain by 1582. He married Leonor López de Lois, the daughter of a wealthy miner, merchant, and Chichimeca fighter. His extensive experience in Nuevo León and Coahuila, including conducting the Tlaxcalans to Saltillo, made him a prime candidate to head the settlement of New Mexico. False charges that he murdered his wife lost him that position. But he was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1603 and was responsible for suppressing the Acaxee and Xixime rebellions. He died in Zacatecas in 1618.

10. Río Grande was on the Río Aguanaval in northern Zacatecas. In addition to his properties there, some of which Urdiñola had inherited from his father-in-law, he owned haciendas in Coahuila.

11. The silver mines of Mazapil, located in extreme northeastern Zacatecas, were discovered in 1568. A presidio was founded there in the 1580s. Los Cedros was a hacienda 20 kilometers west of Mazapil.

12. Gaspar Duarte acted as scribe for the act of foundation of the Tlaxcalan settlement at San Esteban. He aided Morlete in the Mazapil-Cedros-Concepción del Oro area from 1592 until the latter's death in 1596, when he took over the position of protector until a new appointment could be made.



*Disbursements of corn*

The 4,700 fanegas of corn received were distributed as follows: 4,432 fanegas in rations to the Indians, and the remaining 268 to the Franciscan missionaries and to the priest Diego Ramírez Zamorano.<sup>13</sup> His majesty orders 50 fanegas a year be given the latter as a stipend for his support in the teaching and conversion of the Indians. This appears in the statement of distribution given under oath and signed by Gaspar Duarte; no balance remains.

*Consignments of beans*

Captain Morlete received 172 fanegas of beans in three allotments of December 6, 1593, February 20, 1594, and February 15, 1595. These were bought from different persons at various prices with his majesty's silver, supplied by Diego de Velasco, Juan de Monroy, and other royal officials. All these transactions are detailed in the statement which appears at the beginning of this report.

*Disbursements of beans*

Of the 172 fanegas of beans consigned to Captain Morlete for distribution, 151 were given to the Guachichil Indians between March 3, 1593, and February 28, 1596, during a period in which they had no meat. The remaining 21 fanegas were turned over along with other items by Gaspar Duarte to his successor as protector, Martín de Lizalde,<sup>14</sup> on December 22, 1597. A signed receipt for this appears in the account closed by Gaspar Duarte.

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13. The earliest Franciscan activities in Coahuila are poorly known, and even contemporary sources contain errors. A *convento* was established in Saltillo in 1582 by Fray Lorenzo de Gavira but had to be abandoned because of Indian hostility. Gavira sought refuge at Topia until 1590, when he returned to reestablish his mission. Berlanga, in his *Monografía Histórica de la Ciudad de Saltillo*, mentions the arrival in 1575 of four friars from the convento of Guadalupe: Lorenzo de Gavira, Antonio Zaldueno, Gerónimo Anaya, and José de Jesús Urquio. This early date is questionable (Saltillo was not founded until two years later), but they may have arrived on the frontier with Gavira. These documents contain a letter from Velasco, dated July 4, 1590, in which he writes of his intention to provide eight missionaries for the area. It appears likely that half that number were the four above, who were most probably at Topia. From an entry below we learn that goods were given to Indians by Fray Antonio [Zaldueno] in 1590, and this entry notes the ration of corn given to the missionaries on October 11 of the same year. From other sources friars Lorenzo and Antonio are identified as the founders of the Saltillo convento and church of San Esteban in 1591 or 1592, which resulted from the removal of the convento at Cedros to the new site. In the latter year Antonio Zaldueno, Andrés de León, and Diego de Arcaya were missionizing eastward into the Valle de Santa Catarina de Extremadura, where Monterrey was to be founded four years later. The two priests who signed the act of establishment of the Tlaxcalan settlement of San Esteban de la Nueva Tlaxcala were Juan Terrones and Cristóbal Espinoza, bringing the missionary complement to the promised eight. There is a possibility that Gerónimo Anaya is a misreading of Diego Arcaya, or vice versa. In that case Diego Ramírez Zamorano may have been the eighth missionary involved in the original pacification although his name cannot be verified from other sources (see Note 31).

14. Martín de Lizalde served as protector until 1601.

## Accounts of Captain Juan Morlete

### *Consignments of cattle*

On August 3, 1595, he received 274 head of cattle from Diego de Mesa,<sup>15</sup> whom he paid with silver supplied by Juan de Monroy on that date, as appears in the itemized account.

### *Disbursements of cattle*

The 274 head of cattle received were distributed with other rations to the Indians between August 7, 1595, and November 7, 1596. As to the hides and suet, he states that the Indians took the little suet there was for eating along with the hides to use for sandals, for covering their rancherías, and for sleeping on. All this appears in the statement signed by Gaspar Duarte.

### *Consignments of beef*

He received 8,489 arrobas and 11 libras of beef according to the account books of the suppliers, Diego de Velasco and Juan de Monroy, and of other royal officials. Juan Aguado and Pedro del Valle were paid in silver to supply the meat as well as 152 calves to the Guachichil Indians of Mazapil from March 29, 1592, to July 30, 1595, as detailed in the accounts.

### *Disbursements of beef*

As seven statements signed by Morlete, and Manuel de Rivera, Francisco de Rivera, Gaspar Duarte, and Bartolomé Sánchez, scribes, attest, the 3,489 arrobas and 11 libras of beef plus 152 calves were distributed to the Indians in rations for their sustenance by Juan Aguado and Pedro del Valle between March 29, 1592, and July 30, 1595. All this appears in detail in the accompanying account.

### *Consignments of salt*

From the account books of Juan de Monroy, it appears that he [Morlete] received silver to buy fifty fanegas of salt from Juan Rodríguez de Bonilla, cart driver, in Mazapil on May 19, 1595.

### *Disbursements of salt*

The fifty fanegas of salt were distributed among the Indians for their sustenance between March 14, 1595, and April 12, 1596, as is detailed in the accompanying account given and signed by Gaspar Duarte.

### *Consignments of gunpowder*

He received seventeen libras of gunpowder from Captain Pedro de Murga<sup>16</sup> on January 21, 1596, as is certified in a receipt and also by the account book of the said Captain Pedro de Murga during the time he was captain and protector of the Guachichil and Tlaxcaltecan Indians on the Saltillo frontier.

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15. Diego de Mesa was a stockman and rancher who also had the contract to supply the Indians at Valparaiso, a mining camp in western Zacatecas, with meat and corn. He was the local captain in charge of Chichimec pacification from 1595 to 1602.

16. Pedro de Murga was captain and protector at Saltillo from 1592 to 1603. As a resident of Saltillo he signed the act of establishment of the Tlaxcalan settlement in 1590.

## The Chichimeca War and Peace

### *Disbursements of gunpowder*

Fifteen libras of the gunpowder were distributed by Captain Morlete and Gaspar Duarte on January 23, 1596, among the settlers of the mines of Mazapil for their protection. At the time it was feared that the Indians might rebel. A balance of two libras remained.

### *Consignments of clothing*

Captain Juan Morlete is accountable for clothing including woven native cloth, coarse woolen cloth, yellow-dyed blankets, blouses, skirts, mantles, jackets, hats, shirts, and other articles which appear in the account books of Diego de Velasco and Juan de Monroy. These items were also supplied by officials of the royal treasury in Zacatecas, Alonso Caballero<sup>17</sup> and Fernando de Velasco, and in México, Antonio de la Mota.<sup>18</sup> Five entries show that Captain Morlete received the following items between 1590, when he first began to give the Indians clothing, and September 16, 1595, when the last lot was sent to him from the stores under the charge of Juan de Monroy.

Native cloth	280 varas
Coarse woolen cloth	7,267 varas
Blue-dyed blouses	619
Woven skirts	272 pairs
Yellow-dyed blankets	1,064
Fine hats in color	12
Ordinary hats	296
Coarse linen jackets	27
Linen and cotton shirts	12
Leather-soled shoes	293 pairs
Mantles	26
Women's buskins	36 pairs
Fringed shawls	8
Silk	7 libras
Thread	9 libras
Needles	1,000
Knives	300
Trunks	11
Cords	120
Bundle of chile	5 arrobas
Tolcuestes	8
Copper pans	3
Wooden beams	300
Necklaces	200

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17. In 1576 Alonso Caballero was arrested and investigated for illegal speculation with *cruzada* funds.

18. Antonio de la Mota is elsewhere noted as the royal *factor* in México when Miguel Caldera led 42 Guachichiles to the capital to confirm peace negotiations with Viceroy Velasco in 1591.

Accounts of Captain Juan Morlete

All the above items he received to distribute among the Indians for their wear and use during the time period stipulated above.

*Disbursements of clothing and other items*

The cloth, blouses, skirts, hats, shirts, jackets, mantles, blankets, and other items listed below were distributed and divided among the Guachichil Indians and their wives and children from August 28, 1590, until March 16, 1595. The disbursements, recorded and signed by Gaspar Duarte in name of Captain Morlete, are as follows:

Native cloth	276 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> varas	
Coarse woolen cloth	7,045 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> varas	
Blouses	580	
Skirts	276	pairs
Yellow-dyed blankets	1,072	
Fine hats	12	
Ordinary hats	327	
Coarse linen jackets	25	
Cotton and linen shirts	21	
Leather-soled shoes	309	pairs
Mantles	24	
Woolen stockings	2	pairs
Women's buskins and boots	39	pairs
Fringed shawls	8	
Silk	7	libras
Thread	9	libras
Needles	1,000	
Knives	270	
Trunks	11	
Cords	111	
Bundle of chile	5	arrobas
Copper pans	3	
Glass necklaces	194	
Pine beams	300	(189 were distributed to the Indians from the royal stores, and the remaining 111 were turned over to Martín de Lizalde, his successor, on December 22, 1597.)

All these things were delivered to the Indians and their families during the period of time stated. The beams were intended for the roofs of the houses he had ordered them to build and came from the royal stores. The items not distributed and remaining as the balance of the account are: 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> varas of native cloth at 17 tomines per vara for 6 pesos, 7 tomines, and 3 granos; 229<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> varas of coarse woolen cloth at

3 tomines per vara for 83 pesos, 6 granos; 39 blue-dyed blouses at 10 tomines each for 48 pesos, 6 tomines; 2 linen jackets at 3 pesos apiece for 6 pesos; 2 mantles of 1 peso each for 2 pesos; and 30 knives at 2 tomines each for 6 pesos and 4 tomines. There are also 6 glass-bead necklaces at 1 tomín each, 2 libras of gunpowder at 2 ½ pesos per libra, 11 cords at ½ tomín each, and 8 tolcuestes of 1 tomín each. All of this at the prices stated amounts to 160 pesos, 7 tomines, and 9 granos of silver and common gold. All of this appears on 3 sheets, and the balance seems to agree with the credits and debits listed above. Gaspar Duarte, upon examining this statement, declared it to be true and said he was prepared to pay the balance even though he possesses none of Captain Juan Morlete's properties. This statement was signed at Río Grande in the haciendas of Captain Francisco de Urdiñola on March 9, 1603, by Diego Infante del Aguila, Juan de Vergara Osorio, and Gaspar Duarte, before me, Lázaro de Vergara, appointed scribe.

Consignment and disbursement of clothing received by Captain Juan Morlete from Vicente de Saldívar,<sup>19</sup> lieutenant captain-general, and from others, for distribution among the Indians.

Captain Juan Morlete received the following clothing and other items from Vicente de Saldívar on January 30, 1595:

Coarse woolen cloth	484	varas
Woven skirts	8 ½	pairs
Yellow-dyed blankets	61	
Ordinary hats	22	
Campeche shirts	2	
Leather-soled shoes	55	pairs
Trunks	1	
Cords	12	

This entry is listed separately because even though it was part of Lieutenant Captain Vicente de Saldívar's charge, it was actually consigned to Captain Morlete for distribution. An official visitation report confirms that as soon as he received the clothing, he delivered and distributed it, and the Indians themselves declared this was so in the presence of the visitors, Diego Infante de Aguila and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio. The debit and credit are entered simultaneously.

In the Río Grande haciendas of Captain Francisco de Urdiñola, this statement was made to the visiting judges in my presence as appointed scribe on March 5, 1603.

I, Gaspar Duarte, as a resident of Mazapil and as past executor for the deceased Captain Juan Morlete, declare that I have received orders twice concerning the accounts of the said captain during the time he was in charge of the storehouse of

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19. Vicente de Saldívar was a member of one of the greatest mining families in Nueva Galicia. He first served as a frontier general in the early 1570s. He was again called to active duty in 1592, at the age of about 72, to help Miguel Caldera with the pacification of the Chichimecs. He was officially recommissioned lieutenant captain-general by the viceroy in 1594 and was still serving in that capacity two years later. He reportedly spent 100,000 pesos of his own money during the war.

Mazapil. He died some time ago away from home in the Villa de Santiago del Saltillo.<sup>20</sup> Among the papers he left behind are these which I now present to your graces, including the order of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco which commands Juan Morlete to dispense the clothing, corn, and other supplies to the Indians single-handedly, without the intervention of any other person. This is because of the confidence which the viceroy has in him and because he served his majesty in the office of captain with great fidelity, keeping the Indians in peace, protecting and defending them. And he did all this without any payment whatsoever and to the satisfaction of the viceroys, the Marqués de Villamanrique, Luis de Velasco, and the Conde de Monterrey.<sup>21</sup> This is confirmed by their letters, which I also present, demonstrating how he served at his own expense, without any salary, in the pacification of the Guachichil Indian kingdom in the Pedregosa region and other locations.<sup>22</sup> He also served Viceroy Luis de Velasco in New Mexico, where he expended a large sum of gold pesos.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in addition to the clothing and supplies which he distributed to the Guachichil Indians under his charge at Mazapil, he also spent a considerable amount of his own money to give them gifts, clothing, bread, and various other items intended to keep them at peace and from harming the Spaniards. He did this throughout his life as is proven by the love that all the Indians had for him and also by the letters and orders which I here present to your graces. I ask and beseech that you examine these papers and accounts and free Juan Morlete from any balance which remains. All that I have stated is confirmed by the documentation from the mines of Mazapil which I have presented. I ask for justice. Gaspar Duarte.

The above statement was examined by the judges, who said that he should present all the papers and accounts in his possession concerning the distribution of cattle, corn, clothing, and other items. He is the person who audited and closed the accounts of Captain Morlete whom he assisted and served as executor. He was usually close to the person of the captain, who placed all his trust in him, leaving him in his place during such absences as his expedition to New Mexico. The judges pledged to do justice in this case and to pronounce sentence in accordance with proofs offered. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. In my presence, Lázaro de Vergara, appointed scribe.

Rodrigo del Río de Loza, lieutenant captain-general in this new realm of Galicia, for the king, our lord, etc.<sup>24</sup>

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20. Saltillo was founded in 1577 by Alberto del Canto. The first grants of land and water were officially ratified by the governor in 1580.

21. The tenures of these viceroys spanned the years from 1585 to 1603.

22. The Pedregosa Mountains are 25 kilometers northeast of Concepción del Oro, Zacatecas.

23. This statement refers to his commission to find and arrest Gaspar Castaño de Sosa (see Notes 1, 35, 36, and 41).

24. Rodrigo del Río de Loza, Knight of the Order of Santiago, was an experienced frontiersman widely recognized as an able and just administrator. He served as a captain under Francisco de Ibarra in 1554, when settlements were made at the mines of Indé and Santa Bárbara. As captain he accompanied Tristan de Luna y Arellano on an unsuccessful colo-

Even though there are captains already appointed to serve the king in warfare against hostile Indians in this kingdom, nonetheless, for several reasons, I have decided to name another captain to attend to individual matters which will be specified by me in order to insure the welfare, tranquility, peace and quiet of this kingdom. It is true that Captain Francisco de Urdiñola, as captain of this kingdom, appointed by me in his majesty's name, has attended to the region of Mazapil with great devotion and care and to my satisfaction. Therefore I do not revoke the authority I have given him; rather I sanction it, ratify it, and give it greater force. However, I do believe it expedient to appoint another captain to help assure the peace and tranquility of the kingdom, and the person I find well-suited for this position is Juan Morlete, a resident of the mines of Mazapil. An honorable person of decent character, he has served his majesty well on all the occasions to which he was called. This pertains not only to his service as *alcalde mayor* in the mines of Mazapil, but also to his role in fighting Indians over a number of years, at the expense of his own horses and weapons. He, along with Captain Francisco de Urdiñola, has unfailingly labored to pacify the Indians of the Mazapil region, incurring great expense to his own possessions and serving our Lord God. He has thus diminished royal expenditures while creating advantageous conditions for the increase of mining revenues. I have great trust in Juan Morlete and know that he will serve his majesty punctually, diligently, and attentively.

In partial remuneration for service to his majesty and his excellency, and for the period of time dictated by the royal will and mine, I name you, Juan Morlete, as captain in his majesty's service, to attend to all matters and situations ordered by me wherever required. Furthermore, I order that all the soldiers of this kingdom and especially those whom I will assign to you in his majesty's service, as well as all inhabitants of this kingdom (not only those who reside in the area of Mazapil, but also any place else in the kingdom) respect and obey you. In whatever I order you, they must obey you, carry out your commands, and respond to your musters, under pain of whatever penalties you set. The said penalties will also be enforced by me against whosoever disobeys you. You may carry out all sentences against persons or their properties in those cases which involve death, bloodshed, or mutilation of a limb. In these cases after investigations are completed and the guilty parties incarcerated, you will send them before me for execution of the punishment I deem appropriate. This appointment entitles you to all

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nizing expedition to Florida in 1559. In the 1560s he was again on the Chichimec frontier and in 1568 was commander of the garrison stationed at Fresnillo. Appointed lieutenant captain-general of Nueva Galicia in 1581, he helped influence the viceroy to adopt the policy of peaceful pacification. At the request of the viceroy he offered advice on the number of men and supplies needed for an expedition to New Mexico to determine the fate of the three Franciscans left there by the Rodríguez-Chamuscado entrada of 1581. The rescue party set out the following year under Antonio Espejo. Pleading ill health in 1586, he petitioned the viceroy to accept his resignation and was replaced the following year by Diego de Velasco. He was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1589 to 1595, during which time he oversaw the establishment of the Tlaxcalan settlements as part of the Chichimec pacification program.

the honors, privileges, and immunities conferred by military law on captains in the royal service.<sup>25</sup>

Since, as you know, all the soldiers of this kingdom are at present distributed among its presidios and there are no field soldiers available, you will not be assigned any for now. This means that until the day soldiers are turned over to you, you will not draw pay from his majesty. At that time I will determine the salary you will receive from the royal treasury, and it will be the same as that of other captains of the realm;<sup>26</sup> I will also give you specific orders. By virtue of my appointment as lieutenant captain-general by the king and the Marqués de Villamanrique, his representative, governor, and captain-general in New Spain, I have jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases concerning captains, chiefs, and soldiers of this realm, without interference from royal civil officials. By these letters, I confer to you, Captain Juan Morlete, in my absence, this authority in military and civil cases against soldiers under your command. You are to pass sentences summarily as is customary in wartime except in the three cases cited above which involve pain of death, bloodshed, or mutilation. If some dispute should arise between the soldiers and other persons which you are not authorized to settle, you will investigate the case along with the royal judge closest to the place of origin of the dispute. So that you may discharge these duties, I give you the power required by law and order that you and the soldiers under your command respect the royal judges, as we are all obligated to do, under pain of severe punishment by me. In everything, you will execute your duties as a good captain and loyal vassal of his majesty as you are obligated to do in the service of God and king, upon pain of death.

As you know, Captain Francisco de Urdiñola has long served his majesty in the mines and territories of Mazapil, protecting both the settlers who work in the mines and those who travel the roads. In order to keep the peace among the Indians that you and he subdued and settled in the mines, there are presently only eight soldiers garrisoned there. Moreover, Captain Francisco de Urdiñola is often forced to be absent from the mines on other matters of his majesty's service. During his absences, it is fitting that there be a person to captain and govern the soldiers of Mazapil. In consideration of this fact, by the present letters, I commission

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25. Officers had widespread civil and military jurisdiction on the frontier. Both civil and criminal cases involving professional soldiers, militiamen, and their families were adjudicated by the captains, with appeal possible to the supreme military authority of the province. There was a gray area, however, in which cases of first instance involving the interest of the crown and its officials might be tried by an *audiencia*. Furthermore, captains were required to conduct the trials of captured hostile Indians complete with legal defense, interpreters, and scribes.

26. Before 1582 a captain generally received 500 gold pesos per year. In that year the salary was increased to 600 pesos. In actual fact, salaries could vary from as little as 550 to as much as 800 pesos. Common soldiers at the time received a maximum salary of 350 pesos, many receiving smaller sums. Officers and soldiers alike had to pay for their mounts and equipment from these limited funds when, according to experienced frontier soldiers, 1,000 pesos were barely adequate for their maintenance. As a result, soldiers incurred debts which went unpaid and frequently resorted to the illegal sale of Indian captives.



you, as a captain in his majesty's service, to command the troops during Captain Francisco de Urdiñola's absences just as he does when he is present. To this effect, I order the said captain to leave you a copy of my instructions to him whenever he is absent so that you will understand and comply with them under pain of the punishment accorded to a captain who disobeys his superior. At the same time, I order all the soldiers of the presidio of Mazapil to take orders from you during the absences of Captain Francisco de Urdiñola upon pain of death.

I charge you earnestly to take special care to insure the peace that has been made with the Indians who now are settled in that region and also with any others who should come there. You will not permit the Spanish settlers or any other persons to harm the Indians in any way or to take advantage of them against their will because the peace and tranquility of this region are paramount to serving his majesty's interests. Zacatecas, September 19, 1588. Diego de Lozado, scribe of his majesty, by order of the lieutenant-general, Antonio López de Cepeda.<sup>27</sup>

Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy. On April 23, I commissioned Captain Juan Morlete to administer, protect, and defend the Chanala and Zacateco<sup>28</sup> Indians of La Concepción,<sup>29</sup> congregated in his Mazapil haciendas. In order to keep them from rising up in rebellion, he must defend them and protect them from any ill treatment, provide Christian doctrine to converts, and civilize them. All of these instructions are treated at length in the aforesaid commission.

It has now come to my attention that among the Indians congregated in Juan Morlete's haciendas are certain persons of bad character—Spaniards, mestizos, blacks, and mulattos—who set a bad example for the Indians, mistreating and molesting them and thus encouraging them to rebel. In order to put an end to this and to punish these excesses, I hereby authorize Captain Juan Morlete to proceed against the Spaniards, mestizos, blacks, and mulattos who have meddled in the Indians' affairs, and to pursue them wherever they may go, even into other jurisdictions. He may punish them according to the nature of their crimes without the intervention of other judicial officials; in fact, the latter are to aid him in whatever he asks and with whatever is necessary. In order that he may execute this charge, I confer upon him all the power required by law. In all other matters, he should adhere to the substance of the first commission, which specifically enjoins him from hearing cases in which both parties are Indians. In such cases, the investigation and sentencing must be left to the Indian authority among them.<sup>30</sup> México, May 15, 1592. Don Luis de Velasco. By his order, Pedro de Campos.

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27. Antonio López de Cepeda was appointed chief provisioner of Zacatecas by Viceroy Velasco and served in that capacity from 1590 to 1592.

28. The Chanalas had been brought from the area around Colima. The Zacatecos were native to western Zacatecas.

29. Concepción del Oro was a settlement of pacified Indians founded by Francisco Urdiñola in 1588 and 1589.

30. See Note 6.



*Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain,  
1590–1595 and 1607–1611*

Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy. Inasmuch as I have been informed that the Indians of New Galicia who had risen up and rebelled against his majesty have now come in peace and offered to settle in the places assigned to them, I have resolved to accept them in peace and to provide them with clothing and corn for their sustenance until they are able to cultivate fields and harvest them. I have ordered that four persons be named to receive and distribute these items to the Indians. This will be done in the presence of the missionaries<sup>31</sup> who give them doctrinal instruction.

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31. Franciscans were the first priests in Nueva Vizcaya, having accompanied exploratory expeditions from the time of Nuño de Guzmán in the late 1520s. Earliest missionary efforts were inaugurated by Juan de Topia and Bernardo Cossín, who worked among the Tepehuans and Zacatecas in 1556 and 1557. The first two conventos, Nombre de Dios (ca. 1562) and Durango (1557 and again in 1560 or 1561), were founded under the Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán y Jalisco. When San Juan del Río or Peñón Blanco (1573 or 1574), Santa Bárbara (1570?), Topia (1570?) and Zacatecas (1567) were added to the growing chain, the Custodia de Zacatecas was established in 1574. These conventos were followed by San Sebastián del Agua del Venado (1574), San Mateo de Sombrerete (1576), Charcas (1582), Saltillo (1582), San Andrés de Chalchihuites (1582), San Juan del Mezquital (1584), and San Francisco del Mesquital (1588). Apparently there was another convento at Cedros which had been established by the end of 1590. The latter was moved to Saltillo in 1591, and the friars from Topia abandoned their convento to return to the newly established center to the north (see Note 13). By April 10, 1603, when Rome elevated the custodia to the Provincia Franciscana de Zacatecas, five additional conventos had been founded: San Luis Colotlán (1591–92), San Miguel Mezquitic (1591), San Luis Potosí (1592), and Purísima Concepción de Cuencamé (1593).

One warehouse will be in Las Charcas, and the others in the mines of Mazapil, the mines of Chalchihuites, and Colotlán.<sup>32</sup>

Because I trust Captain Juan Morlete, who has long served in the Indian wars, I appoint him, in the name of his majesty, to reside in the mines of Mazapil and to receive in friendship all Indians who come there in peace. He shall protect and defend them against all those who would harm them. He shall have sole jurisdiction over them, and no justice or any other person shall interfere. Because I have such great trust in him, he may distribute the corn and clothing sent to him by the officials designated in this kingdom without the vigilance of a priest or other person. He shall also have charge of the fields to be cultivated in support of the Indians. He should choose the most favorable location for these plots and then see that the Indians gather the corn from them. He shall also keep an accounting of the cattle slaughtered, noting their brands and markings, so that their owners may be paid. He should keep a list of all Indian captains who come in peace to settle as well as their bands of followers and not allow any harm to come to them.

In order to carry out all of this charge, I confer upon him the powers and faculties required by law and order that he be given all the assistance needed. His labors will be rewarded in a suitable manner. México, March 30, 1590. Don Luis de Velasco. By his order, Juan de Cueva.

It was very good news to learn from Rodrigo de Río de Loza that so many Indians from the sierras of Rocamonte, Pedregosa, and Potosí and from other nations had made overtures of peace.<sup>33</sup> He wrote to me that this was due to the assistance Captain Francisco de Urdiñola received from you and Pedro de Landeras;<sup>34</sup> God and the king are well served and I am in your debt. I beg you to continue in this concern, and I shall do all I can to assist you. May our Lord keep you. México, July 29, 1587, the Marqués de Villamanrique<sup>35</sup> to Juan Morlete. Viceroy.

I have received two letters from you since the arrival of Domingo Martínez de Cearreta, one dated August 27 and the other September 3, in which you inform me of the state of affairs of that land. I reply to both in this.

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32. Charcas is located due north of the city of San Luis Potosí in the state of the same name. Chalchihuites is near the central western boundary of Zacatecas. Colotlán is in the extreme northern corner of Jalisco, west of Aguascalientes.

33. These mountains are northeast of Concepción de Oro.

34. Pedro de Landeras served with Urdiñola and Morlete in the Mazapil area. In 1592 he testified to the efforts of Urdiñola at restoring peace to the region.

35. Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga, viceroy from 1585 to 1590, engaged in a bitter jurisdictional dispute with the Audiencia of Guadalajara concerning the conduct of the war. When in 1585 the Guaynamota Indians of Nayarit killed their two Franciscan missionaries and began a regional uprising, the judges of the Audiencia of Guadalajara exceeded their authority, according to the viceroy, by dispatching two captains with their troops in addition to the expedition sent out by the supreme military commander of Nueva Galicia, Rodrigo del Río de Loza. The viceroy was further angered over the mass enslavement of Guaynamota captives. He was responsible for changing military policy to prohibit the enslaving of war captives, which had only led to increased Chichimeca fury.

I am very pleased with your punctuality in keeping me informed and hope you will continue in this practice, sir, so that I may concur with whatever remedy matters demand. Concerning the chapels you say are necessary after having discussed it with the missionaries who would be in charge of these *visitas*, I think you should go ahead and make arrangements for them because it will facilitate the distribution of clothing which you have so satisfactorily used to regulate the Indians. I only wish that others with this responsibility would proceed in the same manner as you have in putting royal funds to such good advantage.

For the same effect, I beg you, sir, to sell the clothing you have left over and use the proceeds to buy blankets and cloth to be distributed according to the method you have already begun. If lack of time had not prevented it, I would have come to your aid with more clothing. In regard to the corn, get it wherever you can in the quantities necessary and at the price asked, but use moderation in this. As to the meat, you shall take whatever is needed from the person responsible for supplying that town. Receipts for the total amount owed should be sent to the royal treasury officials in Zacatecas with all brevity and punctuality so that they may pay the suppliers.

Gaspar Castaño [de Sosa] and his cohorts have been ill-advised in exceeding my orders, which you relayed to them.<sup>36</sup> I greatly resent their lawlessness and their having caused the Indians of this realm to become restless and rebel as you say they have. Above all, I regret that they have taken so many prisoners unjustly and contrary to the service of God and his majesty. The worst is that in addition to the pernicious events and deaths of which you inform me, more of the same can be expected of him and his companions. Their capture of free Indians to use in paying off their debts to the merchants will only result in great harm to us. Nor is it of less importance how this may affect the peace that has been established among the Indians who are already being reduced. Considering the seriousness of their excesses and crimes and because you have proven by the information you sent me that they are rebellious and disobedient, I have decided that an appropriate remedy must be applied in order to put a stop to the injuries these parties are causing. You and Domingo Martínez have assured this in charging me to remedy the situation, and so it shall be done by your hand, in which I have such confidence. I know that, in carrying out this charge, you will proceed with all prudence and propriety in order to achieve the desired results in the most peaceful manner possible, without causing serious damage. Even though the rebelliousness and

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36. Portuguese-born Gaspar Castaño de Sosa was a founder of Saltillo. In 1583 he was appointed alcalde mayor of the new Villa de San Luis (Monterrey) by the governor and colonizer of Nuevo León, Luis de Carbajal. Upon the arrest of the latter in 1588 on the charge of adhering to Judaism, Castaño remained as lieutenant governor and captain-general of the province. Hoping to find the wealth that had eluded him in Nuevo León, he led the unauthorized expedition to New Mexico. On July 27, 1590, he set out with 170 men, women, and children from Nueva Almadén (Monclova) in a convoy of carts and livestock. Juan Morlete was quickly dispatched to follow and arrest him. On January 17, 1593, Castaño was officially charged with entering New Mexico without a license, committing "disorders and excesses," and enslaving captive Indians. Found guilty that same year, he was sentenced to six years' military service in the Philippines. He was subsequently killed by mutinous Chinese galley slaves on a voyage to the Moluccas before the news of his acquittal of all charges could reach him.

disobedience of these men threatens a peaceful solution, your good judgment and propriety promise the contrary. At the same time, I know that you will accomplish what I desire because of their weakness and poor judgment. In order to be sure of this, I wish you to depart as soon as possible in their pursuit without ceasing in your efforts until you find them, arrest them, and bring them before me. For this purpose, I send you the commission that you will receive with this letter. Pay the people as I have instructed you and in haste so as to avoid harmful delays. You should take enough supplies so that lack of them will not impede your progress. Any obstructions to the expedition would neither please nor serve the king, our lord.

I am also including in this letter the instructions you are to follow, although I trust you will do whatever the occasion demands to carry out your task. You shall proceed as I have ordered, and you shall keep me informed in writing in order to justify your actions. And because the good counsel of Domingo Martínez de Cearreta will be valuable in this, it seems to me that you should take him with you.<sup>37</sup> In addition I send you a commission to free all the Indians taken prisoner in Nuevo León, to exercise justice even though it may be against the judges, and to give the Indians their liberty, returning with them to their lands. For this purpose, I order Alonso Ruiz and his companions to bring you all the Indians who were imprisoned in Zacatecas. You should take them with you and set them free in accordance with this instruction. Furthermore, you are advised to report on what happens to Rodrigo de Río, whom you shall obey according to my instructions in order to better achieve what I command. May the Lord keep you. México, October 1, 1590. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Francisco Morlete, I mean Juan Morlete.

With this last letter that you wrote me, sir, I was pleased to learn of your good health as well as the happy and peaceful state of affairs of the Indians. I have the satisfaction of knowing that this is due to God's favor and your own good zeal, attention, and devices. I trust this well-being will continue to grow, and I remain very grateful that you have so willingly tried to moderate royal expenses, a clear demonstration of a faithful servant's love for his majesty.

Your lawsuit will be expedited shortly and the petition you have sent will be processed as is fitting after the case is decided.<sup>38</sup> I shall be happy to do your will in whatever I can; let me know if anything of importance occurs. May God keep you. México, June 11, 1593. Don Diego de Velasco is sending the authorization to pay

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37. Domingo Martínez de Cearreta was a former royal treasurer who had accompanied Luis de Carbajal on his colonizing effort in Nuevo León. He was personally acquainted with Castaño de Sosa and others in the province who were causing native unrest by their continued slaving expeditions. Viceroy Velasco dispatched Martínez to the province with letters requesting Castaño de Sosa and Captain Agustín de Lesaca, both of whom were desirous of leading entradas to New Mexico, to come to México to discuss the proposed venture.

38. The lawsuit apparently concerned Morlete's distribution of peace goods from the Mazapil storehouse. It appears the suit remained unsettled at the time of Morlete's death in 1596.

for the supplies and lumber that have been taken. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Morlete, *alcalde mayor* of Saltillo. Viceroy.

Yesterday I received your letters and the news that Gaspar Castaño and his followers, against my orders and what you had advised them, had taken up arms and entered the land of New Mexico. I have decided that you are to go in their pursuit with the thirty soldiers you request. In order that you may proceed with greater security and that you may capture them without incurring great loss, it seems a good idea that you take ten additional soldiers as well as Domingo Martínez de Cearreta and his son. I wanted to alert you to this so that you may begin to prepare and make provision for the necessary supplies until I can send you the legal provisions and instructions that you must follow. I am also notifying the officials in Zacatecas to have ready the silver necessary for this expedition. When they receive the order to do so, they will advance a third part of this sum to you. And I trust you shall, sir, on an occasion of such great moment, attend to this with all the promptness, diligence, zeal, and moderation required. Within three days, I will send the supplies and soldiers you requested. May God keep you. México, September 24, 1590. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Juan Morlete in Mazapil.

I received your letter of the fifth of this month and I thank you for the pleasure you say you feel at the favor his majesty has shown me. I am pleased with what you say you are doing in his majesty's service to settle the Indians in Los Cedros and with what you will do to settle others in Bonanza, Concepción, and Canutillo.<sup>39</sup> Governor Rodrigo de Río de Loza has informed me how much you have labored in these places and how much time you have devoted to keep the Indians at peace and to support them at your own cost. Therefore in the name of his majesty, I shall take special care to honor your person as your service merits. You will do me the pleasure of continuing the pursuits you have begun, as you know how much this will serve God and king. Use your industry to ensure that the Indians will persevere in the peaceful state they have adopted and that the rest in that area will be reduced. Be sure to provide them with whatever supplies and other items are necessary. I hope that the supplies which you mention have already arrived from Zacatecas because I am giving orders here to see to this with great punctuality. This will be handled by Rodrigo de Río de Loza, who will leave this city shortly and then will advise us of what is most fitting to the service of his majesty.

In regard to the request for soldiers in that presidio, as you know, the Marqués de Villamanrique, apparently for his own reasons, removed all the soldiers from that kingdom and this.<sup>40</sup> For this reason there will be no soldiers anywhere until what is owed them in salary has been determined in his majesty's best interests. Since this debt was incurred before I took over the government, the matter must be carefully examined, and I have discussed it with Rodrigo de Río de Loza. I will do all I can to see that each one receives what he should. You may so inform the soldiers, and I will try to shed more light on this shortly. Advise me whenever you

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39. Canutillo and Bonanza are 15 kilometers northwest of Concepción del Oro.

40. This removal was part of Villamanrique's efforts to control slaving.

can concerning what is happening there so that I may act in the best interests of his majesty. May our Lord keep you as you wish. México, February 27, 1590. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Juan Morlete in Mazapil. Viceroy.

I received your letter of June 11 and rejoice to know that you are in good health and are willing to attend to the orders I have given you for the settlement and pacification of the Indians who come in peace. I thank you, as is right, and assure you that, in whatever I am able, I will demonstrate my gratitude, provided you exercise your office as you have done and promise to do. By the time this letter arrives, I believe you will have received clothing and supplies to distribute to the Indians. Please advise me of this and also of the Indians' willingness to accept these peaceful overtures. Strive to keep anyone from disrupting or disturbing them and encourage them to plant and cultivate the land. I well understand that they will need missionaries and so I have provided that eight will be sent from here to be divided among these settlements.<sup>41</sup> I believe that you could use two of them already in Cedros. Once they are established there, you can direct them to provide whatever help and remedy is necessary to the work of our Lord God. I shall write to the custodian that, if he has not yet selected missionaries for that area, he should do so now. Keep me informed of whatever comes of this.

It troubles me very much that the three captains you mention have entered there illegally.<sup>42</sup> After having studied the information you wrote me about this, I will take whatever action is necessary. In regard to the rest of the people who are in Nuevo León, I hope that your arrival there will convince them to stop their lawless designs. It behooves them to do so because if they do not, I will proceed against them with all harshness. I would like to avoid this if it is at all possible and so, even though you have said they intend to make another entrance into New Mexico, I have not wanted to act until I have your confirmation.

I have received reports from Governor Rodrigo del Río and others concerning how well you have served his majesty and how much you deserve the hacienda you possess. I hope that it prospers and grows. May the Lord keep you. From México, July 4, 1590. Don Luis de Velasco to Juan Morlete, captain in Mazapil.

Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile. To you, Captain Juan Morlete, resident in the mines of Mazapil, to whom I have committed the capture of Gaspar Castaño and his guilty followers because of their uncommissioned entrance into New Mexico. Greetings. Know that I have been informed by Viceroy Luis de Velasco about this state of affairs and that it would serve me for you to make the arrests entrusted to you and to deliver the prisoners before the viceroy in México to await sentence. For this purpose, I have decided to issue this letter and royal decree which orders you to carefully and diligently execute the mandates of another decree issued to you in México on October 3, 1590, concerning the said cap-

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41. See Note 13.

42. This letter may be the only contemporary document revealing that a preliminary or exploratory *entrada* was made prior to the departure of the main body of Castaño de Sosa's expedition on July 27. The three captains were probably Cristóbal de Heredia, Alonso Xaimez, and Juan Pérez de los Ríos.

ture. As soon as you have taken him prisoner, you shall bring him before the viceroy along with the other guilty parties. For security, you will be accompanied by exactly the number of soldiers you feel are necessary to act as guards and armed sentinels. You shall assign them their duties and occupations and shall pay them at an annual rate of 450 pesos of common gold for the time they serve, running from the day they were employed until they reach México, where they will be paid on arrival. You shall carry out all that I have ordered in my royal decree, and I command all the justices through whose jurisdiction you may pass, as well as any other persons you may encounter, to favor and aid you in any way you may request. In case you are otherwise occupied, Captain Agustín de Lesaca shall safeguard and carry out these orders punctually and with care, just as if they had been addressed to him.<sup>43</sup> I trust in his person and that neither you nor he will act contrary to my orders. Given in México, June 8, 1591. Don Luis de Velasco. Counter-signed by Secretary Martín López de Gaona.

I have received your letter of October 20, and I well know the feeling you have about my absence. But I console myself with the knowledge that the conde<sup>44</sup> has to recognize the good qualities and merits of your person and will acknowledge them and grant you favor. In order that he be better informed, I will apprise him at greater length as you request. By virtue of this and his Christian decency, he will attend to this with the same fervor that I would have, or at least this is what I wish. If there is anything I can do for you there, you may let me know with the certainty that I am grateful for all you have done in his majesty's service and mine. May our Lord keep you. Tacubaya,<sup>45</sup> January 10, 1596. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Juan Morlete.

Captain Francisco de Urdiñola has reported to me how he punished those two Indians who were brigands and murderers. I responded that the punishment meted out to them seemed just. I also think that it served as an important lesson to dissuade other Indians who would follow in the same footsteps, to instill fear in them and encourage them to live righteously; I am grateful to him and to the Indian captains and chiefs who informed on the evildoers. I charge him to let this be known to them as well as how much they will oblige me by continuing to demonstrate this zeal by not permitting any Indians to cause harm and commit crimes. If any do, they should be reported immediately. I also charge you, sir, with this same task of guiding them to keep and promote peace. In regard to giving a broader commission to Captain Urdiñola, I will see what can be done and attend to it. May our Lord keep you. México, August 14, 1593. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Juan Morlete in the mines of Mazapil.

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43. See Note 37.

44. This refers to Velasco's successor as viceroy, Gaspar Zuñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey, whose term of office ran from November 5, 1595, to October 27, 1603.

45. Tacubaya, now part of México, was located southwest of the colonial city and was a residence of the upper class. Velasco had just finished his first term as viceroy of México.



I received, sir, your letters of October 20 and January 3, and I am glad to be in touch with you through them since your great distance from here does not allow you to come to see me. I thank you very much, sir, for the goodwill with which you offer me your services and for all you have done to serve the king, our lord. I have very good memories of all you have done, as was to be expected of such an honorable man. México, February 22, 1596. The Conde de Monterrey to Captain Juan Morlete.

I have recently seen your lawsuit and have wished you well. What has been done in the Pedregosa has apparently produced such good results not only in making the Indians more obedient and less lawless than before, but also in insuring the continuance of the peace that was established. This should have been judged less harshly than it has been by some, but as you know, sir, there are many who slander and object to matters of which no one should think ill, especially when they have had the approval of so many people. I wish you well and will try to assist you in any way possible, giving more attention to your service to his majesty than to the pronouncements of impassioned people. Thus I have intentionally prolonged the process of reaching a decision in order that those who did not approve at first will change their opinions with time and will see that no harm, but rather much good, has resulted from what was done. It has kept the Indians quiet and the land at peace. With this, you may calm yourself and cease to worry about this affair because I have it in hand and it will be resolved without much more delay. Proceed as you have until now in taking care of the Indians, and do not let this case trouble you because your cause will triumph. May God keep you, sir, as you desire. In México, October 19, 1593. Don Luis de Velasco to Captain Juan Morlete in the mines of Mazapil.

*Account of beans received and distributed by Captain Juan Morlete.*

On March 3, 1593, Captain Juan Morlete distributed to Captain [Juan] Minamea<sup>46</sup> and his people, men and women, for the Lenten season, 4 fanegas of beans.

Also to Juan Garrido and his people on several occasions during Lent, 5 fanegas of beans.

Also to Don Gerónimo de Velasco and his people during the Lenten season, 5 fanegas of beans.

Also to Don Miguel de Urdiñola for himself and his people during Lent, 6 fanegas of beans.

Also to Captain Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra and his people, 2 fanegas of beans.

Also to Macuitoca and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

Also to Malasicha and his people, 4 fanegas of beans.

Also to Francisco, captain, and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

Also to Martín, Indian captain, and his people, 2 ½ fanegas of beans.

Also to Machichini, captain, and his people, 2 fanegas of beans.

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46. Minamea and the others listed below were all Chichimeca chiefs being provided for from the Mazapil storehouse.

On March 3, 1594, Juan Morlete distributed to Captain Juan Garrido and his people, 5 fanegas of beans at intervals for the Lenten season.

On this day he distributed to Captain Juan Garrido, I mean Don Juan Mina-me, and his people, 5 fanegas of beans.

On this day, to Don Gerónimo de Velasco and his people, 4 ½ fanegas of beans.

To Don Miguel de Urdiñola and his people, 6 fanegas of beans.

To Martín, Indian captain, and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Machinini, captain, and his people, 2 fanegas of beans.

To Francisco, captain, and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Malasicha and his people, 4 fanegas of beans.

To Macuitoca and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

On February 8, 1595, Juan Morlete distributed to Don Juan Minamea and his people, 5 fanegas of beans at intervals for the Lenten season.

To Don Miguel de Urdiñola and his people, 6 fanegas of beans.

To Don Gerónimo de Velasco and his people, 4 ½ fanegas of beans.

To Juan Garrido and his people, 5 fanegas of beans.

To Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra and his people, 2 ½ fanegas of beans.

To Macuitoca and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Malasicha and his people, 2 ½ fanegas of beans.

To Machinini and his people, 3 ½ fanegas of beans.

To Martín, Indian captain, and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

On February 28, 1595, Juan Morlete distributed to Don Juan Minamea and his people, 5 ½ fanegas of beans at intervals for the Lenten season.

On this day, to Don Gerónimo de Velasco and his people, 5 fanegas of beans.

To Don Miguel de Urdiñola and his people, 6 fanegas of beans.

To Juan Garrido and his people, 4 fanegas of beans.

To Martín, Indian captain, and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Malasicha and his people, 4 fanegas of beans.

To Macuitoca and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Machinini and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Malasicha and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

To Quamimirra and his people, 3 fanegas of beans.

Also 21 fanegas of beans that Gaspar Duarte, executor of Juan Morlete, turned over to Martín de Lizalde in a promissory note from Martín García de la Chao. These were collected from his properties by Captain Diego Infante del Aguila. Gaspar Duarte.

*Account of the beams which Captain Juan Morlete received and how he distributed them.*

The said Captain Juan Morlete distributed 189 wooden beams which were used in constructing houses for the Indians in Mazapil and Concepción at the end of 1593 and in January 1594.

Also Gaspar Duarte turned over 111 beams to Martín de Lizalde, who had yet to deliver them to Martín García de la Chao, the person to whom they were auctioned. Captain Diego Infante del Aguila collected the value of these notes from the captain's properties.

## The Chichimeca War and Peace

### *List of clothing given to the Indians since August 8, 1590.*

On this day to Don Miguel de Levitelo, some woven skirts, a little silk, a needle, and a knife.

On this day to 3 Indians of his group, one called Juanillo, another Perico, and the other Diego Juanillo Penco, to each one, 5 varas of blue and brown cloth, a little silk, a needle, and to Diego, a blanket and a hat.

On August 29, 1590, Captain Juan Morlete delivered to the father guardian, Fray Juan Gómez,<sup>47</sup> 173 varas of blue and brown cloth in one piece, 39 needles, 6 common blankets, and 6 skeins of blue China silk for distribution among the Indians of Cedros.

On September 3, he gave Juan Garrido 1 blanket, 1 necklace for his wife, and 6 varas of blue and brown cloth.

To Juan Manama Chibi, 1 blanket on that day.

To Miguel from Canutillo, 1 blanket.

To Juan Machemalo from Canutillo, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth and 1 blanket.

To Francisco Moyunas of Canutillo, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth and 1 blanket.

To Juan Aguyo of Canutillo, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth.

To Isabel Machaque, mother of the aforesaid, a woolen blouse.

On September 5, to Geromillo, captain, 6 varas of blue and brown cloth.

On this day to Juanillo, an Indian of his group, another 6 varas of blue and brown cloth.

On September 18, to Don Juan Minamea, captain from the Pedregosa, 2½ varas of native cloth and 5 varas of coarse woolen cloth.

On this day to Don Juan Poca Panchi, captain in the Pedregosa and Potosí, 2½ varas of native cloth and 5 of coarse woolen cloth.

To Juan Camalina, an Indian of his group, 5 varas of coarse woolen cloth.

To Agustín del Canutillo, 5 varas of coarse woolen cloth and 1 blanket.

To the aforesaid Juan Poca Panchi, one hat.

On October 4, to Sebastián, an Indian who was baptized, some shoes, 3 varas of blue native cloth, and a little silk.

On this day, to 2 Indians from Cedros who were baptized, 2 blouses.

On this day, to 8 boys from Cedros who were baptized, 8 pairs of shoes.

On this day, 2 blankets were given to 2 Indians from Cedros by Fray Antonio [Zalduenio].<sup>48</sup>

To Pedro García, an Indian from Cedros, 1 hat and some shoes.

To Francisco Maquaina from Cedros, 6 varas of brown woolen cloth and 1 light blanket.

To Don Francisco Macilacho, 1 blanket and some shoes.

On October 15, to Quamimirra, 2 varas of blue native cloth, 1 blanket, and some shoes.

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47. Juan Gómez accompanied Morlete and his 20 soldiers to New Mexico in pursuit of Castaño de Sosa.

48. See Note 13.

On this day to Machichini, 3 varas of native cloth, 1 blanket, and some shoes.

On this day, to Juan Cale of Cedros, 1 blanket, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, some shoes, and a little silk.

On this day, to Juan Maneche, 3 varas of native cloth, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, some shoes, a little silk, 1 hat, and 2 needles.

On the 17th<sup>49</sup> of the aforesaid, to Juan Mamoyona from Canutillo, 1 blanket, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, some shoes, a little silk, and 1 needle.

On this day, to Juan Topile from Canutillo, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, 1 hat, some shoes, 3 varas of native cloth, a little silk, 1 needle, 1 shirt; he is going on the expedition with me.

To Juanillo, a boy from Canutillo, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, some shoes, 1 hat, 3 varas of native cloth, a little silk, and 1 needle.

To Don Miguel from Canutillo, some shoes and a knife.

On October 20, to Juan Zapaco from Cedros, 5 varas of blue woolen cloth, some shoes, and a knife.

On this day, to Marcos Cachinao of the aforementioned pueblo, the same amount.

On this day to Gerónimo Cueto, the same amount.

On this day to Juan Pomirra, the same amount.

On this day to Pedro Guamissapa, the same amount.

On this day to Juan Tanatale, the same amount.

On this day to Magdalena Caylapacle, a blouse and some buskins.

On November 3, to Francisco Poyane de Benunse, who is going on the expedition, 3 varas of native cloth for a cloak, 7 varas of coarse woolen cloth for breeches, doublet, and shirt, some shoes, a little silk, 2 needles, a blanket, and a hat.

To Juan Garrido de Varnassa, who is going on the expedition, the same items that were given to the aforesaid Francisco.

On November 6, to Juan Sanachana who is going on the expedition, 3 varas of native cloth for a cloak, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, 1 knife, some shoes, 1 blanket, 1 hat, a little silk, and 2 needles.

To a boy from Cedros who is going with the father guardian, 1 ½ varas of native cloth, 2 blankets, some shoes, and 1 hat.

On November 5, the said captain gave each of 5 Indians who belonged to Matías de Lizalde, in order to acquire their freedom, 4 varas of brown woolen cloth, 1 light blanket, 1 needle and thread.

On this day, 3 pieces of coarse woolen cloth to take on the expedition.

2 pieces of native cloth

6 light blankets

12 doublets

3 pairs of shoes

50 necklaces

12 pounds of thread

1 pound of silk

100 needles

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49. Five of the Indians receiving gifts on this day are identified as among those who accompanied Morlete to New Mexico to arrest Castaño de Sosa.

All the clothing was distributed to the said Indians as I declared in the entries, and the last items listed above were taken on the expedition to New Mexico to pacify the people whom Gaspar Castaño [de Sosa] had incited to rebel in Coahuila in the kingdom of Nuevo León.

Gaspar Duarte

Account book of the clothing that I, Captain Juan Morlete, give and distribute to the Indians who come in peace from that which has been consigned to me by the illustrious Luis de Velasco, viceroy of this New Spain since August 28, 1590.

On the 28th of the said month, to Don Miguel del Canutillo, captain of that group, 6 varas of native cloth, 1 shirt, 1 blanket, 1 hat, some shoes, a knife, a skein of thread, a little silk, 2 needles, and 1 doublet of coarse linen.

To 14 Indians of his group that he brought with him, to each one, 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, 1 hat, 1 knife, some shoes, 1 skein of thread, and 2 needles.

To 8 Indian women that they brought from their group, to each one, a blouse, some woven skirts, some buskins, a blanket, a skein of thread and a necklace.

To 5 boys and girls that they brought, 3 varas of coarse woolen cloth and 1 necklace to each one.

On this day of August 28, I gave to Captain Minamea 6 varas of native cloth, 1 shirt, 1 blanket, 1 doublet of coarse linen, some shoes, 1 hat, 1 skein of thread, a little silk, and 2 needles.

On this day, I gave Minamea's wife 1 blouse, some skirts, 2 necklaces, and some buskins.

On this day, I gave 17 of Minamea's Indians 6 varas of coarse woolen cloth, 1 blanket, 1 skein of thread, 2 needles, and 1 hat, to each one.

On this day, to 10 Indian women of that group, 1 blouse, some skirts, 1 necklace, and a little silk to each one.

On this day, to 9 boys and girls, their children, 3 varas of coarse woolen cloth, 1 necklace, and a little silk to each one.

On this day to Diego Minamea, 6 varas of native cloth, 1 shirt, 1 doublet of coarse linen, some shoes, 1 blanket, 1 knife, 1 hat, and a little silk for another Indian whom he said was ill and was his brother.

On this day to Captain Juan Garrido, 6 varas of native cloth, 1 blanket, 1 doublet of coarse linen, 1 linen shirt, 1 hat, some shoes, and 1 knife.

On this day to Cristóbal Machiter, his companion, 6 varas of native cloth, 1 doublet of coarse linen, some shoes, 1 knife, 1 hat, 1 blanket, a little silk, and 2 needles.

On this day to 19 Indians of the groups of the said captains, to each one, 6 varas of coarse linen cloth, 1 blanket, some shoes, 1 knife, and 1 skein of thread.

On this day to 20 Indian women of this group, to each one, 1 blouse, some skirts, 1 necklace, a half-skein of thread, and 1 needle.

On this day to 9 boys and girls of this group, to each one, 3 varas of coarse woolen cloth and 1 necklace, and 4 of the oldest ones were each given 4 varas.

To Cristóbal's wife, some buskins.

On this day to Captain Malasicha, 6 varas of native cloth, 1 blanket, 1 doublet of coarse linen, 1 shirt, 1 hat, some shoes, 1 blanket, 1 skein of thread, and 2 needles.

## Accounts of Captain Juan Morlete

On this day, to Malasicha's wife, 1 blouse, 1 blanket, some skirts, 2 necklaces, some buskins, and a skein of thread.

Gaspar Duarte

*From the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Contaduria 851*

### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Cuenta del capitán Juan Morlete de lo que recibió y distribuyó con los indios guachichiles desde el año de 1590 hasta fin del de 1598.

El capitán Juan Morlete: Su cuenta.

**C**argo y descargo del ganado mayor, maíz, frijoles, sal, ropa y otras cosas que recibió por cuenta de su majestad y distribuyó con los indios guachichiles de los proveedores don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy y de los oficiales reales de México y Zacatecas, según parece por relaciones de los cargos y por las cuentas fenecidas de los dichos proveedores desde el año 1590 hasta fin del de 1598 que es lo siguiente:

En el Río Grande en las haciendas de minas del capitán Francisco de Urdiñola a 6 de marzo de 1603, el veedor Diego Infante del Aguila y el capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, en cumplimiento de la comisión que tienen del ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey, para visitar las fronteras de las poblaciones de los indios guachichiles y chichimecos asentados de paz, y fenecer y tomar cuenta a los proveedores, capitanes, protectores y caudillos de los que han sido a su cargo de los almacenes y gastos de la paz. Y siendo uno de ellos el capitán Juan Morlete, difunto, que tuvo cargo de la población y amparo de los indios guachichiles poblados desde su principio en las minas de Mazapil y los Cedros, y haberse muerto sin haber dado cuenta personal por él de todo lo que entró en su poder de ganado mayor, maíz, frijoles, sal, ropa de toda suerte y otras cosas para el sustento, vestuario y servicio de los dichos indios y por las cuentas que los dichos visitadores han fenecido a los proveedores don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy que los fueron de los dichos gastos para la paz. Salían cargos de los dichos géneros y también por relación que los oficiales reales de las ciudades de México y Zacatecas han dado de lo que ellos han proveído, comprado y pagado de plata de las reales cajas, conviene al servicio de su majestad tomar y fenecer las dichas cuentas para saber la distribución de todo ello. Por tanto habiendo parecido ante sí a su llamamiento el capitán Gaspar Duarte, uno de los albaceas del dicho capitán Morlete, persona por cuya mano se distribuyó y distribuía la dicha ropa, maíz, ganado y otras cosas por la confianza que de él tenía el dicho capitán Morlete y ser agente suyo, le mandaron presentarse todos los papeles y cuenta de su descargo de la ropa, maíz, ganado y otras cosas que hubiese distribuido el dicho capitán y él en su nombre con los dichos indios en su sustento y vestuario en todo el tiempo que fué capitán y protector de ellos hasta que murió. El dicho Gaspar Duarte, para dar las dichas cuentas, dió y presentó los papeles para el descargo de ella que están con esta cuenta, la cual se le comenzó a tomar y fenecer el susodicho día con los cargos y descargos de los géneros de cada cosa que recibió y distribuyó en todo el

dicho tiempo que fué capitán y protector hasta fin del año de 1596 que fué al tiempo que murió. Las partidas de cargos que tiene y las que da por su data y descargo es como se sigue abajo en la manera siguiente:

*Cargo del maíz*

Primeramente se le hace cargo de 4,700 fanegas de maíz que, por las dichas cuentas de la plata fenecidas con los dichos proveedores de don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy y por la relación de los cargos que dieron los oficiales reales de la real caja de Zacatecas, ha resultado cargo contra el dicho capitán Juan Morlete, y haberlo recibido en 7 partidas desde 11 de octubre de 1590, hasta 4 de enero de 1596, de diferentes personas de quienes se compró y pagó de la plata de su majestad a diferentes precios para sustentos de los dichos indios como particularmente parece por la relación de los cargos sacada de las dichas cuentas que está al principio de ésta.

*Descargo del dicho maíz*

Recíbesele en cuenta 4,700 fanegas de maíz que da por descargo haber distribuido en raciones con los indios, las 4,432 de ellas desde 6 de abril de 1592, hasta 9 de diciembre de 1596 y las 268 fanegas restantes que dió a los religiosos de San Francisco y al beneficiado Diego Ramírez Zamorano de la limosna que su majestad les manda dar de 50 fanegas al año para sustento porque asistan a la doctrina y conversión de los indios, como parece por la relación que de la distribución de ello da jurada y firmada Gaspar Duarte que está con esta cuenta; no hay alcance.

*Cargo de frijoles*

Hácese cargo de 172 fanegas de frijoles que por las dichas cuentas y relación resulta cargo contra el dicho capitán Morlete, la cual recibió en 3 partidas en 6 de diciembre de 1593 y en 20 de febrero de 1594 y en 15 de febrero de 1595 de diferentes personas de quienes se compró a diferentes precios de la plata de su majestad del cargo de los proveedores don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy y oficiales reales, como particularmente consta por la relación de los dichos cargos que está al principio de esta cuenta.

*Descargo de los dichos frijoles*

Recíbese en cuenta las 172 fanegas de frijoles, contenidas en su cargo las 151 fanegas de ellos que dió y distribuyó en el sustento de los indios guachichiles en tiempo que no se les daba carne desde 3 de marzo de 1593 hasta 28 de febrero de 1596, y las 21 fanegas restantes que entregó en un vale Gaspar Duarte a Martín de Lizalde que sucede en el cargo de protector con otras cosas que le entregó el 22 de diciembre de 1597, lo cual está hecho cargo en su cuenta en virtud de la carta de pago que dio firmada de ello que está en la cuenta fenecida con Gaspar Duarte.

*Cargo del ganado mayor*

Hácese cargo de 274 de vacas y novillos que en 3 de agosto de 1595, recibió de Diego de Mesa a quien se le pagaron de la plata del cargo del proveedor Juan de Monroy, y como consta de su conocimiento, fecho en el dicho día y de la relación de sus cargos que está en esta cuenta.

*Descargo del dicho ganado*

Recíbesele en cuenta los 274 reses del cargo arriba contenido que da por descargo haber distribuido con raciones y sustento de los dichos indios desde 7 de agosto de

1595, hasta 7 de noviembre de 1596, y los cueros y sebo da por descargo que el sebo hubo poco o ninguno y que éste y los cueros sólo llevaron los indios para comer el sebo y los dichos cueros para cacles y cubrir sus rancherías y dormir sobre ellos como consta de la relación que de esta partida va firmada de su nombre Gaspar Duarte que está con esta cuenta.

*Cargo de la carne de vaca*

Hácese cargo de 8,489 arrobas y 11 libras de carne de vaca y novillos que por las cuentas de la plata fenecidas con los proveedores don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy y por la relación de los cargos que dieron los oficiales reales, consta haberse pagado a Juan Aguado y Pedro del Valle, obligados del abasto de la carne para sustento del abasto de los indios guachichiles de Mazapil desde 29 de marzo de 1592, hasta 30 de julio de 1595, con más 152 menudos como particularmente parece por las dichas cuentas y relación.

*Descargo de la carne de vaca*

Recíbense en cuenta las dichas 8,489 arrobas y 11 libras de vaca y 152 menudos que da por descargo por siete relaciones firmadas de su nombre y de Manuel de Rivera y de Francisco de Rivera y Gaspar Duarte y de Bartolomé Sánchez, escribanos, haber distribuido y dado a los dichos indios en raciones para su sustento, por mano de Juan Aguado y Pedro del Valle, obligados del abasto de la carne, desde 29 de marzo de 1592, hasta 30 de julio de 1595, como particularmente parece por las dichas relaciones que están con esta cuenta.

*Cargo de la sal*

Hácese cargo de 50 fanegas de sal que, por las cuentas fenecidas con el proveedor Juan de Monroy, parece que recibió de Juan Rodríguez de Bonilla, carretero, en el Mazapil en 19 de mayo de 1595, a quien se compró de la plata del cargo del dicho proveedor para sustento de los dichos indios como consta de la dicha relación que está con esta cuenta.

*Descargo de la sal*

Recíbese en cuenta las dichas 50 fanegas de sal de su cargo que da por descargo haber distribuido y dado y entregado a los dichos indios para su sustento desde 14 de marzo de 1595, hasta 12 de abril de 1596, como particularmente parece por la relación que de ella da Gaspar Duarte, firmada de su nombre que está con esta cuenta.

*Cargo de la pólvora*

Hácese cargo de 17 libras de pólvora que recibió del capitán Pedro de Murga en 21 de enero de 1596, como parece por certificación que dió del recibo, fecha el dicho día que está original en la cuenta y data que se feneció con el dicho capitán Pedro de Murga de todo el tiempo que fué capitán y protector de los indios guachichiles y tlaxcaltecos de la frontera del Saltillo.

*Descargo de la pólvora*

Recíbese en cuenta 15 libras de la dicha pólvora por tantas que da por descargo haber repartido el 23 de enero de 1596 el dicho capitán Morlete y por el Gaspar Duarte entre los vecinos, estantes y habitantes de las minas del Mazapil para estar en defensa por la sospecha que entonces se tenía de que los indios se querían alzar. Alcánzase conforme a esta cuenta en 2 libras.



*Cargo de ropa*

Hácese cargo al dicho capitán Juan Morlete de la ropa de paño, sayales, frazadas congas, huipiles, naguas, tilmas, jubones, sombreros, camisas y otras cosas que por las cuentas fenecidas con los dichos proveedores, don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy, y por la relación de los cargos que dieron los oficiales reales, parece que recibió en 5 partidas desde el año de 1590, que fué la primera ropa que se les comenzó a dar hasta los últimos de septiembre de 1595, que es la última partida que se le envió en 16 del dicho mes del almacén y cargo del dicho proveedor Juan de Monroy, que toda la que así recibió de los dichos oficiales reales, factor Alonso Caballero y tesorero don Fernando de Velasco y Antonio de la Mota, factor de la dicha real caja de México, y de los dichos proveedores don Diego de Velasco y Juan de Monroy, es la siguiente en esta manera:

Paño de la tierra	280 varas
Sayales de todas suertes	7,267 varas
Huipiles de micle	619
Naguas de telar	272 pares
Frazadas congas	1,064
Sombreros finos de color	12
Sombreros comunes	296
Jubones de lienzo de anjeo	27
Camisas de crea y de mantas	12
Zapatos de vaqueta	293 pares
Tilmas	26
Botines de mujeres	36 pares
Cuitencles	8
Seda	7 libras
Hilo	9 libras
Agujas	1,000
Cuchillos	300
Petacas	11
Lías	120
Un fardo de chile	5 arrobas
Tolcuestes	8
Comales de cobre	3
Morillos de madera	300
Gargantillas	200

Toda la cual dicha ropa recibió para vestuario y servicio de los dichos indios en todo el dicho tiempo como particularmente parece por la relación de sus cargos que está al principio de esta cuenta.

*Descargo de la dicha ropa y otras cosas*

Recíbesele en cuenta la ropa de paño, sayales, huipiles, naguas, sombreros, camisas, jubones, tilmas, frazadas, y otras cosas abajo contenidas que distribuyó y repartió con los indios guachichiles para su vestuario y servicio de ellos y sus mujeres e hijos desde 28 de agosto de 1590 hasta 16 de marzo de 1595, como parece por sus relaciones del repartimiento de la dicha ropa que da firmadas Gaspar

Accounts of Captain Juan Morlete

Duarte en nombre del dicho capitán Morlete, que todas ellas montan la ropa siguiente en esta manera:

Paños	276 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	varas
Sayales	7,045 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	varas
Huipiles	580	
Naguas	276	pares
Frazadas congas	1,072	
Sombreros finos	12	
Sombreros comunes	327	
Jubones de anejo	25	
Camisas de crea y manta	21	
Zapatos de vaqueta	309	pares
Tilmas	24	
Medias de lana	2	pares
Botines de mujeres y jervillas	39	pares
Cuitencles	8	
Seda	7	libras
Hilera e hilo	9	libras
Agujas	1,000	
Cuchillos	270	
Petacas	11	
Lías	111	
Un fardo de chile	5	arrobas
Comales de cobre	3	
Gargantillas de vidrio	194	
Morillos de madera de pino	300	

(Los 189 morillos distribuidos en el almacén real y cosas de los indios y los 111 restantes que entregó a Martín de Lizalde, su sucesor, en 22 de diciembre de 1597.)

Toda la cual dicha ropa y demás cosas dió y entregó a los dichos indios e indias y a sus hijos en todo el dicho tiempo y los morillos fueron para los techados de las casas que se les mandó hacer y del almacén real, y conforme a esta cuenta es alcanzado en 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> varas de paño que a 17 tomines la vara, montan 6 pesos, 7 tomines y 3 granos, y en 229<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> varas y media de sayal que, a 3 tomines la vara, montan a 83 pesos y 6 granos, y en 39 huipiles de micle que, a 10 tomines cada uno, montan a 48 pesos y 6 tomines, y en 2 jubones de anejo que, a 3 pesos cada uno, montan a 6 pesos, y en 2 tilmas a peso cada una que montan a 2 pesos, y en 30 cuchillos a 2 tomines cada una montan a 6 pesos y 4 tomines, y en 6 gargantillas de vidrio a tomín cada una, y en 2 libras de pólvora a 2 pesos y medio cada una, y en 11 lías a medio tomín y en 8 tolquestes a tomín, que todo ellos monta, a los dichos precios referidos, 160 pesos, 7 tomines y 9 granos de plata y oro común; lo que por todo esta dicha cuenta está escrita en 3 pliegos parece conforme a sus cargos y datas ser alcanzado el dicho capitán Juan Morlete y el fenecer de la dicha cuenta y alcances. Se halló presente con los dichos visitadores el dicho Gaspar Duarte el cual, habiéndolo visto, dio por buena, cierta y verdadera la dicha cuenta, y dijo que está presto de pagar el dicho alcance, no embargante que él no tiene bienes del capitán Juan Morlete, y lo firmó de su nombre con los dichos jueces visitadores y ante mí,

el presente escribano en su comisión, en las haciendas del Río Grande del capitán Francisco de Urdiñola el 9 de marzo de 1603. Diego Infante de Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Gaspar Duarte. Ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara, escribano nombrado.

El dicho capitán Juan Morlete, cargo y descargo de la ropa que Vicente de Saldívar, teniente de capitán general, le dio de la de su cargo para que él le repartiese con los indios y demás de la que por otros cargos tiene recibida.

Hácesele cargo al dicho capitán Juan Morlete de la ropa y otras cosas que el 30 de enero de 1595 le envió Vicente de Saldívar de la de su cargo que es la siguiente:

Sayal	485	varas
Naguas de telar	8½	pares
Frazadas congas	61	
Sombreros comunes	22	
Camisas de Campeche	2	
Zapatos de vaqueta	55	pares
Petaca	1	
Lías	12	

Todo lo cual recibió el dicho teniente de capitán Vicente de Saldívar para lo dar y entregar a los dichos indios y así se le hace cargo de esta partida aparte porque aunque se la dio el dicho Vicente de Saldívar, fue para que él la diese por su cuenta y así se le pasó en ella y al dicho capitán se le recibe en cuenta por constar de la información y visita que se hizo de oficio que luego que recibía la ropa la entregaba y repartía. Y los mismos indios lo declararon en presencia de los visitadores Diego Infante de Aguila y del capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, y esta partida es entrada por salida.

En el Río Grande en las haciendas del capitán Francisco de Urdiñola, la presentó ante los dichos jueces visitadores en presencia de mí, el presente escribano en su comisión, en 5 de marzo de 1603 años.

Gaspar Duarte, vecino de Mazapil y albacea que fue del capitán Juan Morlete difunto, digo que por dos mandamientos me ha sido mandado de las cuentas del dicho capitán del tiempo que estuvo a su cargo el dicho almacén del Mazapil, el cual a muchos días murió fuera de su casa en la villa de Santiago del Saltillo, y en los papeles que suyos quedaron, parecieron los que hago presentación ante vuestras mercedes, y asimismo lo hago de este mandamiento del señor virrey don Luis de Velasco en que manda que por la confianza que tiene del dicho Juan Morlete, pues él solo dé la ropa, maíz y demás bastimentos a los dichos indios, sin intervención de persona alguna, por ser, como era, un hombre que escribió a su majestad en el dicho oficio de capitán con mucha fidelidad, teniendo a los dichos indios de paz y amparándolos y defendiéndolos, no llevando salario ni sueldo alguno de su majestad, y con satisfacción de los señores virreyes marqués de Villamanrique, don Luis de Velasco, conde de Monterrey, y como consta de sus cartas, de que hago asimismo presentación demás de lo susodicho, el dicho Juan Morlete sirvió a su majestad a su costa y mención, no llevando sueldo alguno, en la pacificación del reino de los indios guachichiles en las ocasiones que se halló como fue en el Pedregoso y otras partes, y asimismo sirvió y fue al Nuevo México por mandado del señor virrey don Luis de Velasco, a su costa y mención, en que gastó mucha suma

de pesos de oro. Y demás de esto, con los indios guachichiles que tuvo a su cargo en el dicho presidio del Mazapil, demás de la ropa y bastimento que le daban para que repartiera a los dichos indios, gastó de su hacienda mucha suma de pesos dándoles dádivas, vestidos y pan y unas y otras cosas porque guardasen la paz y no hiciesen daño a los españoles, como se hizo y cumplió en todo el tiempo que vivió, y esto está probado por el amor que todos los indios le tenían, pues todo lo susodicho consta de sus cartas y mandamiento que presento por tanto a vuestras mercedes. Pido y suplico mande ver los dichos papeles y cuentas y den por libre al dicho Juan Morlete de cualquier alcance que se le haga. Pues por la información que tengo presentada ante vuestras mercedes hecha en las minas del Mazapil, consta todo lo susodicho y pido justicia y en lo necesario, etc. Gaspar Duarte.

Y vista por los dichos jueces, dijeron que presente los papeles que tuviera en su poder de la cuenta y razón de la distribución del ganado, maíz, ropa y otras cosas que hubiera distribuido, y se halle al tomar y fenecer las cuentas como persona que asistió y se halló de ordinario cerca de la persona del dicho capitán Morlete, y de quien ponía toda su confianza y dejaba en su lugar durante sus ausencias, como lo hizo a la entrada de la jornada del Nuevo México, y como uno que fue de sus albaceas y que en lo demás que pide se hará justicia en lo que hubiera lugar, y así lo proveyeron y firmaron, ante mí, el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara, escribano nombrado.

Rodrigo del Río de Loza, teniente de capitán general en este nuevo reino de Galicia, por el rey nuestro señor, etc. por cuanto no embargante que en este reino hay nombrados capitanes para las cosas que en él se han ofrecido y ofrecen del servicio del rey en la guerra contra los indios salteadores, todavía por algunas causas que a ello me han movido, me ha parecido nombrar un capitán en este reino para que con nombre de tal capitán acuda a algunas cosas que por mí le serán ordenadas y mandadas, haga en servicio de su majestad bien y tranquilidad, paz y sosiego, de este reino. Y porque para este efecto conviene que sea tal persona cual conviene para la paz y quietud de este reino porque aunque el capitán Francisco de Urdiñola, capitán en este reino, por mí nombrado en las comarcas del Mazapil, en nombre de su majestad, ha acudido y acude a su real servicio con muchas veras y cuidado y con mucha aprobación y satisfacción de su persona, no revocando al dicho capitán la conducta que de tal capitán le tengo dada antes (si es necesario, la apruebo y ratifico añadiendo en ella y en las instrucciones que mías tiene fuerza a fuerza y corroborándolas de nuevo), me ha parecido nombrar el tal capitán así por lo que se ofreciere del servicio de su majestad en aquellas comarcas y otras partes de este reino. Y porque Juan Morlete, vecino de las minas de Mazapil, es persona muy honrada y de mucho crédito y satisfacción y a muchos años que con mucha aprobación de su persona ha servido a su majestad en todas las ocasiones que se le han ofrecido de su real servicio, así de teniente de alcalde mayor de las minas de Mazapil, como en la guerra contra los indios sirviendo muchos años en ella al rey con su persona, armas y caballos a su propia costa y mención sin sueldo alguno, y a que él, en compañía del capitán Francisco de Urdiñola, con mucho trabajo y solitud de su persona y costa de su hacienda, ha procurado traer como ha traído el dicho capitán y él los indios de paz al Mazapil de que Dios Nuestro Señor será muy servido y la costa de su real hacienda estorbada y sus reales quintos aumentados, y a que el dicho Juan Morlete es tal persona de quien confío y tengo satisfacción que

de aquí adelante acudirá, como ha acudido, con mucha puntualidad, cuidado y diligencia a lo que fuere servicio de su majestad, atento a lo cual y en parte de remuneración de lo que ha servido a su majestad en su real nombre y de su excelencia, y por el tiempo que fuere su real voluntad y mía, en su real nombre por la presente, nombro a vos el dicho Juan Morlete por tal capitán de su majestad para que como tal capitán acudáis a todas las cosas y casos que por mí en su real nombre os fueren cometidos y mandados en todas las partes y lugares que convengan a su real servicio, de cuya parte mando a todos y cualesquier soldados de este reino y a los que por mí os fueren entregados para que con ellos sirváis a su majestad y a todas y cualesquier personas, estantes y habitantes, vecinos en este dicho nuevo reino de cualquier calidad y condición que sean, así de las comarcas y minas de este reino, que por tal capitán de su majestad por mí nombrado para su real servicio os hayan y tengan, acaten y obedezcan. Y en las cosas de la guerra que fueren a vuestro cargo que por mí os fueren cometidas y a que conforme a ello hubieréis de acudir del real servicio, os obedezcan y cumplan vuestros mandamientos y vengan a vuestros llamamientos y se conformen con vuestra voluntad so las penas que de parte de su majestad les pusiereis; las cuales siendo por vos puestas, yo desde ahora para entonces las he por puestas y por condenados en ellas a los que rebeldes e inobedientes fuereis. Y vos las podáis ejecutar en sus personas y bienes excepto en las que fueren de calidad que por ellas se haya de proceder contra ellos a pena de muerte y efusión de sangre o mutilación de miembro, que en estos tres casos hechas las averiguaciones y presos los culpados, los castigue conforme a la calidad de ellas. Y a vos os guarden y hagan guardar todas las honras y franquezas y libertades y ejecuciones e inmunidades que por razón de ser tal capitán del rey nuestro señor por mí en su real nombre nombrado os deben ser guardadas y de que debéis gozar según leyes militares.

Y porque de presente, como sabéis, los soldados de este reino están repartidos en los presidios de él y de presente no hay soldados de campaña y no se os pueden entregar ahora ningunos soldados para que con ellos sirváis a su majestad, habéis de estar advertido de que de presente no habéis de tirar sueldo de su majestad hasta el día que se os entregaren los soldados, con que habéis de servir a su majestad, que entonces se os señalará por mí el sueldo que habéis de llevar de la real hacienda que será por mí dada instrucción de lo que debéis hacer y a lo que habéis de acudir. Y porque su majestad, dé la real provisión que fue servido de me enviar de tal teniente de capitán general con acuerdo del excelentísimo marqués de Villamanrique, su lugarteniente y gobernador de la Nueva España y capitán general de estos reinos, me tiene cometido el conocimiento de todas las causas civiles y criminales que los capitanes, caudillos y soldados de este reino cometieren sin que sus reales justicias se entremetan en ellos. Por la presente os cometo y doy comisión a vos el dicho capitán Juan Morlete para que por mi ausencia vos conozcáis de cualesquier causas civiles y criminales que contra los soldados que tuviereis a vuestro cargo y gobierno se recrecieren, así de oficio como de pedimento de parte, haciendo justicia en ellas, breve y sumariamente como caso de corte a usanza de guerra excepto en los tres casos declarados, de pena de muerte o efusión de sangre o mutilación de miembro, que en estos tres habéis de guardar lo que os está mandado en esta comisión. Y cuando sucediere alguna cuestión entre los tales soldados y otras personas que no lo sean para conocer de las tales causas, os acompañaréis con la justicia de su majestad más cercana a la parte donde lo tal

sucediere y ambos juntos conoceréis de las tales causas que para todo ello y lo a ello anexo y concerniente, os doy poder y facultad cual de derecho se requiere y os mando que así vos como los soldados que a vuestro cargo y gobierno tuvieréis y traeréis, siempre acatéis y reverenciéis a las justicias de mí y su majestad, como estamos todos a ello obligados so pena que vos y ellos seréis por mí castigados por todo rigor. Y en todo haréis y cumpliréis lo que buen capitán y leal vasallo y criado de su majestad debe y está obligado a hacer en servicio de su rey y señor y como yo confío de vuestra persona so pena de la vida.

Y porque como sabéis el capitán Francisco de Urdiñola de muchos a esta parte ha servido y está sirviendo a su majestad en las minas y comarcas de Mazapil, así en la guarda de aquellos vecinos y de los que benefician las minas, como de los caminos y personas que por ellos van y vienen. Y por la paz que se ha asentado en los indios salteadores que él y vos habéis traído de paz a aquellas minas, de presente hay tan solamente ocho soldados de presidio en las dichas minas y muchas veces el dicho capitán Francisco de Urdiñola hace ausencia de las dichas minas, ocupándose fuera de ellas en otras cosas del servicio de su majestad, y estando él ausente, conviene que haya persona que capitaneé y rija y gobierne los dichos soldados del Mazapil y les mande lo que han de hacer y él los gobierne. Atento a lo cual, por la presente os doy comisión para que en cualquier ausencia o ausencias que hiciese el dicho capitán de las dichas minas del Mazapil vos, como tal capitán de su majestad, acudáis en todo y por todo a todas las cosas que el dicho capitán Francisco de Urdiñola acude estando él presente, y vos por su ausencia rijáis y gobernéis los dichos soldados, como y de la manera que él lo hace con su presencia. Para el cual efecto mandó al dicho capitán que cuando hubiere de hacer ausencia de las dichas minas, os deje un traslado de las instrucciones que mías tiene para el gobierno de su compañía y vos las veréis, guardéis y cumpliréis como si con vos hablaran y a vos fueran dirigidas so pena que seréis por ello castigado por todo rigor como capitán que no guarda los mandos de su general, y mandó a los dichos soldados que de presente hay y adelante hubiere en el dicho presidio del Mazapil que, por ausencias del dicho capitán Juan Morlete, por tal su capitán según y como lo hacían con el dicho capitán Francisco de Urdiñola so pena de la vida. Y os encargo mucho y tengáis especial cuidado de la paz, conservación de ella que está puesta con los indios que ahora están poblados en aquella comarca y los demás que vinieren, no consentiendo que los vecinos y otras personas les hagan molestias, ni vejaciones, ni se sirvan de ellos contra su voluntad porque la paz se conserve, pues tanto importa esto al servicio de su majestad, bien y quietud de este reino. Fecho en Zacatecas a 19 de septiembre de 1588. Diego de Lozada, por mandado del teniente de general Antonio López de Cepeda, escribano de su majestad.

Don Luis de Velasco, virrey, por cuanto yo dí comisión al capitán Juan Morlete de 23 de abril, que pasó de este presente año para que a los indios de La Concepción de nación chanalas y zacatecos que tenía juntos y congregados en sus haciendas del Mazapil los tuviese en administración, guarda y defensa, alimentándoles de todo lo necesario, defendiéndoles y amparándoles de cualesquier agravios que se les pretendiese hacer, dándoles doctrina de suerte que viviesen en policía cristiana y no se volviesen a alterar ni alzar, como más largamente en la dicha comisión se contiene, y porque he sido informado que, entre los dichos indios que así

tiene de paz y congregados el dicho Juan Morlete en las dichas sus haciendas, andan algunas personas, así españoles como mestizos, negros y mulatos de mal vivir, cometiendo delitos, causando mal ejemplo a los dichos indios, haciéndoles agravios y malos tratamientos, ocasionándoles con esto a que se vuelvan a desasosegar y alzar contra el servicio de su majestad, y para que esto no suceda y los tales sean castigados de sus excesos, por el presente doy comisión y facultad al dicho capitán Juan Morlete para que pueda proceder y proceda contra los dichos españoles, mestizos, negros y mulatos que se entremetieren entre los dichos indios y les hicieren los dichos agravios y malos tratamientos y que cometieren los dichos delitos. Saliendo en su seguimiento a dondequiera que fuere aunque sea a otras jurisdicciones en las cuales, y en donde pudieren ser habidos los pueda castigar conforme a sus culpas sin que ningunas justicias ni otras cualesquier personas se lo impidan. Antes mando que para ello le den y hagan dar todo el favor y ayuda que les pidiere y hubiere menester, que para ello y lo a ello anexo y dependiente, le doy poder cumplido cual de derecho se requiere, con que en lo demás guarde el tenor de la primera comisión que le tengo dada y como por ella se le manda no se entremeta a conocer de las causas así de delitos como otras cualesquier que se ofreciesen entre los dichos indios, dejando el castigo y conocimiento de ellas al principal y mandón que entre ellos hubiere. Fecho en México a 15 días del mes de mayo de 1592 años. Don Luis de Velasco. Por mandado del Virrey, Pedro de Campos.

Don Luis de Velasco, virrey, por cuanto teniendo noticia que los indios del nuevo reino de Galicia que andaban alzados y rebelados de servicio de su majestad venían de paz y se ofrecían a poblar en algunas partes señaladas, se ha acordado admitirlos a la dicha paz y que se les dé de la real hacienda alguna ropa para que se vistan y maíz para su mantenimiento entretanto que hagan sementeras y las cojan. Y ordenado que para que esto se recoja y se reparta a los tales indios, se nombren cuatro personas que lo reciban y repartan, presente y con parecer del religioso que entendiere en la doctrina de ellos y que el un almacén esté en las Charcas, y otro en las minas del Mazapil y otro en las minas de Chalchihuites, y otro en Colotlán. Y teniendo confianza de la persona del capitán Juan Morlete que ha mucho tiempo que sirve en la guerra que se ha tenido con los dichos indios, por la presente en nombre de su majestad le proveo y nombro para que asista en el dicho asiento y minas del Mazapil y allí esté y reciba en amistad todos los indios que se han venido y vinieren de paz y los ampare y defienda de todas las personas que les quisieren hacer daños y tenga la jurisdicción de ellos sin que en ella se entremetan justicias ni otra persona ninguna. Y por la confianza que de él tengo por sí solo sin hallarse religioso ni otra persona, les dé y reparta el maíz y ropa que se le enviare por los jueces oficiales del dicho nuevo reino, y ha de tener a cargo la labor y sementeras que se han de hacer para el sustento de los dichos indios en la parte mas cómoda que le pareciere, y hacer y haga recoger el maíz que de las tales sementeras hubiere, y tener cuenta y razón de los ganados que se mataren, hierros y señales que tuvieren para que se pague a los dueños cuyos fueren, y tenga libro y memoria de los indios capitanes que vinieren de paz y de los demás macehuales que tuvieren debajo de su obediencia y cargo, para que por esta orden se sepa y entienda los indios que se vienen de paz y se pueblan, y mando que por tal capitán del dicho asiento sea habido y tenido y ampare a los dichos indios y no consienta

se les haga agravio ninguno y cumpla lo demás de susoreferido para todo lo cual y lo a ello anexo y dependiente, le doy poder y facultad cual de derecho se requiera. Y para el cumplimiento de ello, se le dé todo el favor y ayuda que fuere menester sin que se entremeta en otra cosa a más de lo susodicho. Y por el trabajo y cuidado que en lo susodicho ha de tener, se le gratificará lo que sirviere y se le hará merced en lo que se ofreciere con mucha consideración. Fecho en México a 30 de marzo de 1590. Don Luis de Velasco. Por mandado del virrey. Juan de Cueva.

Muy buena nueva fue para mí la que me escribió Rodrigo de Río de Loza de tanto número de indios como se vinieron de paz de los de las sierras de Rocamonte, Pedregoso y Potosí y otras naciones, y que esto fue con la buena ayuda que vos y Pedro de Landeras hicistéis y hacéis al capitán Francisco de Urdiñola. Dios y el rey nuestro señor se tienen por muy servidos de esto y a mí me habéis puesto en obligación. Ruego os mucho lo llevéis adelante con el cuidado que hasta aquí que a todo lo que os tocare acudiré yo con mucha voluntad. Nuestro Señor os guarde. De México, 29 de julio de 1587. El marqués de Villamanrique a Juan Morlete. Virrey.

Dos cartas vuestras he recibido, la una de 27 de agosto y otra de 3 de septiembre, después de haber llegado Domingo Martínez de Cearreta, en las cuales me avisáis del estado de las cosas de esa tierra, y a ambas os responderé en ésta. Recibo contento de que con puntualidad me deis relación de las cosas que se ofrecen y así lo haréis, señor, para que mejor yo pueda ocurrir al remedio de los que el estado de ellas pide. En lo que toca a las ermitas que decís conviene que haya, según lo habéis comunicado con los religiosos cuyas visitas serán éstas. Me parece bien y así lo iréis disponiendo y haciendo de manera que siga efecto porque me parece será conveniente en el modo que decís habéis tenido en la distribución de la ropa que habéis repartido y como habéis desde el primero de la paz moderado la condición de los indios también me ha satisfecho. Y esto podréis seguir y yo holgara mucho que los demás de cuyo cargo es tratar de esto hubieran procedido de esta manera pues es conocido aprovechamiento de la real hacienda y se hacen los mismos efectos, y así os ruego, señor, que la ropa buena que os hubiere quedado se venda y conmute su procedido en sayales y frazadas que distribuiréis por el orden que lo habéis empezado, que si la brevedad del tiempo no lo estorbara, yo os hubiera socorrido desde aquí con más ropa. En lo que toca al maíz, tomarlo es de la parte que os pareciere y la cantidad que fuere necesario y a los precios que pudiereis, teniendo moderación en la cantidad y precios, y en la carne la que fuere menester también por vuestra orden se tomara del obligado de ese pueblo y lo que importare. Lo uno y lo otro enviaréis con recaudos bastantes a los oficiales reales de Zacatecas para que lo paguen a quien sirvió, así lo hagan con toda brevedad y puntualidad.

Gaspar Castaño de Sosa y su gente han sido malconsiderados en exceder de lo que por orden y mandado mío les notificasteis y aconsejasteis, y he sentido mucho su desorden y más que puedo encarecer el haber ocasionado a los indios de ese nuevo reino a inquietarse y ponerse de guerra como decís que lo están, y sobre todo el haber hecho tantas presas injustas y tan contra el servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su majestad. Y lo peor es que además del mal suceso y muertes de que me avisáis, se puede esperar lo mismo en él y sus compañeros, y bastará cuando esto nos sea el gran daño que van haciendo en cautivar indios libres y llevarlo por



principal fin y granjería para pagar sus deudas y mercaderes que llevan consigo. Y no es de menos consideración lo que de esto puede resultar en la paz de los que se han reducido y van congregando. Advirtiéndolo a todo esto y a la gravedad de los excesos y delitos de éstos y a que como refráis y consta por la información que me enviáis, van alzados, rebeldes e inobedientes, he acordado que en esto se ponga el remedio que conviniere, impidiendo los daños que éstos van haciendo y previniendo que no los prosigan, y así lo asentasteis, señor, vos y Domingo Martínez, en acusarme para que se remediase como hará entiendo, se hará especialmente habiéndome determinado que esto sea por vuestra mano de que yo tanto fío. Y creo que en la ejecución de lo que os encargo procederéis con toda prudencia y buen modo para que se sigan los efectos que se desean lo más apacible y suavemente que se pueda, sin que resulte daño ni rompimiento considerable que aunque la rebeldía e inobediencia de esos hombres perdidos lo amenaza, vuestra cordura y buen orden prometen lo contrario. Y también entiendo que conseguiréis lo que yo deseo supuesta su flaqueza y poco consejo y vuestra ventaja que, para que ésta se acierta, he querido que os partáis con mucha brevedad en su seguimiento sin que desistáis del camino y trabajo hasta hallarlos, prenderlos y traerlos todos ante mí sin parar ni torcer camino. Y para esto os envío la comisión que con ésta recibiréis hace, señor, la gente cuya paga se les hará como os tengo escrito luego y de manera os apresta que la dilación no haga daño. E iréis prevenido de bastimentos de suerte que la falta de ellos no impidan la prosecución de la jornada de cuyo ruín, suceso o impedimiento recibiere notable disgusto y será gran deservicio del rey nuestro señor.

Envío también con ésta la instrucción que habéis de seguir aunque la verdadera, según los casos y novedades que ocurrieren es la que fío daréis. Y a la buena y cierta ejecución de lo que se os encarga en todo procederéis como yo espero y iréis escribiendo siempre para en cuanto hicieréis por escrito y autos conste de vuestra justificación. Y porque a esto no será pequeña ayuda el buen consejo de Domingo Martínez de Cearreta, me ha parecido que para este efecto le llevéis en vuestra compañía y tendréis con él toda buena correspondencia. También os envío comisión para que deis libertad a los indios todos de las presas del Nuevo Reino de León, ejercer leyes con todo rigor aunque sea contra los jueces, y daréisles libertad, volviéndoles con ellas a sus tierras. Y para este efecto mando que Alonso Ruiz y su compañero os lleven todos los indios que estaban en Zacatecas para que los llevéis en vuestra compañía y los soltéis libremente según se os avisa por la instrucción; demás de la cual estaréis advertido a dar relación de lo que os fuere sucediendo a Rodrigo de Río, a quien obedeceréis en las órdenes que os enviaré para que mejor se consiga lo que yo mando. Guarde nuestro señor, etc. México, 1 de octubre de 1590. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Francisco Morlete, digo Juan Morlete. Virrey.

Con esta última carta que, señor, me escribistéis, he holgado como lo hago siempre que sé de vuestra salud que os la dé Nuestro Señor tan cumplida como puede. Del buen estado de las cosas de los indios y de la quietud que tienen tengo el contento que es razón y mediante el favor de Dios y vuestro buen celo, cuidado y traza; confío se ha de continuar ese bien y ir en mucho aumento, y quedo muy agradecido de la voluntad con que habéis acudido a moderar los gastos de la hacienda de su majestad, que es en lo que sus criados muestran la fidelidad y amor, con que lo desean ser y importa harto a su real hacienda si tuviera algunos en las

partes donde se administra. Vuestro proceso se despachará con brevedad y la petición que habéis enviado se proveerá después de haberle sentenciado como con venga. Y yo siempre holgaré de haceros placer en lo que pudiere; de lo que se ofreciere que sea de importancia me avisaréis en las ocasiones que hubiere. Y guarde Nuestro Señor, etc. México, 11 de junio de 1593. Don Diego de Velasco envía orden para la paga de los bastimentos y maderas que se han tomado. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Juan Morlete, alcalde mayor del Saltillo. Virrey.

Ayer recibí vuestras cartas y aviso de la determinación de Gaspar Castaño y los que con él estaban y como, sin tener la consideración que era justo, contra orden mía y lo que vos, señor, les habiáis advertido, ha alzado bandera y entrado la tierra adentro al Nuevo México, determinado estoy de que vais en su seguimiento con los treinta soldados que decís. Y para que con mayor seguridad procedáis y con la fuerza de gente podáis sin llegar a rompimiento con toda suavidad reducirlos y prenderlos, me ha parecido que llevéis diez soldados más y llevaréis también en vuestra compañía a Domingo Martínez de Cearreta y su hijo. He querido daros este aviso para que os sirva de prevención haciendo de vuestra parte mucha diligencia para tener toda la gente junta, y prevenidos los bastimentos necesarios, en el entretanto que os envío los recaudos e instrucciones del orden que habéis de tener. Y también envío a los oficiales de Zacatecas aviso para que tengan a punto la plata necesaria para este despacho y que si tuvieren orden para poderlo hacer, libren la cantidad en esas minas y paguen un tercio adelantado como decís. Y vos, señor, como de vos confío y haya negocios y ocasiones de mayor momento, acudiréis a esto con la brevedad, diligencia, ardua y reportación que es necesario. Dentro de tres días despacharé los recaudos y los soldados por quien me escribisteis y estaban presos. Guarde Nuestro Señor, etc. De México, 24 de septiembre de 1590. Don Luis de Velasco, al capitán Juan Morlete en el Mazapil. Virrey.

Vuestra carta de cinco de éste recibí, y agradezco os mucho el contento que significáis tenéis de la merced que su majestad me ha hecho y en lo que decís estáis ocupado en servicio de su majestad poblando en pueblo para esos indios en los Cedros y que acabado con eso, acudiréis poblar los otros tres, en Bonanza, Concepción y el Canutillo. Me ha parecido muy bien, y el gobernador Rodrigo de Río de Loza me ha informado lo mucho que habéis trabajado en esas comarcas, años en conservar los indios en la paz y sustentarlos en ella, tan a vuestra costa; y así yo en nombre de su majestad en las cosas que se os ofrecieren tener especial cuidado de honrar vuestra persona como vuestro servicio lo merece. Y así me haréis placer de continuar vuestro buen propósito que tenéis comenzado pues sabéis cuanto se sirve Dios y su majestad en ello, dando siempre orden con vuestra buena industria en que esos indios perseveren en la paz que tienen comenzado y se reduzcan en ella lo demás de esas comarcas, y en lo que decís que hay necesidad que se provean de bastimento y de otras cosas para esa gente. Holgaría hubiese llegado los que decís que esperabáis de Zacatecas porque acá estoy dando orden para que se acuda a todo eso con mucha puntualidad, la resolución de lo cual llevará Rodrigo de Río de Loza, que saldrá breve de esta ciudad y entonces nos avisará lo que más con venga al servicio de su majestad.

Y en lo que toca a que haya soldados en ese presidio, como habréis entendido, el marqués de Villamanrique, parece que por causas que le movieron, quitó totalmente todos los soldados de ese reino y de éste, de cuya causa por ahora no los ha

de haber en ninguna parte, hasta que se vea lo que más convenga al servicio de su majestad en lo que toca a lo que se les debe de lo corrido. Como es deuda causada antes que yo entrase en el gobierno de estos reinos, es menester mirarlo con la consideración que se requiere, y así lo ha tratado conmigo Rodrigo de Río de Loza. Y yo acudiré a todo lo que fuere posible para que cada uno haya lo que se le debe, y así se lo podréis decir a los soldados y con brevedad procuraré se lleve claridad de todo. Y vos me avisaréis en las ocasiones que se ofrecieren de lo que por allá pasare para que yo sobre todo mande lo que más convenga al servicio de su majestad. Nuestro Señor os guarde como deseáis. De México, 27 de febrero de 1590. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Juan Morlete en el Mazapil. Virrey.

Recibí vuestra carta de 11 de junio y holgué de saber que tuviereis salud y de la buena voluntad con que estáis de acudir a lo que os he encargado a la población y pacificación de los indios que vienen de paz. Yo os lo agradezco como es razón y os aseguro que en lo que yo pudiere, lo mostraré en las ocasiones que se ofrecieren, haciendo vuestro oficio como lo habéis hecho y prometéis hacer. Y cuando ésta llegue yo creo os habrá llegado ropa y bastimentos para repartir a los naturales; me avisaréis de ello y siempre de la voluntad con que os pareciere toman la paz y procuraréis que nadie los inquiete ni desasosiegue y que se animen a sembrar y cultivar la tierra. Bien entiendo tendrán necesidad de religiosos y así he proveído vayan de aquí ocho para que se repartan por esas poblaciones y ahora creo le cabrán dos, y pareciendo que está bien su asiento en los Cedros, se podrá hacer ahí que de harta comodidad será el ayuda y remedio que les queréis hacer en obra tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor. Y yo escribiré al custodio que si no hubiere religiosos señalados para ahí los señale, y de lo que en esto y en lo demás que hubiere, me avisaréis como os lo tengo dicho.

Mucho me pesa que los tres capitanes que decís hayan hecho entrada y sacado las piezas que me escribís sobre esto, proveeré lo que convenga. Y en lo que toca a la demás gente que está en el Reino de León, aguardo que con vuestra ida cesaren en su desordenado propósito. Y así les conviene hacerlo porque donde procederé contra ellos con todo rigor y no lo deseo tener con nadie si lo pudiese excusar, y aunque me han dicho estos días que intentan hacer nueva entrada en Nuevo México, no he querido hacer novedad hasta tener respuesta vuestra.

Noticia tengo del gobernador Rodrigo del Río de Loza y otras personas lo bien que habéis servido a su majestad y cuan merecido tenéis por esto y por vuestra persona la hacienda que tenéis. Deseo os en ella y en todo mucho acrecentamiento pues también la sabéis emplear. Guarde os Nuestro Señor como puede. De México, 4 de julio de 1590. Don Luis de Velasco a Juan Morlete, capitán, en el Mazapil.

Don Felipe por la gracia de Dios, rey. A vos el capitán Juan Morlete, residente en las minas del Mazapil, a quien tengo cometida la prisión de Gaspar Castaño de Sosa y culpados en razón de la entrada sin comisión mía al Nuevo México y gente vestida, salud y gracia. Sabed que habiéndose entendido por Don Luis de Velasco, virrey, el estado en que está el negocio y que conviene a mi real servicio que hagáis la prisión que os está cometida, de suerte que los presos lleguen con seguridad a la ciudad de México a su presencia para hacer y proveer justicia, y para este efecto he acordado de mandar librar esta mi carta y provisión real por cuyo tenor os mando que en cumplimiento y ejecución de otra mi real provisión a vos di-

rigida, librada en la ciudad de México en 3 de octubre del año pasado de 1590, en razón de la dicha prisión, la hagáis con cuidado y diligencia. Y preso el dicho Gaspar Castaño, le traeréis ante el dicho mi virrey con los demás culpados y para que venga con seguridad, os acompañaréis con los soldados que os pareciere ser necesarios, precisamente sin que haya falta ni exceso, los cuales hagan por el camino guarda y centinela armados por el orden que le diereis, señalándoles por su trabajo y ocupación al respecto de a cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos de oro común por año el tiempo que en esto se ocuparen, que corra desde el día que fueren conducidos para ello hasta llegar a la ciudad de México, lo cual se les pagará en llegando. Y guardaréis y cumpliréis todo lo demás contenido en la dicha mía real provisión, y mando a todas las mis justicias por cuya jurisdicción pasaréis y donde estuvieréis y llegaréis y a las personas que allí vivieren y residieren que, para el cumplimiento del susodicho orden, hagan dar todo el favor y ayuda que les pidieréis y hubiereis menester sin réplica ni excusa alguna so pena de caer en caso grave y de privación de oficio de quinientos pesos para mi real cámara en que desde luego doy por condenado al que faltare. Y en caso que estéis ocupado, cumpla y guarde esta mi carta el capitán Agustín de Lesaca como si a él fuera dirigida con el cuidado y puntualidad que conviene y confío de su persona y los unos y los otros no hagáis ni hagan ende al so la dicha pena de la mi merced. Dada en la ciudad de México a 8 de junio de 1591, don Luis de Velasco refrendada del secretario Martín López de Gaona.

He recibido la que se me escribió a 20 de octubre y creo yo muy bien el sentimiento que se muestra por mi ausencia, pero consuélome con que el señor conde ha de conocer las buenas partes y méritos que hay señor en vuestra persona, para estimarla en lo que es razón y haceros merced. Y para que tenga de esto más noticia, yo se la daré a su señoría más cumplida como se me pide, y creo que mediante ella y su mucha cristianidad, acudirá a ello con las veras que yo lo hiciera, a lo menos yo siempre lo desearé. Y si por allá pudiere en algo, se me podrá mandar con mucha seguridad porque estoy muy agradecido de lo que se ha hecho en servicio de su majestad y por hacerme a mi merced. Guarde Nuestro Señor, etc. Tacubaya, a 10 de enero de 1596. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Juan Morlete.

El capitán Francisco de Urdiñola me da razón del castigo que hizo en aquellos dos indios salteadores y matadores, y le respondo lo bien que me ha parecido la justicia que en ellos se hizo y que lo tengo por de importancia para que los demás indios que seguían los mismos pasos se refrenen y tengan miedo y procuren vivir bien; y se lo agradezco y a los capitanejos y principales que dieron noticia de los malhechores también. Y le encargo se lo dé a entender de mi parte y lo mucho que me obligarán en continuar su buen celo y no consentir ni dar lugar a que halla indios que hagan daños y cometan delitos, y que habiéndolos avisar luego de ello, y el mismo oficio os encargo, señor, hagáis por vuestra parte con ellos, encaminando siempre lo que conviene a la conservación y aumento de la paz. En lo que toca a dar más amplia comisión al capitán Urdiñola, veré lo que se podrá hacer y acudiré a ello. Guarde Nuestro Señor, etc. México, 14 de agosto de 1593. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Juan Morlete en las minas del Mazapil.

Recibí, señor, vuestras cartas de 20 de octubre y 3 de enero, y huelgo mucho de conocerlos por ellas y a la distancia de camino que hay de aquí a donde os hallais,

no os da lugar por ahora de venir a verme; yo os doy, señor, muchas gracias por la voluntad con que os ofrecéis de acudir a mis cosas y partes merced, y en lo que habéis servido y servís al rey nuestro señor, que de todo y de vuestra persona he tenido tan buena recordación como se debe esperar de un hombre tan honrado en todo lo que hubiere lugar y se ofreciere acudiré yo a complaceros con muy buena voluntad. Y guarde Nuestro Señor, etc. México, a 22 de febrero de 1596. El conde de Monterrey al capitán Juan Morlete.

Estos días he visto vuestro proceso y deseado aparte el buen efecto que al parecer ha resultado de lo que se hizo en el Pedregoso, así para que los indios tengan más respeto y menos libertad de la que tenían, como para la seguridad de la paz y tierra y conservación de la paz en que parece se acertó; y se debía tener por menor mal suceso de lo que algunos les parecía que como ya, señor, sabéis aún de lo que no hay que sentir mal, muchos lo calumnian y ponen objetos cuanto y más de esto en que no han faltado votos y pareceres de muchos, yo os deseo bien y en lo que fuere posible os lo he de procurar atendiendo a más a lo que habéis servido a su majestad que a dichos de gente apasionada. Y así he ido de industria contrateniendo y dilatando la sentencia para que los que no lo aprobaban al principio se vayan desengañando con el tiempo y vean como del hecho no ha resultado daño sino mucho provecho mediante lo que se hizo, pues de ello se ha seguido estar los indios quietos y la tierra sosegada.

Con esto os podréis quietar y no tener cuidado del negocio que yo lo tengo y se determinará sin que en él haya más dilación de la que a vos os puede estar bien. Prosigue como hasta aquí, teniendo cuenta con los indios sin que os dé pena esta causa pues en ella se os guardará vuestra justicia. Y Dios os guarde como, señor, deseáis. En México, 19 de octubre de 1593. Don Luis de Velasco al capitán Juan Morlete en las minas del Mazapil.

*Cuenta y razón de los frijoles que recibió el capitán Juan Morlete y distribución de ellos.*

En 3 de marzo de 1593 repartió el capitán Juan Morlete al capitán Minamea y a su gente, hombres y mujeres, en toda la cuaresma, 4 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Juan Garrido y a su gente en veces en la cuaresma, 5 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a don Gerónimo de Velasco y a su gente en toda la cuaresma, 5 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a don Miguel de Urdiñola para él y toda su gente en la cuaresma, 6 fanegas de frijoles.

Item al capitán Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra y a su gente, 2 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Macuitoca y a su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Malasicha y a su gente, 4 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Francisco, capitán, y a su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Martín, indio capitán, y a su gente, 2 ½ fanegas de frijoles.

Item a Machichini, capitán, y a su gente, 2 fanegas de frijoles.

En 3 de marzo de 1594, repartió el dicho Juan Morlete al capitán Juan Garrido y a su gente, 5 fanegas de frijoles para toda la cuaresma en veces.

Este día repartió al capitán don Juan Garrido, digo don Juan Minamea y su gente, 5 fanegas de frijoles.

Este día a don Gerónimo de Velasco y su gente, 4 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
A don Miguel de Urdiñola y su gente, 6 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Martín, indio capitán, y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Machinini, capitán, y su gente, 2 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Francisco, capitán y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Malasicha y su gente, 4 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Macuitoca y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
En 8 de febrero de 1595, repartió el dicho Juan Morlete para la cuaresma a don Juan Minamea y su gente en veces, 5 fanegas de frijoles.  
A don Miguel de Urdiñola y su gente, 6 fanegas de frijoles.  
A don Gerónimo de Velasco y su gente, 4 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
A Juan Garrido y su gente, 5 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Gaspar Duarte Quamimirra y su gente, 2 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
A Macuitoca y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Malasicha y su gente, 2 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
A Machichini y su gente, 3 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
A Martín, indio capitán y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
En 28 de febrero de 1595, repartió el dicho Juan Morlete para toda la cuaresma en veces a don Juan Minamea, 5 ½ fanegas de frijoles.  
Este día a don Gerónimo de Velasco y su gente 5 fanegas de frijoles.  
A don Miguel de Urdiñola y su gente, 6 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Juan Garrido y su gente, 4 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Martín, indio capitán, y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Malasicha y su gente, 4 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Macuitoca y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Machichini y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Malasicha y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
A Quamimira y su gente, 3 fanegas de frijoles.  
Item 21 fanegas de frijoles que entregó Gaspar Duarte, albacea de Juan Morlete, a Martín de Lizalde en un vale de Martín García de la Chao, los cuales cobró de sus bienes el capitán Diego Infante del Aguila. Gaspar Duarte.

*Cuenta y razón de los morillos que recibió el capitán Juan Morlete y en que los distribuyó.*

Da por descargo el dicho capitán Juan Morlete 189 morillos que gastó en hacer las casas de los indios del pueblo del Mazapil y en Concepción en fin del año de 1593 y por enero de 1594.

Item da por descargo 111 morillos que Gaspar Duarte entregó a Martín de Lizalde que le faltaban de entregar a Martín García de la Chao, persona en quien se remataron, y dio vales del dicho los cuales cobró el capitán Diego Infante del Aguila de sus bienes. Gaspar Duarte.

*Memoria de la ropa que se da a los indios naturales desde hoy, 8 de agosto de 1590 años.*

Este día a don Miguel de Levitelo, unas naguas de telar y una poca de seda y una aguja y un cuchillo.

The Chichimeca War and Peace

Este día a 3 indios de su parcialidad, el uno llamado Juanillo y otro Perico y otro Diego Juanillo Penco, a cada uno 5 varas de sayal azul y pardo y una poca de seda y una aguja y a Diego una frazada y un sombrero.

En 29 de agosto de 1590 entregó al dicho capitán Juan Morlete al padre guardián fray Juan Gómez 173 varas de sayal azul y pardo en una pieza entera y 39 agujas y 6 frazadas mestizas y 6 madejas de seda azul de la China a repartir a los indios de los Cedros.

En 3 de septiembre se dio a Juan Garrido 1 frazada y 1 gargantilla para su mujer y 6 varas de sayal azul y pardo.

A Juan Manama Chibi, 1 frazada este día.

A don Miguel del Canutillo, 1 frazada.

A Juan Machemalo del Canutillo, 6 varas de sayal y 1 frazada.

A Francisco Moyunas del Canutillo, 6 varas de sayal y 1 frazada.

A Juan Aguyo del Canutillo, 6 varas de sayal.

A Isabel Machaque, madre del dicho, 1 huipil de lana.

En 5 de septiembre a Geromillo, capitán, 6 varas de sayal azul y pardo.

Este día a Juanillo, indio de su parcialidad, otras 6 varas de sayal azul y pardo.

En 18 de septiembre a don Juan Minamea, capitán del Pedregoso, 2 ½ varas de paño y 5 varas de sayal.

Este día a don Juan Poca Panchi, capitán del Pedregoso y Potosí, 2 ½ varas de paño y 5 varas de sayal.

A Juan Camalina, indio de su parcialidad, 5 varas de sayal.

A Agustín del Canutillo, 5 varas de sayal y 1 frazada.

Al dicho don Juan Poca Panchi, 1 sombrero.

En 4 de octubre a Sebastián, indio que bautizaron, unos zapatos y 3 varas de paño azul y una poca de seda.

Este día a 2 indios de los Cedros que se bautizaron, 2 huipiles.

Este día a 8 muchachos de los Cedros que se bautizaron, 8 pares de zapatos.

Este día a 2 indios de los Cedros 2 frazadas que dio el padre fray Antonio.

A Pedro García, indio de los Cedros, 1 sombrero y unos zapatos.

A Francisco Maquina, de los Cedros, 6 varas de sayal pardo y 1 fresadilla.

A don Francisco Macilacho, 1 frazada y unos zapatos.

En 15 de octubre a Quamimira, 2 varas de paño azul y 1 frazada y unos zapatos.

Este día a Machichini, 3 varas de paño y 1 frazada y unos zapatos.

Este día a Juan Cale, de los Cedros, 1 frazada y 6 varas de sayal y unos zapatos y una poca de seda.

Este día a Juan Maneche, 3 varas de paño y 6 varas de sayal unos zapatos y una poca de seda y 1 sombrero y 2 agujas.

En 17 del dicho a Juan Mamoyona del Canutillo, 1 frazada y 6 varas de sayal y unos zapatos y una poca de seda y 1 aguja.

Este día a Juan Topile del Canutillo 6 varas de sayal y 1 sombrero y unos zapatos y 3 varas de paño y una poca de seda y 1 aguja y 1 camisa va conmigo a la jornada.

A Juanillo, muchacho del Canutillo, 6 varas de sayal y unos zapatos, 1 sombrero, 3 varas de paño, una poca de seda y 1 aguja.

A don Miguel del Canutillo, unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo.

En 20 de octubre a Juan Zapaco, de los Cedros, 5 varas de sayal azul y unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo.

Este día a Marcos Cachinao del dicho pueblo, otro tanto.

Este día a Gerónimo Cueto, otro tanto.

Este día a Juan Pomirra, otro tanto.

Este día a Pedro Guamissapa, otro tanto.

Este día a Juan Tanatale, otro tanto.

Este día a Magdalena Caylapacle, 1 huipil y unos botines.

En 3 de noviembre a Francisco Poyane de Benunse que va a la jornada, 3 varas de paño para un capote y 7 varas de sayal para zaraguelles y ropilla y una camisa y unos zapatos y una poca de seda y 2 agujas y 1 frazada y 1 sombrero.

A Juan Garrido de Varnassa que va a la jornada, otro tanto como al dicho Francisco.

En 6 de noviembre a Juan Sanachana que va a la jornada, 3 varas de paño para un capote, 6 varas de sayal, 1 cuchillo y unos zapatos, 1 frazada, 1 sombrero, una poca de seda y 2 agujas.

A un muchacho de los Cedros, que va con el padre guardián, vara y media de paño, 2 frazadas, unos zapatos, 1 sombrero.

En 5 de noviembre dió el dicho capitán a 5 gandules que eran de Matías de Lizalde para ponerlos en libertad, a cada, uno cuatro varas de sayal pardo y 1 fresadilla y 1 aguja y hilo.

Este día 3 piezas de sayal para llevar a la jornada.

2 piezas de paño

6 fresadillas

12 jubones

3 pares de zapatos

50 gargantillas

12 libras de hilera

1 libra de seda

100 agujas.

Toda la dicha ropa de atrás se repartió a los dichos indios e indias como está declarado en sus partidas y lo de esta plana se llevó a la jornada del Nuevo México para reducir de paz la gente que había levantado de guerra Gaspar Castaño de Sosa en Coahuila del Nuevo Reino de León. Gaspar Duarte.

Libro de cuenta y razón de la ropa que yo, el capitán Juan Morlete, doy y reparto a los indios naturales que están y vienen de paz de la que se me ha enviado por mandado del ilustrísimo señor don Luis de Velasco, virrey de esta Nueva España, desde 28 de agosto de 1590.

En 28 del dicho a don Miguel del Canutillo, capitán de aquella parcialidad, 6 varas de paño y 1 camisa y 1 frazada y 1 sombrero y unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo y 1 madeja de hilera y una poca de seda y 2 agujas y 1 jubón de anejo.

A 14 indios de su parcialidad que trajo consigo, a cada uno, 6 varas de sayal y 1 frazada y 1 sombrero y 1 cuchillo y unos zapatos y 1 madeja de hilera y 2 agujas a cada uno.

A 8 indias que trajeron de su parcialidad, a cada una, 1 huipil y unas naguas de telar y unos botines y 1 frazada y 1 madeja de hilera y 1 gargantilla.

A 5 muchachos y muchachas que trajeron, 3 varas de sayal y 1 gargantilla a cada una.



Este dicho día 28 de agosto, dí al capitán Minamea 6 varas de paño y 1 camisa y 1 frazada y 1 jubón de anejo y unos zapatos y 1 sombrero y 1 madeja de hilera y una poca de seda y 2 agujas.

Este dicho día, dí a su mujer del dicho Minamea, 1 huipil y unas naguas y 2 gargantillas y unos botines.

Este dicho día, di a 17 indios del dicho Minamea, a cada uno, 6 varas de sayal y 1 frazada y 1 madeja de hilera y 2 agujas y 1 sombrero.

Este dicho día a 10 indias de la dicha parcialidad, a cada una, 1 huipil y unas naguas y 1 gargantilla y una poca de seda, a cada una.

Este dicho día a 9 muchachos y muchachas, sus hijos, 3 varas de sayal a cada uno y 1 gargantilla y una poca de seda.

Este dicho día a Diego Minamea, 6 varas de paño y 1 camisa y 1 jubón de anejo y unos zapatos y 1 frazada y 1 cuchillo y 1 sombrero y una poca de seda para otro mexicano que dijo estaba malo y era su hermano.

Este dicho día al capitán Juan Garrido, 6 varas de paño y 1 frazada y 1 jubón de anejo y 1 camisa de crea y 1 sombrero y unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo.

Este dicho día a Cristóbal Machiter, su compañero, 6 varas de paño y 1 jubón de anejo y unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo y 1 sombrero y 1 frazada y una poca de seda y 2 agujas.

Este día a 19 indios de las parcialidades de los dichos capitanes, a cada uno, 6 varas de sayal y 1 frazada y unos zapatos y 1 cuchillo y 1 madeja de hilera.

Este día a 20 indias de la dicha parcialidad, a cada una, 1 huipil y unas naguas y 1 gargantilla y media madeja de hilera y 1 aguja.

Este día a 9 muchachos y muchachas de la dicha parcialidad, a cada uno, 3 varas de sayal y 1 gargantilla y a 4 de las mayores se les dio 4 varas a cada una.

A su mujer de Cristóbal, unos botines.

Este dicho día al capitán Malasicha, 6 varas de paño y 1 frazada y un jubón de anejo y 1 camisa y 1 sombrero y unos zapatos y 1 frazada y 1 madeja de hilera y 2 agujas.

Este dicho día a su mujer del dicho Malasicha, 1 huipil y 1 frazada y unas naguas y 2 gargantillas y unos botines y 1 madeja de hilera. Gaspar Duarte.

## The Audit of Captain Ortiz de Fuenmayor

*For most of June and July, 1603, inspectors Infante de Aguila and Vergara Osorio focused on the stewardship of Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor. Upon the death of Captain Miguel Caldera in 1597, Ortiz was elevated to the position of “chief justice” of the Chichimeca Peace. His leadership role and higher responsibility made a tempting target for the inspectors, and they were unusually diligent in his case. Armed with an interrogatory containing a thinly veiled accusation in its final question, they methodically made the rounds of the Chichimeca searching out witnesses of Ortiz’s activities. The testimonies uniformly praised Ortiz and failed to bear out any suspicions that he kept peace goods for himself. To the contrary, the witnesses stated that Ortiz had no need of these items as he had plenty of the same on his hacienda and even gave the Indians his personal stocks when the king’s ran short. Even a Franciscan missionary and Chichimeca recipients, interviewed using interpreters, swore the captain had faithfully carried out his responsibilities. From the testimony of Father Rodríguez the inspectors learned that Ortiz was quick to deal with any native transgressions against the peace. Rather harshly, he had summarily hanged a Chichimeca woman in 1599 after she profaned two churches and tried to incite others to rebel. Some said she was just drunk.*

*While finding no evidence of wrongdoing, the judges still stuck to the letter of the law—tailored to the king’s advantage. Ortiz de Fuenmayor must have been irked when they disallowed his request that what he gave away from his own property be credited against the balance he still owed the royal treasury. They ruled he could pay only in silver, and he complied. The loyal captain-protector was given a receipt for the amount and left to his own devices to “remedy his vexations.”*

Accounts of Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor,<sup>1</sup>  
Protector of the Guachichil and Tlaxcaltecan Indians from 1592 to 1601.

**T**reasury Inspector Diego Infante del Aguila and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio,<sup>2</sup> judges appointed by the illustrious Conde de Monterrey, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, to audit expenditures and visit the frontiers of the Chichimeca and Guachichil Indians, now settled in peace in New Spain and New Galicia. We hereby certify and make known that by virtue of our commission and secret instructions we have examined the accounts of Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, captain, protector, and *justicia mayor* of the Chichimeca and Guachichil Indians in their settlements and territories. These accounts record the cattle, corn, clothing, silver, and other items under his charge of the storehouses of San Luis, San Miguel, Santa María, Armadillo, Bocas de Maticoya, Espíritu Santo, and Agua del Venado, from 1592 to 1599.<sup>3</sup> According to the account books of the suppliers, Diego de Velasco, Juan de Monroy, and Juan de Montalvo, the lists of cargo sent from México by the controller, Alonso de Santoyo, and those of the treasury officials from Zacatecas, Bartolomé de Albornoz and Francisco López de Mesa, he received all of the said cattle, corn, and clothing during that period to clothe and provision the Indians.<sup>4</sup> The viceregal order authorizing the visitation and inspection of these accounts as well as other investigations is as follows.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ortiz de Fuenmayor was born in Spain in 1560 and was in Mexico by 1580. He soon began to achieve prominence in the attempt to attain a Chichimeca peace. Upon the death of Miguel Caldera in 1597, he was promoted to the latter's position of "chief justice" of the Chichimeca peace. Until his death in 1617 he continued as captain and "General Protector and Defender of all the Chichimeca Indians."

2. Infante del Aguila and Vergara Osorio had been specially picked for this audit and inspection. Infante was a viceregal judge and veteran treasury inspector who came highly recommended by the king. Vergara was a miner, important Chichimeca fighter, and, in 1593, a recipient of some of the first properties in the new town of San Luis Potosí.

3. San Luis Potosí, San Miguel Mezquitic, Santa María del Río, Santiago del Armadillo, Bocas de Maticoya, Espíritu Santo, and San Sebastián del Agua del Venado were all settlements of pacified Guachichiles. In 1591, many of these settlements received contingents of Tlaxcalan families, intended to serve as exemplars of civilized life. Bocas de Maticoya and Santa María del Río also had presidios nearby, and in 1594 a Franciscan convento was begun at San Sebastián del Agua del Venado, financed by pacification funds.

4. For the Audiencia of Guadalajara, distribution of pacification supplies was supervised by *proveedores* (chief provisioners), commissioned by the viceroy and stationed at Zacatecas. Diego de Velasco served as proveedor from 1592 to 1594, Juan de Monroy held the post from 1594 to 1598, and Juan de Montalvo took over from 1598 to 1601. Captain Monroy also served as a local paymaster of pacification funds and as a regidor in the Zacatecas cabildo. The controller in México, Alonso de Santoyo, had been promoted to treasurer in the same city by 1615. Bartolomé de Albornoz, another leading citizen of Zacatecas, also served as regidor and continued to hold the office of factor until his death in 1612.

5. The first official inspection of the "peace by purchase" program was instigated by Viceroy Monterrey, who issued appropriate instructions to his treasury officials in Zacatecas in November 1600. The visita was to examine accounts dating back to 1590.

Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey, lord of the houses of Viezma and Ulloa, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain and president of its audiencia and royal chancellery, to all judges and justices of his majesty, to the captains and commanders of this kingdom and provinces of New Spain and New Galicia, to any other persons entrusted with the pacification and reduction of Chichimeca Indians and other barbarous nations who were formerly at war, and to whomsoever my order should be shown.

Know that for certain reasons which are advantageous and important to the service of his majesty, it is necessary to investigate clearly and precisely the form and manner in which the presidios were founded and have been administered since the time peace was established with the Chichimecas. It is also necessary to determine what his majesty spends on each of them, what missions have been established, how many people have been settled and reduced, the achievements of each presidio in securing and maintaining peace, and how the supplies sent annually by his majesty to feed and clothe the Indians are distributed. For this purpose, I have appointed the inspector, Diego Infante del Aguila, and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio, who are capable persons, and I have given them orders, commissions, and instructions concerning all that they must observe, accomplish, and carry out. Because the remarks and advice contained in these instructions are so crucial to assuring the proper discharge of their duties, I have ordered that they keep these instructions to themselves, and that their orders and commissions remain secret. They should be shown to no one, no matter what demands are made by any interested or guilty parties who might wish to know what is contained in them. By the present letters, I order you in the name of his majesty and my own that under no circumstances may you require these visitors to present their commission and instructions or any other order of mine, nor shall you question what they are going to do or try to discover what they know. Instead you shall let them carry out their investigation freely without disturbing or impeding them in any way; instead give them all the favor and assistance they may need and require of you, under pain of whatever penalties they set and which I will uphold. I hereby authorize the inspector, Diego Infante del Aguila, and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio to investigate anyone who disobeys this order and to send the findings to me so that I may proceed against them as is most fitting. Given in México, December 11, 1601. The Conde de Monterrey. By order of the viceroy. Pedro de Campos.<sup>6</sup>

Interrogatory to be used in the official secret investigation of the administrative conduct of Captain Gabriel de Ortiz and the discharge of his duties from the time he began until the present year of 1603:

First, they shall be asked if they know Captain Gabriel Ortiz, for how long, and if they have seen him serve in the office of captain, protector, and justicia mayor of the Chichimeca and Guachichil Indians.

Second, they shall be asked if they know whether the said captain has ever failed to attend to his obligation of visiting the frontiers, as he was ordered, in

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6. Pedro de Campos had been a viceregal scribe in México as early as 1592.

order to attend to his own interests and affairs and whether, because of this, the Indians have become emboldened by his failure to punish their crimes.

Third, they shall be asked if they know whether Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor has distributed all of the clothing, cloth, blankets, blouses, shirts, and other items in his charge in the royal storehouse which have been supplied by royal officials in México and Zacatecas for the clothing and use of the Chichimeca and Guachichil Indians of San Luis Potosí, San Miguel, Santa María, Armadillo, Bocas de Maticoya, and Río Verde, or whether he has kept any of it for the workers of his haciendas.<sup>7</sup> They should say what they know concerning this question and give the specific amounts involved.

Fourth, they shall be asked if he has distributed the rations of cattle and corn supplied to him for the sustenance of the Indians or if he has taken any part of it for himself, or any of the tallow and hides, and how much of each. They should state what they know. Diego Infante del Aguila.

In the mining hacienda of Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor on July 6, 1603, the inspector, Diego Infante del Aguila, appointed by the illustrious Conde de Monterrey, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, to inspect frontier expenses for pacifying the Guachichil Indians, declared that in view of the fact that Lázaro de Vergara, his appointed scribe, has gone to México with letters and dispatches for the viceroy and because it is necessary to continue the official investigation of captains and protectors during his absence, he has appointed Esteban de Anso to serve in the office of scribe in these proceedings, exercising the office in the manner that any royal scribe would and as Lázaro de Vergara has done it. In order that he should serve well and faithfully, he was ordered to take an oath which he did according to the law, swearing before God and a cross to exercise the office of scribe with all rectitude, honesty, and secrecy, and he promised not to do otherwise and signed his name together with the said judge, Diego Infante del Aguila. Esteban de Anso.

In the mining hacienda of Espíritu Santo<sup>8</sup> on June 6, 1603, the inspector, Diego Infante del Aguila, visiting judge for examining the expenses of peace, concerning the investigation of Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, summoned before him Alonso de Nieva, resident of San Luis Potosí, who happened to be present in Espíritu Santo. This witness has lived many years in these parts and has served as a soldier in time of war. He swore before God and a cross to tell the truth about what he might know, and he was questioned by the judge using the questions of the interrogatory for this case.

In answer to the first question, he said that he has known Captain Gabriel Ortiz for about eighteen years in this area, during which time he has seen him

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7. East of the pacified Guachichil settlements around San Miguel Mezquitic were the more mountainous stretches along the Río Verde. Here the Guachichiles resisted pacification to a greater degree, although some were eventually settled at Santiago del Armadillo. Another settlement at Río Verde, on the river of the same name, was established sometime between 1592 and 1596, but the area was still insecure in 1604 and there continued to be hostile holdouts in mountain strongholds well into the seventeenth century.

8. Espíritu Santo is 70 kilometers northwest of the city of San Luis Potosí.

serve as captain and justicia mayor of the Indians since the time they were settled in peace. Before that, the witness knew him when he served in other capacities during wartime.

To the second question, he replied that he knows and has observed that the captain has always met the obligations of his charge to visit the frontier as he was ordered without failing to do service to his majesty. He is not aware that the Indians have ever altered their behavior due to the captain's failure to visit or punish them. Instead Captain Ortiz has always taken pains to visit them and to punish any wrongdoers and to make them come regularly and punctually to receive the doctrine;<sup>9</sup> the Indians like and respect him greatly. The witness has not heard anything to the contrary, and if there were any substance to the content of this question, he would know it since he serves in these parts and is in contact with the Indians and the missionaries.

To the third question, this witness responded that he knows and has seen that Captain Gabriel Ortiz has always distributed the clothing and other items in his charge punctually. Furthermore, at times when they were not available in his majesty's storehouse, Captain Gabriel Ortiz has even given the Indians items from his own hacienda such as blouses, skirts, blankets, corn, and other things. With good words and these deeds, he has always induced them to keep the peace, to be Christians, to work, cultivate and sow their own fields, and to go to work for the Spaniards who pay them wages. He has neither seen nor heard anything contrary to this.

To the fourth question, he said that he is not aware that there is any truth to the allegations contained in this question. Rather he knows the opposite to be true because Captain Gabriel Ortiz has a cattle ranch and has always had many cattle which he has slaughtered and given to the Indians instead of taking anything away from them or appropriating their supplies for his own use. Nor has the captain had any need of the tallow or hides because he has plenty of his own. The witness has seen that the Indians usually carry off the tallow and hides to make sandals, to sleep on, and to cover their huts,<sup>10</sup> and this is well known. Rather than taking anything that belonged to his majesty, Captain Gabriel Ortiz has given of his own possessions to the Indians. He considers him to be a good and loyal servant who has always served his majesty faithfully in all things; he has never seen or heard anything to the contrary, and if he did, he would so state. All that he has said and declared is the truth in accordance with the oath he has taken which he affirms and ratifies. He said he is not excluded by law from testifying and that he is more than eighty years of age. He signed his name together with the judge and before me, the appointed scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Alonso de Nieva. In my presence, Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

In the settlement of San Sebastián del Agua del Venado on July 8, 1603, the judge ordered before him Captain Juan de la Hija, who is presently serving his majesty

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9. Obligatory attendance at mass and catechism was an integral part of the missionization program and was often enforced either by soldiers stationed at the missions or by elected Indian officials (*fiscales*).

10. The hides were stretched over a framework of poles to form a shelter.

in supervising the Indians of this settlement.<sup>11</sup> He took the oath in legal form, promising to tell the truth, and responded to questions of the interrogatory as follows:

In answer to the first question, he said he has known Captain Gabriel Ortiz from the time the Indians were settled in peace, about fourteen years ago. He first knew him when he was serving his majesty as a soldier and later, after the Indians were settled, as their protector in San Miguel. The witness has also had contact with him since he became captain and *justicia mayor* of all the settled Indians and the frontiers upon the death of Captain [Miguel] Caldera.<sup>12</sup> This is his answer to the question.

To the second question, the witness said that during the whole time he has known the captain and since he has occupied this office, he has seen him carry out the visitation of these frontiers, attending to necessary matters in the service of his majesty, including the settlement and protection of these Indians and the punishment of their disobedience according to the gravity of their crimes. He did not neglect his duty and thus allow the Indians to become rebellious nor has he ever neglected the affairs of his majesty for his own business and special interests. This is what he knows about this question.

In reply to the third question, he knows nothing more than that at the times Captain Gabriel Ortiz came to distribute the clothing supplied by the king, he distributed it to the Indians in this place. If any was left over, he left it in the local storehouse in the care of Francisco Beltrán, the protector of these Indians. He has seen Captain Gabriel Ortiz give articles of his own property to the Indians, including skirts, blankets, and blouses, and he has clothed some of the principal Indians. This is his reply to this question.

To the fourth question, he said he neither knows nor has heard that there is any truth in it. He considers the captain an honorable and conscientious person who would never wish to defraud the royal treasury. He has attended with diligence and punctuality to whatever he thought needed to be done here in the service of his majesty. The witness does not know nor has he heard anything to the contrary. He affirms and ratifies that what he has said under oath is the truth. He says he is about fifty years of age, and he signed this with his name, together with

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11. Captain Juan de la Hija was commissioned by Viceroy Velasco on March 30, 1590, as one of nine leaders of the pacification effort in Nueva Galicia. He was active as captain-protector of the Guachichiles at Charcas and San Sebastián del Agua del Venado from 1590 to 1601, and at Río Verde as well, presumably after 1601, when Pedro de Anda left that post.

12. Captain Miguel Caldera, himself half Spanish and half Guachichil, was the principal architect of the Chichimeca peace, developing the program of enticing the Chichimecas to peaceful settlement in return for regular distribution of goods and provisions. Captain Caldera originally enlisted for service in the Chichimeca Wars on March 14, 1582. By 1589, Viceroy Villamanrique had appointed him *alcalde mayor*, granting him civil and military powers above and beyond those normally associated with that office so that he could continue to pursue his pacification plans. This commission was confirmed by Viceroy Conde de Coruña on his accession. Caldera was also instrumental in settling Tlaxcalan families among the pacified Guachichiles, particularly at Charcas and San Luis Potosí. He died in San Juan del Río in 1597.

the judge, in my presence, the attending scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Diego [sic] de la Hija. Before me, Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

In the settlement of Agua del Venado, on July 10, 1603, the visiting judge summoned before him the chiefs and captains of the Guachichil and Chichimeca Indians as well as Juan Mejía to interpret.<sup>13</sup> The latter swore under oath to translate into their language whatever they were asked by the judge and into Spanish whatever the Indians should answer. He vowed before God and a cross to do this legally and faithfully without adding, changing, or deleting anything asked by the judge or answered by the Indians. And he signed his name together with the judge before me, the attending scribe.

And without delay in that settlement on that same day and year, he [Infante] had the Indian chiefs and captains appear before him. He administered the oath to them in legal form and, through the interpreter, Juan Mejía, the judge told them that they should state whether Gabriel Ortiz had mistreated them by word or deed; if he had been unjust to them; if he had neglected the duties of his office which require that he visit them and assure their just treatment; if the protector, Francisco Beltrán, and Captain Juan de la Hija came promptly to distribute among them the meat, corn, legumes, clothing, and other things his majesty orders they be given for clothing and sustenance; if they are abused by them in any way; and if the officials ever fail to give them their due as ordered by his majesty. The Indians then made their declaration in their own language, and the interpreter translated it into Spanish, stating that Captain Gabriel Ortiz has always attended to his duty in visiting them every year, sometimes two or three times during the year. They have always been satisfied and happy with Captain Gabriel Ortiz because he has treated them justly, he has protected them, and looked after them and their affairs. They are not aware that he has done anything contrary to the service of his majesty. This is the truth by the oath they have taken which they now affirm and ratify. There were so many chieftains and captains that their ages were not entered, and because they do not know how to sign their names, Juan Mejía signed for them. They also declare that the father guardian and the other priests come to teach them the doctrine and administer the sacraments, willingly attending to their needs in a very Christian and thoughtful manner. They say there is no evidence to contradict this. The judge signed this together with me, the attending scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan Mejía. Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

In the pueblo and mines of San Luis Potosí on July 16, 1603, for the purpose of the interrogation, the judge summoned before him Friar Marcos Rodríguez, guardian of the convent of San Francisco in that location. The judge administered the oath to him and he gave his word as a priest to tell the truth about what he might know. Then he was asked the following questions:

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13. Juan Mejía was one of nine men commissioned March 30, 1590, by Viceroy Velasco to administer the pacification program in Nueva Galicia. Undoubtedly because of his experience in husbandry as an employee of the Portezuelo stockranch near San Felipe, Mejía was put in charge of developing the agricultural lands for the pacified Chichimecas settled at San Sebastián del Agua del Venado.



Asked the first question, he stated that he has known Captain Gabriel Ortiz for ten years, during which time the witness has been guardian of the convent twice for a total of six years more or less. He has always seen him carry out the duties of the office of captain, protector, and justicia mayor, keeping the Indians subordinated and preventing them from doing anything improper. The first time he was guardian of this convent, when the Indians had only recently been pacified, they dared to harm the Spaniards and the Indians employed in domestic labor. At that time this witness saw Captain Gabriel Ortiz punish them with great vigor and severity; having brought them to a peaceable state, he treated them prudently—with severity or kindness as the occasion demanded. He also has knowledge of a rebellion which occurred in this pueblo when he was not guardian. Apparently an Indian witch gathered more than 300 Indians to destroy this pueblo and others nearby. When the Indians were all assembled in the settlement of Tlaxcalilla,<sup>14</sup> less than one quarter-league from here, the witchwoman entered two churches belonging to the Tlaxcaltecan and Tarascan Indians, seized two statues and dragged them on the ground, thus encouraging the Chichimecas to fear neither the Spaniards nor God. For this reason all the Tarascan, Mexican, and Tlaxcaltecan Indians left their houses and came to this convent to seek refuge. Both men and women were confused and weeping as they believed the whole land had rebelled and that their lives were not safe. The captain alone, taking along only one servant, a mulatto, decided to go to the settlement of Tlaxcalilla to capture the Chichimeca Indian witch and the 300 Indians who feared and obeyed her as an oracle. He dragged her out by the hair and brought her captive to this pueblo; then he had her hanged. After that the land remained quiet and peaceful. From this, one may gather the fear and respect that the Indians have for him. This is not only true here, but this witness has heard priests who have lived in the pueblos of Colotlán and Saltillo<sup>15</sup> say that in order to restrain the Indians of those settlements, all that is needed is to tell them that Captain Gabriel Ortiz is coming, and they are as frightened as if he were present. This is his answer.

In answer to the second question, he referred to the question above. He knows that not only has the captain never failed to take action, but also that as soon as he had notice of any rebellion, he acted quickly and diligently to restore peace and quiet and then punished those who were guilty. Thus he answers.

To the third question, this witness replied that he has seen that all the clothing, corn, and meat sent to the captain was always given in full to the Indians so that nothing remained, nor did he appropriate anything for himself. Instead the captain has always given to them from his own house and hacienda, and because of these good works the Indians love and fear him. This he replies.

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14. Asunción Tlaxcalilla was a settlement of pacified Chichimecas near San Luis Potosí. Tlaxcalan families arrived in 1591, followed by Tarascans and others later that same decade.

15. Colotlán was the site of a settlement of pacified Chichimecas, as well as a Franciscan convento. In 1591, Tlaxcalan families were sent to Colotlán and to Saltillo. At the latter place, the Tlaxcalans established their own separate community, San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, east of the Spanish community and apart from pacified Chichimecas (Coahuiltecan and Guachichiles) who had settled nearby.

In answer to the fourth question, he referred to the one above. The witness knows that Captain Gabriel Ortiz has not appropriated any of the corn, tallow, or hides; rather he has given a quantity of corn and meat to the Indians from his own hacienda. The witness knows that the Indians have always carried off the tallow and hides of the cattle. This is the truth under the oath he has taken which he here affirms and ratifies. He says he is forty years of age, and he signed this with his name along with the judge and before me, the attending scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Fray Marcos Rodríguez.

In the settlement of San Miguel de Mezquitic on July 19, 1603, the judge visited the Indians of this settlement, both Guachichil and Tlaxcaltecan. He counted them and made the proper speech to them in the service of God and his majesty, representing the most illustrious Conde de Monterrey, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, to inform them of the investigation of Captain Gabriel Ortiz. He spoke through an interpreter who took the legal oath, pledging to faithfully translate what the judge said in Spanish into their language and to explain what they said. The judge had the interpreter say that they should tell if Captain Gabriel Ortiz, during the time he had charge of the storehouse and clothing, had taken from them any of the meat, corn, clothing, and other items that his majesty had ordered given them. Also they should state whether he had ceased to give them these things or had treated them ill, whether he had come to protect them, and whether they had complaints of any sort against him or any other Spanish person. Juan Pérez, their governor, and the section captains, Juan Ortiz, Juan Barriga, Diego de Setaya, and Alonso San Juan, replied through the interpreter for themselves and in the name of all the Indians, saying that Captain Gabriel Ortiz has always come to see them and visit them with punctuality and care; and when he distributed corn, meat, and clothing, he gave all of it to them. Furthermore he has assisted and favored them, giving them things from his own hacienda and treating them well. For this reason they love and esteem him. And they said this is the truth under the oath they have taken before this judge. And the father guardian, Fray Pedro Beltrán, signed for them, together with the judge, before me, the attending scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Fray Pedro Beltrán. Before me, Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

In the settlement and mines of San Luis Potosí, on July 21, 1603, the inspector went to visit and count the Guachichil, Tlaxcaltecan, and Tarascan Indians in the settlement of Tlaxcalilla, which is half of a quarter-league from this settlement. After he had seen and visited them and made the proper speech in the service of God and his majesty, he asked them through an interpreter if Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, during the time he had been their captain and justicia mayor and when the storehouse was in his charge, had ever neglected to visit them and give them his majesty's gifts of corn, meat, clothing, and other things, or if he had mistreated them and bothered them. In their own language they said through the interpreter that the captain had always obediently assisted them with clothing, corn, meat, and other things his majesty had ordered given them. Not only had they not been injured by him, but instead he had protected them, given them gifts, and attended carefully to them. There is nothing more to say, and this is the

truth under the oath they have taken before the judge. They did not sign this statement because none of them knows how to write, and so the judge signed it before me, the attending scribe. Don Diego Infante del Aguila. Before me, Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

Decree. In the pueblo of San Luis and the mines of Potosí of this New Spain, on July 21, 1603, the inspector, Diego Infante del Aguila, appointed judge and visitor of expenditures for peace and the frontiers of Chichimeca and Guachichil Indians by the most illustrious Conde de Monterrey, captain-general of New Spain, stated the following. After seeing the reports made during the visitation of religious and secular persons and Spaniards and Indians concerning the administration and behavior of captain and justicia mayor Gabriel Ortiz Fuenmayor, during the time that he was in charge of the administration of those Indians and the royal storehouse of this pueblo from which he distributed, in accordance with the obligations of his office, his majesty's clothing, cattle, corn, and other things that were needed, he finds that no guilt, negligence, or carelessness can be attributed to the captain and justicia mayor. On the contrary, he not only seems to have discharged his obligations properly, but also provided for many needs of those Indians from his own possessions, thus serving God and his majesty. The inspector said that he should be declared a good and scrupulous administrator of his office, having acted as he should and was obliged. In consequence, there was nothing that could be demanded or required of him for the time he was in charge of the administration of those Indians. All this was recorded by legal writ so that if the aforesaid Gabriel Ortiz should desire testimony to that effect, it should be given him. He signed his name in my presence as attending scribe. Diego Infante del Aguila. Before me, Esteban de Anso, appointed scribe.

By virtue of this order and the included instructions, the records of Captain Gabriel Ortiz were audited. This included the cattle, corn, beans, silver, coarse woolen cloth, native cloth, mantles, blankets, skirts, other articles of clothing, and other items which he received from his majesty and distributed to the Indians during the time mentioned above. The balance of the account is as follows: 73<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> varas of native cloth, 209 blouses, 13 fine linen shirts with collars, 10 pounds and 3 ounces of thread, 2,552 needles for sewing coarse cloth, 104 pairs of leather-soled shoes, 10 pairs of native woolen hose, 8 hoes, 2 metates, 20 hand stones for grinding, 11 rosaries, 6 pieces of undyed cloth, 3 hatchets for cutting firewood, 558 sombrero cords, 133 cords, 1 plowshare, 1 padlock, 1 chisel, 1 adze, 1 shoeing iron, and 42 pesos, 7 tomines of silver. All of this at the prices it cost his majesty, including principal and costs, amounts to 659 pesos, 1 tomín, 5 granos of silver and common gold. All this was paid to me, Inspector Diego Infante del Aguila, to add to the balances collected from other persons for deposit in the royal treasury of México in accordance with the order of the aforementioned conde.

There then remained the record of the items given to the Indians by Captain Gabriel Ortiz from his own property: 1,381<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> varas of coarse woolen cloth, 71<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pairs of woven skirts, 232 Castilian blankets, 12 fine hats and 76 ordinary ones, 11 copper tortilla pans, 4 kettles, 8 fanegas of beans, 102 butcher knives, 1 necklace of glass beads, and 188<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> fanegas of corn. Although he has formally requested that these things should be credited to the balance he owes, his request was denied, as this was contrary to procedure. All this appears in the decrees, accounts

and records which are in my [Diego Infante del Aguila's] possession for presentation with the rest of the accounts which have been audited and closed in the city of México as ordered by the conde. So that Captain Gabriel Ortiz can show proof that he paid the balance of the account, we gave him this statement signed with our names in the city of Zacatecas on June 28, 1603. This is a copy of the original.

In Zacatecas on June 26, 1603, the following statement was given before the judges, Diego Infante del Aguila and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio. Captain Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor states that your graces, by order of the most illustrious Conde de Monterrey, have audited the records concerning the clothing, cattle, corn, and other things that were delivered to me for the sustenance of the Guachichil Indians of San Miguel, San Luis, Santa María, Río Verde, and other places and which I distributed in accordance with the orders given me. It seems that I am left with the following balance:

73 varas of native cloth  
42 pesos and 4 tomines in silver  
209 blouses  
3 Dutch linen skirts  
10 pounds and 3 ounces of thread  
2,552 needles  
104 pairs of shoes  
10 pairs of native woolen hose  
8 hoes  
2 metates  
20 handstones for grinding  
11 rosaries  
6 pieces of undyed cloth  
133 cords  
3 hatchets for cutting firewood  
1 plowshare  
558 sombrero cords  
1 padlock  
1 chisel  
1 adze  
1 shoeing iron

All this, at the prices quoted by your graces, seems to amount to 659 pesos, 1 tomín, and 6 granos.<sup>16</sup> I offer to pay for all this in the same kind or else have it discounted from the cost of the following items which I gave the Indians from my own property:

188¼ fanegas of corn  
1,381 varas of coarse woolen cloth

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16. There are a few discrepancies in the items listed. By Ortiz de Fuenmayor's reckoning, he had ¾ of a vara of native cloth and 3 tomines of silver less than the amount listed by the auditors. However, the total as computed by Ortiz de Fuenmayor is only one tomín of silver less than the auditors' figure.

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78½ pairs of woven skirts  
232 blankets dyed yellow  
3 Castilian blankets  
12 fine hats  
73 ordinary ones  
12 iron hoes  
4 copper kettles  
11 copper pans for making tortillas  
8 fanegas of beans  
102 butcher knives  
1 necklace

Your graces should order that all of the above be credited to me and the balance charged against me should be adjusted accordingly because I have given all this from my haciendas. If this cannot be done, you should order that I be allowed to pay the balance in kind, and you should furnish me an affidavit testifying to the amounts of the goods that I have given to the Indians from my own hacienda, as the aforementioned accounts demonstrate, so that I may appeal to the viceroy to give me credit for them.<sup>17</sup> I ask this as it is just and right.

After this statement was examined by the aforesaid judges, they stated that they cannot receive the balance in kind but only in silver, according to their instructions. Nor can what he has given be credited against the balance owed as he has requested. In regard to the affidavit that he requests, it shall be given him after he has paid the balance. They made this pronouncement and signed it. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Before me, Pedro Vanegas, royal scribe.

In Zacatecas, on June 26, 1603, Captain Gabriel Ortiz Fuenmayor made the following statement before Diego Infante del Aguila and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio, auditors. I say that I requested credit for clothing and other things that I gave the Guachichil Indians from my own possessions to defray the balance of my account or else that I be allowed to pay this balance in kind. Your graces ruled against either solution as exceeding the bounds of your authority and ordered that I pay 659 pesos, 1 tomín, and 5 granos of common gold, the value of the balance of my account. After making payment, an affidavit would be given me so that I might appear before the viceroy to request that I be paid for what I have given to those Indians from my own hacienda and because it is my right to ask for justice and a remedy for my vexations. Consequently, I offer to pay the specified amount in silver as I am obliged.

I beg and request that your graces give me a receipt for the silver mentioned and also an affidavit containing all the accounts as well as the amounts of cloth-

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17. Further discrepancies appear between the totals of Ortiz de Fuenmayor and the auditors. The captain listed one half vara of coarse wool cloth less and 7 fewer pairs of woven skirts than the auditors counted. Confusion also existed over the number and kinds of blankets distributed by Ortiz de Fuenmayor from his own property, and he listed an additional 12 iron hoes not credited by the auditors.

ing I gave from my own hacienda in addition to the rest. I ask for justice and also that you include the viceregal order which decrees that the accounts be audited.

These judges said the silver should be received for the account and they will give him the affidavit requested. Then he presented the payment and the judges took charge of it. Before me, Pedro Vanegas, royal scribe.

*Archivo General de Indias, Contaduría 851*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Cuenta del capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor desde 1592 hasta el de 1601, protector que fue de los indios guachichiles y tlaxcaltecos.

**E**l veedor Diego Infante de Aguila y el capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, jueces visitadores de los gastos y fronteras de los indios chichimecos y guachichiles, asentados de paz en la Nueva España y Nuevo Reino de Galicia por el ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, certificamos y hacemos saber como en virtud de su comisión e instrucción secreta de su mandamiento aquí inserto, se feneció y tomó cuentas a Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, capitán, protector y justicia mayor de los indios chichimecos y guachichiles de las poblaciones y fronteras de los dichos indios de los partidos arriba contenidos del ganado mayor, maíz, ropa, plata y otras cosas de todo el tiempo que tuvo a su cargo el almacén de San Luis, San Miguel, Santa María, el Armadillo, Bocas de Maticoya, Espíritu Santo, y Agua del Venado desde el año 1592 hasta el de 1599, que tuvo a su cargo el dicho almacén y resultó los cargos de todo el dicho ganado, maíz y ropa, haberlo recibido en el susodicho tiempo para vestuario, servicio y sustento de los dichos indios por las cuentas fenecidas con los proveedores don Diego de Velasco, Juan de Monroy y Juan de Montalvo y por la relación que dieron de los cargos el contador Alonso de Santoyo, habérsela enviado de la ciudad de México, el factor Bartolomé de Albornoz y el tesorero, Francisco López de Mesa, oficiales de la real caja de esta ciudad de Zacatecas, que el tenor del dicho mandamiento del dicho señor virrey para visitar, fenecer y tomar las dichas cuentas y hacer otras averiguaciones es del tenor siguiente.

Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, conde de Monterrey, señor de las casas y estado de Viezma y Ulloa, virrey lugarteniente del rey nuestro señor, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la audiencia y cancellería real que en ella reside, etcétera. A todos y cualesquier jueces y justicias de su majestad y caudillos de este reino y provincias de la Nueva España y Galicia y ante mi lugarteniente de capitán general, capitanes y caudillos y otros cualesquier personas a quien está encomendada la paz y reducción de los indios chichimecas y otras naciones bárbaras que antes estaban de guerra a quien éste mi mandamiento fuere mostrado.

Sabed: Que por algunas cosas de mucha consideración convenientes y de importancia al servicio de su majestad es necesario saber y averiguar con claridad y distinción la forma y modo en que desde su principio y después que se asentó la paz con los chichimecas se fundaron y han administrado los presidios que hasta

hoy están fundados y que es lo que su majestad gasta en cada uno de ellos y que doctrinas tienen y que cantidad de gente está asentada y reducida y los efectos que se han conseguido en cada presidio en aumento de la dicha paz y conservación y como se distribuye de cada frontera el socorro que su majestad les manda hacer cada año para ayuda del sustento y vestuario y he nombrado para la ejecución de ello a las personas del veedor Diego Infante del Aguila y del capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, por ser personas de suficiencia a quien he dado la orden, comisión e instrucción que para todo lo a ello anexo y concerniente han de guardar, cumplir y ejecutar. Y porque los apuntamientos y advertimientos que en ellos les doy para el buen acertamiento que se pretende y diligencias y medios que han de tener en lo uno y en lo otro que se puedan con claridad conseguir lo que tanto importa y conviene saber, averiguar y remediarlas, he mandado guarden para sí y tengan con recato y secreto la dicha comisión y orden, sin presentarla en parte ni lugar alguno, ni por ninguna vía ni requerimientos que para ellos se les hagan de vuestra parte o de algunos de los que fueren interesados o culpados quieran, por razón de preeminencia u otro particular respeto, saber y entender qué contiene y a qué se extiende. Por el presente os ordeno y mando de parte de su majestad y de la mía que por ninguna vía ni modo les pidáis ni requeráis que os exhiban y presenten la dicha comisión e instrucción ni otra orden que llevaron mía más que sola la presente, ni queráis saber de ellos, a qué van ni, en qué entienden o entendieren si no que libremente en virtud de este mandamiento les dejéis entender y hacer la averiguación y autos y demás diligencias que quisieren y les pareciere convenir sin perturbarles ni ponerles impedimento ni estorbo, antes les deis todo el favor y ayuda y asistencia que hubieren menester y os pidieren so las penas que en ellos pusieren que desde luego os doy por condenados. Lo contrario haciendo y por este mandamiento doy poder a los dichos veedor Diego Infante del Aguila y capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio para que puedan hacer averiguación contra cualesquiera de ellos que inobedientes y perturbadores fueren y enviármela para que yo mande proceder contra ellos como más convenga. Fecho en la ciudad de México a 11 días del mes de diciembre de 1601. Por mandado del virrey, Pedro de Campos. El conde de Monterrey.

Interrogatorio de preguntas que se han de hacer en la causa y visita secreta de oficio de proceder que han tenido en la administración de su cargo y oficio el capitán Gabriel Ortiz desde que comenzó a servir hasta este presente año de 1603 que son las siguientes en esta manera:

Preguntado por la primera pregunta si conocen al dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz, de que tiempo y si le han visto servir en el dicho cargo de capitán, protector y justicia mayor de los indios chichimecos y guachichiles.

Preguntado por la segunda pregunta si saben que el dicho capitán haya dejado de acudir a las obligaciones de su cargo de visitar las fronteras como tenía y tiene orden para ello por acudir a sus causas y negocios por su particular interés y si por esta causa haber sucedido alguna determinación en los dichos indios por no ser visitados ni castigados en sus delitos en los tiempos que los hayan cometido.

Preguntado por la tercera pregunta si sabe que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, de la ropa, paño, sayal, frazadas, huipiles, naguas, y otras cosas que han tenido a su cargo, en el almacén real, de lo que se le ha proveído por orden de los señores virreyes y de sus lugartenientes así de la ciudad de México como de la de Zacatecas, por mano de los oficiales reales y proveedores para el vestuario y

servicio de los indios chichimecos y guachichiles de las poblaciones de San Luis de Potosí, San Miguel, Santa María, Armadillo, Bocas de Maticoya, y del Río Verde, lo haya distribuído enteramente sin reservar ni quedarse con cosa alguna para aprovecharse de ello para la gente de sus haciendas. Digan lo que saben en esta pregunta y en qué cantidad de cada cosa.

Preguntado por la cuarta pregunta si saben que del ganado mayor y maíz que se le ha proveído para el sustento de los dichos indios, se ha valido o aprovechado de alguna cantidad o parte de ello, dejando de darles lo que les tocaba en sus raciones a los dichos indios y si se ha aprovechado de algún sebo o cueros de las dichas reses y ganado y cantidad de cada cosa, digan lo que saben. Diego Infante del Aguila.

En el paraje de la hacienda de minas del capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor a 6 días del mes de julio de 1603, el veedor Diego Infante del Aguila, juez visitador de los gastos de la paz y fronteras de indios guachichiles por el ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, dijo que atento que Lázaro de Vergara, su escribano nombrado de su comisión, es ido a la ciudad de México con cartas y despachos para el dicho señor conde y conviene que en el ínterin que está ausente, se hagan algunas averiguaciones de la visita de oficio contra algunos capitanes y protectores y otras diligencias y autos. Por tanto para todo ello nombraba y nombró a Esteban de Anso para que use, sirva y ejerza el oficio de escribano en todas las dichas causas en la forma y manera que lo deba y pueda hacer cualquier escribano real y como lo había hecho Lázaro de Vergara. Y para que así lo haga bien y fielmente, le mandaba tomar y tomó juramento en forma de derecho y juró a Dios y a una cruz de usar, servir y ejercer el dicho oficio de tal escribano con toda rectitud, fidelidad y secreto, sin que ahora ni en tiempo alguno haga otra cosa, y así prometió, juró y firmó de su nombre, juntamente con el dicho juez Diego Infante del Aguila, Esteban de Anso.

En la hacienda de minas del Espíritu Santo a 6 días del mes de junio de 1603 el veedor Diego Infante del Aguila, juez visitador de los gastos de la paz, para averiguación de la visita contra el capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, hallándose presente en el dicho puesto y paraje Alonso de Nieva, vecino y habitante en San Luis de Potosí, le hizo parecer ante sí por ser persona que a muchos años que asiste y vive por estas partes y ha sido soldado en el tiempo de la guerra al cual le recibe jurando en forma de derecho por Dios y la señal de la cruz so cargo del cual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiere, y por el dicho juez le fue preguntado por el tenor de las preguntas del interrogatorio que está con esta causa que son del tenor siguiente.

Preguntado por la primera pregunta, dijo que a que conoce al dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de diez y ocho años a esta parte, poco más o menos, al cual ha visto servir en el oficio que tiene de capitán y justicia mayor de los dichos indios desde que se asentó la paz y que antes le conoció sirviendo en otros cargos en tiempo de la guerra; y esto responde a esta pregunta.

A la segunda pregunta, dijo que sabe y ha visto que el dicho capitán ha acudido siempre a las obligaciones de su cargo y a visitar las fronteras conforme a la orden que tenía y a los tiempos que contienen sin hacer falta al servicio de su majestad, y que no sabe que haya sucedido ni ha sucedido por su causa alteración en los dichos indios por no ser visitados ni castigados sino que siempre ha tenido cuidado de visitarlos y castigar los delincuentes e imponerlos a que acudiesen ordi-



naria y puntualmente a la doctrina y que los dichos indios le quieren y respetan con mucha voluntad y no sabe ni ha oído decir otra cosa en contrario porque si algo de lo que contiene la pregunta hubiera, este testigo lo supiera como persona que asiste por estas partes y trata con los dichos indios y con los religiosos y esto responde a esta pregunta.

Preguntado por la tercera pregunta, dijo que lo que sabe y ha visto este testigo es que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz ha dado y repartido siempre y a los tiempos que se ha ofrecido puntualmente toda la ropa y otras cosas que ha tenido a su cargo y por cuenta de su majestad para distribución de los dichos indios, y antes sabe de esto este testigo y lo ha visto que demás de la dicha ropa que les repartía de su majestad, les daba el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de su hacienda como eran huipiles, naguas, fresadillas, maíz y otras cosas compradas por su dinero en temporadas que no lo tenía de su majestad en el almacén, y por tener gratos y contentos a los indios. Y con buenas palabras y con estas obras, ha procurado siempre inducirles a la conservación y quietud de la paz para que sean cristianos y que trabajen, cultiven y siembren y que vayan a trabajar con los españoles y que paguen jornales y no sabe ni ha oído decir cosa en contrario.

Preguntado por la cuarta pregunta, dijo que no sabe ni ha entendido cosa ni parte de lo que contiene esta pregunta, antes sabe y ha visto muy al contrario de lo contenido en ella porque el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz tiene estancia de ganado mayor y ha tenido y tiene mucha cantidad de ganado y de ello antes les ha dado y los indios se lo han muerto que no quitádoselo ni aprovechádoselo de ello como la pregunta dice. Y que el sebo y cueros tampoco ha tenido necesidad el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de ello por tenerlo él sobrado de su ganado. Que sabe y ha visto que el dicho sebo es ordinario llevárselo los dichos indios, el sebo para comer y los cueros para hacer cacles y para dormir y cubrir sus rancherías y que esto es notorio y que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz ha puesto y dado de su hacienda los dichos indios que valídose de cosa ni parte de su majestad y que lo tienen por bueno y leal criado y que ha acudido en todas las ocasiones con mucha puntualidad y con ello de acertar en todas las cosas del servicio de su majestad. Y no sabe ni ha oído otra cosa en contrario porque si lo supiera lo declarara y dijera y que todo lo que dicho tiene y declarado es la verdad so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene en que se afirma y ratifica. Y dijo no le tocan las generales y que es de edad de más de ochenta años y lo firmó de su nombre juntamente con el dicho juez y ante mí, el presente escribano de su comisión. Diego Infante del Aguila. Alonso de Nieva. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

En la población de San Sebastián del Agua Venado en 8 días del mes de julio de 1603, el dicho juez para la dicha averiguación hizo parecer ante sí al capitán Juan de la Hija que sirve a su majestad al presente en la conservación de los indios de esta población, al cual habiendo recibido juramento en forma de derecho, el cual juró y prometió de decir verdad y siéndole preguntado por el tenor del dicho interrogatorio, dijo lo siguiente.

Preguntado por la primera pregunta, dijo que conoce al capitán Gabriel Ortiz desde el tiempo que se asentaron los indios de paz que a como catorce años poco más o menos y que primero le conoció sirviendo a su majestad y luego que se asentaron de paz, sirvió de protector de los indios asentados de paz en la población de San Miguel, y por muerte del capitán [Miguel] Caldera le proveyeron en el cargo

que él tenía de capitán y justicia mayor de todos los indios y fronteras que están asentados de paz; sirve de presente y esto responde a esta pregunta.

Preguntado por la segunda pregunta, dijo que este testigo sabe que desde el tiempo que lo conoce y tiene el dicho cargo, le ha visto acudir con mucho cuidado a la visita y visitas de estas fronteras, acudiendo a las cosas necesarias del servicio de su majestad, asiento y conservación de los dichos indios y al castigo de los que inobedientes han sido, castigándolos conforme sus delitos lo merecían sin tener remisión en cosa alguna ni que por su causa pudiese haber habido alteración de los dichos indios ni que haya dejado por sus negocios y particulares intereses las cosas del servicio de su majestad; y esto sabe en esta pregunta.

Preguntado por la tercera pregunta, dijo que no sabe cosa de lo contenido en la pregunta más de que sabe y ha visto que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz, las veces que ha venido a repartir la ropa de su majestad, la ha repartido en este puesto con los dichos indios, y si ha sobrado alguna, la ha dejado consignada en el almacén de esta población a Francisco Beltrán, protector de los dichos indios en ella, y sabe y ha visto que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz ha dado a los dichos indios de su hacienda como son algunas naguas, frazadas, huipiles y ha vestido algunos indios principales; y esto responde a esta pregunta.

Preguntado por la cuarta pregunta, dijo no sabe cosa de lo contenido en ella ni ha oído decir y que tiene al dicho capitán por persona honrada y de conciencia que no habrá querido cargarse de cosa que sea en fraude de la real hacienda y que ha acudido a lo que él ha visto por estas partes con mucho cuidado y puntualidad a las cosas del servicio de su majestad, y no sabe ni ha oído decir cosa en contrario y que lo que dicho tiene, es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirma y ratifica y dice ser de edad de cincuenta años poco más o menos, y lo firmó de su nombre juntamente con el dicho juez y ante mí el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Diego [sic] de la Hija. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

En la dicha población del Agua del Venado a 10 días del mes de julio de 1603, el dicho juez visitador para la dicha información y averiguación, hizo parecer ante sí a los indios principales y capitanes guachichiles y chichimecos y a Juan Mejía, intérprete, al cual se tomó juramento en forma de derecho de que interpretaría de su lengua en español lo que fuere preguntado por el dicho juez y los dichos indios fuesen declarando. El cual juró a Dios a una cruz hacerlo legal y fielmente sin poner trocar ni quitar cosa ni parte de lo que por el dicho juez fuese pidiéndole y diciéndole por las preguntas, y los dichos indios respondiesen a ellas lo que supiesen y entendiesen acerca de ellas so cargo del dicho juramento, y lo firmó de su nombre juntamente con el dicho juez y ante mí el presente escribano, Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan Mejía. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

Y luego incontinentemente en el dicho puesto y población en el dicho día mismo y año, hizo parecer ante sí a los dichos indios capitanes y principales a los cuales tomó y recibió juramento en forma de derecho. Y por medio del dicho Juan Mejía, intérprete, el dicho juez les dijo que declarasen si el dicho Gabriel Ortiz les había hecho malos tratamientos de obras y de palabras o de alguna injusticia y si ha dejado de acudir a las obligaciones de su cargo como es a visitarlos y hacerles y guardarles justicia. De haber y saber y entender si el protector Francisco Beltrán y el capitán Juan de la Hija acuden puntualmente a darles y distribuirles la carne,

maíz, legumbres, ropa y otras cosas que su majestad les manda dar para su vestuario y sustento y si reciben daño de ellos u otros agravios y dejan de darles lo que les toca que su majestad les manda dar. Dijeron y declararon en su lengua por medio del dicho intérprete y el dicho intérprete lo declaró en español, y dijo y declaró que decían que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz ha acudido a sus obligaciones visitándolos cada año, y algunas veces ha venido dos o tres veces en un año acudiendo a entender y saber todo lo que la pregunta dice y que se han hallado y hallan bien y agradablemente con el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz porque les ha guardado y guarda justicia y les ha amparado y ampara y mira por ellos y por sus causas y que no sabe que haya hecho cosa en contrario del servicio de su majestad, y que esta es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirman y ratifican. Y por ser muchos los principales y capitanes no se pusieron las edades de ellos y no saben firmar. Lo firmó por ellos el dicho Juan Mejía y asimismo declaran que el padre guardián y demás religiosos han acudido y acuden a la doctrina de ellos y administrarles los sacramentos y en sus necesidades con mucha voluntad y cristiandad y mucho cuidado y que no hay otra cosa en contrario y lo firmó el dicho juez juntamente con mí, el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan Mejía. Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

En el pueblo y minas de San Luis de Potosí a 16 días del mes de julio de 1603, el dicho juez para la averiguación hizo parecer ante sí a fray Marcos Rodríguez y guardián del convento de San Francisco de la dicha población, del cual se recibió juramento en forma de derecho in verbo sacerdotis, el cual prometió de decir verdad de lo que supiere y por el dicho juez le fue preguntado por las preguntas del interrogatorio siguientes.

Preguntado por la primera pregunta, dijo que a que conoce al dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de tiempo de diez años a esta parte siendo este testigo guardián del dicho convento dos veces y haber asistido en las dos veces seis años poco más o menos, siempre le ha visto y siempre le ha visto [sic] ejecutar el dicho oficio de capitán, protector y justicia mayor de la paz teniendo a los indios con mucha sujeción sin permitir que hubiesen hecho los indios cosas indebidas. Y aunque la primera vez que este testigo estuvo en el dicho convento siendo guardián, por ser los indios recién venidos de paz, se querían atrever a algunas cosas en agravio de españoles e indios naboríos, y que entonces vio este testigo al dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz castigarlos con grande brío y severidad y después atraerlos en mansedumbre, usando en esto de rigor cuando era menester y de benignidad cuando se requería, y usando en todo con mucha prudencia. Y que en una rebelión que hubo en este pueblo, no siendo éste guardián de él, oyó decir que habiendo juntado con una india hechicera más de trescientos indios para destruir este pueblo y los circunvecinos a él, y estando todos los dichos indios en la población, entró la dicha india en dos iglesias que tienen los dichos indios y tarascos y arrancó las imágenes y las arrastró por el suelo, poniendo con esto ánimo a los chichimecos para que no temiesen a los españoles ni al Dios que ellos adoraban. Por lo cual todos los indios tarascos, mexicanos y tlaxcaltecos, desamparando sus casas y dejándolas, se vinieron a este dicho convento a retraer, llorando. Y estando todo este pueblo en gran confusión, así hombres como mujeres entendiendo que ahora la tierra estaba alzada y no tener seguras las vidas, sólo el dicho capitán se determinó, sin querer más de tan solamente que fuese en su compañía un criado suyo, mulato, de ir a la dicha población de Tlaxcalilla a prender a la dicha india, chichimeca, hechicera, y

demás de trescientos indios chichimecos, los cuales la temían y obedecían como oráculo. La sacó arrastrando por los cabellos y la trajo presa a este pueblo y luego la sacó a ahorcar con lo cual quedó la tierra quieta y sosegada, de lo cual se colije el miedo y temor que los dichos indios le tienen ni solamente en esta tierra pero a religiosos que han vivido en el pueblo de Colotlán y de Saltillo, ha oído este testigo decir que para poner freno a las libertades de estos dichos indios basta solamente decirles que ha de ir allá el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz y con esto le tienen el temor como si se hiciese presente y esto responde.

Preguntado por la segunda pregunta, dijo que se remite a la pregunta de arriba y sabe que no ha habido falta por su parte, antes en teniendo noticia de cualquier rebelión, acude con mucha presteza y cuidado hasta dejarlo quieto y pacífico y castigar los que se hallan culpados y esto responde.

Preguntado por la tercera pregunta, dijo que sabe este testigo y ha visto que toda la ropa que se le ha enviado y maíz y carne siempre se les ha dado a los dichos enteramente sin haberse quedado ni aprovechado de cosa alguna, antes bien sabe que el dicho capitán de su casa y hacienda les ha dado muchas cosas y por estas buenas obras le quieren y temen los dichos indios y esto responde.

Preguntado por la cuarta pregunta, dijo que se remite a la pregunta antes de ésta y sabe este testigo que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz no se ha aprovechado de ningún maíz, sebo, ni cueros porque antes, como dicho tiene, de su hacienda les ha dado mucha cantidad de maíz y carne y sabe este testigo que el sebo y cueros de las dichas reses se los llevaban los dichos indios y esto es la verdad para el juramento que tiene fecho en que se afirma y ratifica. Y dice ser de edad de cuarenta años, y lo firmó de su nombre juntamente con el dicho juez y ante mí el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Fray Marcos Rodríguez.

En la población de San Miguel de Mezquitic a 19 días del mes de julio de 1603, el dicho juez visitó los indios de esta población así guachichiles como tlaxcaltecos y habiéndoles contado y hecho el parlamento debido al servicio de Dios y de su majestad y de parte del ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, para la averiguación de la visita del dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz por medio de intérprete, a quien se le tomó juramento conforme a derecho para que dijese y declarase lo que el dicho juez en español le mandaba dijese y diese a entender a los dichos indios en su lengua y declarase lo que ellos decían, el cual lo juró y prometió de hacer así bien y fielmente. Y el dicho juez le dijo que les dijese si el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz el tiempo que tuvo el almacén y ropa a su cargo y era protector de ellos si de aquello que su majestad les mandaba dar de carne y maíz, ropa y otras cosas, les quitaba algo de ello y si les dejaba de dar y si les hacía malos tratamientos y si les dejaba de visitarlos y acudir a su amparo de ellos y si tenían algunas quejas en cualquier manera de agravios de él o de otra persona cualquiera español. Dijeron por medio del dicho intérprete Juan Pérez gobernador y los capitanes de sus parcialidades Juan Ortiz, Juan Barriga, Diego de Setaya, Alonso San Juan, vaquero, por sí y en nombre de todos sus indios, que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz ha acudido y acude a verlos y visitarlos con puntualidad y cuidado, y cuando él les repartía el maíz, carne y ropa, se les daba muy cumplidamente y que antes les ha ayudado y favorecido dándoles de su hacienda y haciéndoles buenos tratamientos por lo cual le aman y estiman y que esta es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tienen fecho de declarar la verdad ante el dicho juez. Y lo firmó por ellos el padre guardián, fray Pedro Beltrán, juntamente con el

dicho juez, ante mí, el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Fray Pedro Beltrán. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

En la población y minas de San Luis de Potosí a 21 días del mes de julio de 1603, habiendo ido el dicho juez visitador a visitar y contar los indios guachichiles, tlaxcaltecos y tarascos de la población de Tlaxcalilla, que está junto a esta población de minas a medio cuarto de legua, y habiéndolos visto y visitado y hecho el parlamento conveniente del servicio de Dios y de su majestad, les preguntó por vía de intérprete si el capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor en todo el tiempo que ha sido su capitán y justicia mayor y protector de ellos y tenido el almacén a su cargo, les ha dejado de visitar y acudir cumplidamente con lo que su majestad les daba de maíz, carne, ropa y otras cosas y si han tenido malos tratamientos y vejaciones. Dijeron por medio del dicho intérprete en su lengua que el dicho capitán les ha acudido y acudió siempre cumplidamente con la ropa, maíz, carne y otras cosas que su majestad les manda dar y que no han recibido agravio, antes los ha amparado y regalado y tenido mucha cuenta de ellos y que no hay otra cosa y que esto es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tienen fecho ante el dicho juez, y no lo firmaron por no lo saber ninguno de ellos firmar y lo firmó el dicho juez ante mí, el presente escribano. Don Diego Infante del Aguila. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

Auto. En el pueblo de San Luis, minas de Potosí, de esta Nueva España a 21 días del mes de julio de 1603 el veedor Diego Infante del Aguila, juez visitador de los gastos de la paz y fronteras de indios chichimecos y guachichiles por el ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey y capitán general de esta Nueva España, habiendo visto esta información fecha de oficio de visita con personas religiosos y seculares, españoles e indios, sobre el modo de proceder y administración que tuvo y ha tenido el capitán y justicia mayor Gabriel Ortiz Fuenmayor el tiempo que tuvo a su cargo la dicha administración de los dichos indios y almacén real de este dicho pueblo de que les ha ido repartiendo y repartió por cuenta de su majestad la ropa, ganado y maíz y demás cosas que hubieron menester conforme a la obligación del dicho cargo y oficio, de las cuales dichas informaciones no sólo no resulta culpa, negligencia ni descuido contra el dicho capitán y justicia mayor, pero antes parece haber acudido con puntualidad a sus obligaciones y aún antes consta que de su misma hacienda ha suplido y socorrido muchas necesidades de los dichos indios en que ha hecho servicio a Dios y a su majestad. Dijo que lo declaraba y declaró por bueno y puntual administrador del dicho su oficio y que acudió a él como debía y era obligado y en consecuencia de esto declaró asimismo no haber ninguna cosa que se le pueda pedir ni demandar del dicho tiempo que tuvo a su cargo la dicha administración de los dichos indios y así lo proveyó y mandó asentar por auto para que si el dicho Gabriel Ortiz quisiere testimonio de ellos, se le dé y lo firmó de su nombre ante mí el presente escribano. Diego Infante del Aguila. Ante mí, Esteban de Anso, escribano nombrado.

En virtud del dicho mandato y de la instrucción que en él reza, se tomó y feneció cuenta con el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz de todo el ganado mayor, maíz, frijoles, plata, ropa de sayal, paños, mantas, frazadas, camisas y demás géneros de ropa y otras cosas que así recibió por cuenta de su majestad y distribuyó con los dichos indios en todo el susodicho tiempo y fue alcanzado en los géneros y cosas siguientes: que son en 73  $\frac{3}{4}$  varas de paño, 209 huipiles, 13 camisas de mantas de China con cuellos, en 10 libras y 3 onzas de hilo de cocer, y en 2,552 agujas ca-

poteras, y en 104 pares de zapatos de vaqueta, y en 10 pares de medias de lana de la tierra, y en 8 azadones, 2 metates, 20 metlapiles, 11 rosarios, 6 piezas de sinabafa, 3 hachas de cortar leña, 558 cordones de sombreros, 133 lías, 1 reja, 1 candado, 1 escoplo, 1 azuela, 1 hierro de herrar, en 42 pesos, 7 tomines en plata, que todo viene a montar el dicho alcance a los precios a como a su majestad le estuvo cada cosa con principal y costas 659 pesos, 1 tomín y 5 granos de plata y oro común, la cual suma y alcance pagó a mí el veedor Diego Infante del Aguila para ponerlo y meterlo en los demás alcances cobrados de otras personas en la real caja de México conforme a la orden del dicho señor conde. Y al dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz le vinieron a sobrar por la dicha cuenta 1,381 ½ varas de sayal, 71 ½ pares de naguas, 232 frazadas de castilla, 12 sombreros aforrados y 76 comunes, 11 comales de cobre, 4 ollas, 8 fanegas de frijoles, 102 cuchillos carniceros, y 1 gargantilla de abalorio y 188 ¼ fanegas de maíz, lo cual aunque pidió por petición se le disculpase y descontase e hiciese bueno a cuenta del dicho alcance, no se le admitió su petición y demanda por no ser costumbre admitirse. Todo lo cual parece por los autos y por las dichas cuentas y alcance que originalmente quedan en mi poder de mí, el dicho Diego Infante del Aguila, para presentarlas con las demás fenecidas y acabadas en la dicha ciudad de México a quien el señor conde mandare. Y para que de ello conste en todos tiempos de que el dicho capitán Gabriel Ortiz dió cuenta con pago, le dimos la presente firmada de nuestros nombres que es fecha en la ciudad de Zacatecas a 28 de junio de 1603. Es copia del original que se dio a la parte.

En Zacatecas a 26 días del mes de junio de 1603, ante Diego Infante de Aguila y capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, jueces, la presentó el contenido.

El capitán Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor, digo que vuestras mercedes por mandado del ilustrísimo señor conde de Monterrey, virrey de la Nueva España, me han tomado cuenta de la ropa, ganado, maíz y otras cosas que se me han entregado para el sustento de los indios guachichiles de San Miguel y San Luis y Santa María y Río Verde y otras partes, lo cual he repartido por el orden que se me ha dado y parece se me hace alcance de los géneros siguientes.

73 varas de paño de la tierra  
 En plata, 42 pesos y 4 tomines  
 209 huipiles cumitles  
 3 camisas de Holanda  
 10 libras y 3 onzas de hilo  
 2,552 agujas  
 104 pares de zapatos  
 10 pares de medias de lana valadiez  
 8 azadones  
 2 metates  
 20 metlapiles  
 11 rosarios  
 6 sinabafas de china  
 133 lías  
 3 hachas de cortar  
 1 reja de arar  
 558 cordones de sombreros de orillo

1 candado  
1 escoplo  
1 azuela  
1 hierro de herrar

Todo lo cual y a los precios que vuestras mercedes han tasado parece montan 659 pesos, 1 tomín, 6 granos, lo cual ofrezco pagarlo que así me falta en los propios géneros y especies que se me hace cargo o que se me rematan de las cosas y géneros que yo he dado más a los indios como entrara de las cuentas que vuestra majestades me han tomado, que lo que así me sobra y he dado de mi hacienda y ropa es lo siguiente.

188¼ fanegas de maíz  
1,381 varas de sayal  
78½ pares de naguas  
232 frazadas congas  
3 frazadas de castilla  
12 sombreros finos  
73 comunes  
Coas de hierro, 12  
4 ollas de cobre  
11 comales de cobre  
8 fanegas de frijoles  
102 cuchillos carniceros  
Gargantillas, 1

Lo cual deben vuestras mercedes mandar rebatir del alcance que se me hace, pues yo lo he dado de mi hacienda y cuando esto no haya lugar que si ha, manden vuestras mercedes recibirme en especie el dicho alcance que se me hace y darme testimonio de la cantidad de ropa y otras cosas que he dado a los dichos indios de mi hacienda según consta de las dichas cuentas para ocurrir a su señoría del señor virrey para que me lo mande pagar todo lo cual pido pues es justicia y en lo necesario, etcétera. Gabriel Ortiz Fuenmayor.

Y por los dichos jueces vista, dijeron que no ha lugar de recibirse el alcance que se le hace en especie sino en plata según que lo tienen mandado por su auto y tampoco ha lugar de rebatirse el dicho alcance de lo que así ha dado más como parece y refiere en su petición. Y en cuanto al testimonio que pide se le dé en forma en habiendo pagado el dicho alcance. Y así lo proveyeron y firmaron. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Ante mí, Pedro Vanegas, escribano real.

En Zacatecas a 26 días del mes de junio de 1603, ante Diego Infante del Aguila y capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio, jueces de cuentas, la presentó el contenido.

El capitán Gabriel Ortiz Fuenmayor, digo que yo pedí se me diese y recibiese cierta cantidad de ropa y otras cosas que me sobraron y yo di más de la ropa de mi cargo a los indios guachichiles o se me recibiesen en especie el alcance que así se me hace, y a lo uno y otro proveyeron vuestras mercedes no haber lugar y que luego exceda y pague 659 pesos y 1 tomín y 5 granos de oro común que parece monta el dicho alcance, y que pagado que haya, se me dé testimonio para ocurrir ante su señoría para que me mande pagar lo que así he dado de mi hacienda a los dichos indios y porque conviene a mi derecho ocurrir a pedir mi justicia y remedio

a mis vejaciones. Ofrezco luego la paga de los tales pesos de oro luego en plata de que hago obligación.

A vuestras mercedes pido y suplico me reciban la dicha plata y manden se me den testimonios, incertas todas las cuentas y la cantidad de ropa que así he dado más de mi hacienda para el dicho efecto, y pido justicia y en lo necesario, etcétera. Y asimismo se ponga por la vía el mandado de su señoría en que manda se tomen las dichas cuentas. Gabriel Ortiz de Fuenmayor.

Los dichos jueces dijeron que se le reciba la dicha plata y se le dé el testimonio que pide y luego la exhibió y los dichos jueces la recibieron y se hicieron cargo de ellos. Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Ante mí, Pedro Vanegas, escribano real.



## The Audit of Captain Francisco Beltrán

*Nothing was too indecorous or unseemly when royal funds were at issue. In the well-kept records of Captain Francisco Beltrán the judges were quick to spot a considerable amount of suet and hides that were unaccounted for. Leather was a valuable commodity everywhere, and tallow had buyers in Spain. Demanding an explanation, the inspectors gave Beltrán only a short time in which to give a satisfactory answer or to be subject to a fine of four times the amount he was found to owe. Beltrán was no doubt aghast at such unrealistic naiveté on the part of the judges. He had given the Chichimecas cattle so they could slaughter them for the meat. Naturally, the Indians claimed the fat and hides, too—and took them. The natives were newly pacified and in no mind to be denied—some among them even asserted the Spanish king had given these things to them. Beltrán was forced in haste to find witnesses who saw the Indians kill the cattle and take everything. The inspectors listened to Franciscans and frontiersmen corroborate Beltrán's explanation and finally gave up their hopeless quest for a formal accounting. In the process they learned that Beltrán was an exemplary captain-protector, caring for his native charges to the extent that he and his wife nursed them during their sicknesses.*

*The audit and accounting of the goods given away in the Chichimeca Peace may strike the modern reader as unfair, but predictable. Unfair, because the transactions occurred on the roughest of America's frontiers, and because many of the agreements were private understandings between northerners who were acutely aware of the vagaries of existence in the Chichimeca. Losses in transportation and storage they understood as inevitable. However, the royal judges pressed for an exact accounting. Unfair, because some of the captain-protectors were unsalaried and spent their own resources on the war and peace effort for which they received little monetary credit. Predictable, for rarely in human history have the deeds of individuals eluded the scrutiny of an authoritarian state when the government felt it might gain.*

**I**n the city of Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecos<sup>1</sup> on the second day of December of the present year [1602], Captain Francisco Beltrán<sup>2</sup> made the following statement before the judges in the presence of myself, the presiding scribe. He has been in charge of the warehouse for the Las Charcas mines<sup>3</sup> and is at present in charge of the post of San Sebastián del Agua de Venado:<sup>4</sup>

I appear before your grace and say that from the examination of my accounts there is a charge against me for a quantity of hides and suet<sup>5</sup> from cattle that were slaughtered for the Guachichil Indians of which I should be absolved and set free. I had given these cattle to the Indians who had been recently pacified. Being savages, they carried off the suet and hides of the cattle without my participation, and I was not able to prevent it because, as I have stated, they are savages. I am ready to give a report on this and I beg and supplicate your grace to have my report received. When all I have said is proved, I beg your grace to have me declared free of responsibility for the suet and hides. What I request is just, right, merciful, and necessary.

Francisco Beltrán

The judges have received this statement given above, and are ready to hear his report and when this has been done they will examine it and pronounce judgment. This they have ordered and signed:

Diego Infante del Aguila

Juan de Vergara Osorio<sup>6</sup>

Given before me, the appointed notary, Lázaro de Vergara.

In the city of Zacatecas on December 3, 1602, the visitors Diego Infante del Aguila and Captain Juan de Vergara Osorio, the judge-inspectors of expenditures made for the pacification of the Chichimecas and their territories, acting for the

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1. Silver deposits at Zacatecas were being worked as early as 1546, but the first big strike was not made until two years later. One of the early mining camps, Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecos, was so named in January 1548 and became known simply as "Zacatecas."

2. Francisco Beltrán, a veteran of the Chichimeca War, was captain-protector of the Indians and the provisioner at Charcas from 1590 to 1601. He worked as royal scribe in the years spanning 1592 to 1602 and was one of the first mine owners at San Pedro in Zacatecas.

3. The initial settlement of Santa María de las Charcas in northwestern San Luis Potosí was made in 1574 but was periodically abandoned because of Guachichil raids. The first Franciscan convento was founded in 1582, and a presidio located there in 1584 or 1585 became an important distribution point for peace goods. Tlaxcalan settlers arrived in 1591, and the following year a new Franciscan convento was built.

4. San Sebastián del Agua de Venado (today Venado, San Luis Potosí) was important because of the mining there of salt used in ore reduction. A Franciscan convento was first founded there about 1574. It was made a pacification center by Viceroy Velasco in 1590 and had become the center of the pacified Guachichiles within four years.

5. Hides and suet were important New World commodities exported to Spain. The crown's concern over their loss suggests the hope to recoup part of the pacification expense by retaining those items from cattle purchased for Indian distribution.

6. See Notes 7 and 8 of Juan Morlete document.

most illustrious Conde de Monterrey, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, have seen the request of Francisco Beltrán that he be freed of the charges for suet and cattle hides. In his accounts, Diego Infante del Aguila has him charged with 559 hides and 213 *arrobas* and 9 *libras* of suet obtained from the cattle in his charge.

[Captain Beltrán] presented as witnesses in his favor Friar Pedro de Heredia,<sup>7</sup> guardian of the convent of San Francisco<sup>8</sup> of this city, and Friar Bartolomé Ortiz, of that same convent and who had previously been its guardian. Both have been guardians in the convents of Las Charcas and San Sebastián del Agua del Venado where Francisco Beltrán has been stationed and where he is at present captain and protector of the Chichimeca Indians residing there.

They were both placed under oath to state and declare what they know of the matter as requested by Francisco Beltrán. Both placed their right hands on their breasts and swore to state and declare as true priests the truth of what they knew and understood. They were asked by the judges about the aforementioned petition and request, and they stated what they knew and saw during the time they were there as guardians in those convents. They testified that the cows and calves killed by the Indians for their support were also carried off by them. They killed the cattle and quartered the hides, and if sometimes they took whole hides, it was to roof their huts and for sandals. There was only a little suet and this they took to eat. There was no way to prevent this because the Indians had only recently been pacified. Besides this, there were some among them who are called Ladinos<sup>9</sup> in Spanish; when the attempt was made to take away their hides and suet, they became angry and said it belonged to them because the king had given it to them.

They stated also that Padre Fray Bartolomé Ortiz had given carving tools and a wooden box and primers to the Tlaxcalteca and Guachichil Indians and this should not be charged to Francisco Beltrán. They stated what they said was the truth under the oath they had taken with permission of Fray Alonso Caro,<sup>10</sup> *comisario*, who is at present in the custodia of San Francisco de Zacatecas and is a competent witness. They also stated that the father guardian, Pedro de Heredia, was about fifty-five years of age and that Padre Fray Bartolomé Ortiz was the same. They signed their names along with the judges in my presence as notary.

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7. Fray Pedro de Heredia joined the Franciscan Order in 1570 and served many years on the northern frontier. As guardian of the Franciscan convento at Las Charcas he was frequently present at the distribution of peace goods, not only as witness to the proper disbursement of crown-purchased supplies, but also to link such gift-giving with missionaries in the eyes of the Indians. He also witnessed the formal parceling out of lands to Tlaxcalan settlers at San Luis Potosí in November of 1591. Heredia was the seventh priest to hold the position of *custodio* of San Francisco de los Zacatecos. He is best known for his role in the Espejo entrada to New Mexico in 1582–83. Although he was instrumental in organizing that expedition and had intended to go with it, he failed to receive permission from his superiors to make the journey.

8. The monastery of San Francisco de Zacatecas, founded from Guadalajara in 1567, became the center of a custodia in 1574 and a missionary province in 1603.

9. These were Indians who had been hispanicized and spoke Spanish.

10. Alonso Caro was elected first provincial of the new Franciscan province of Zacatecas in 1604.

Diego Infante del Aguila  
Juan de Vergara Osorio  
Fray Pedro de Heredia  
Fray Bartolomé Ortiz  
Before me, Lázaro de Vergara, appointed notary.

In the city of Zacatecas on the same day, month, and year, the oath was legally administered to Captain Rodrigo Quintero and Juan Ríos de la Fuente, residents of this city who were in the mines and *real* of Charcas during the war and after the pacification. They promised and swore before God and the cross to tell the truth about what they might know. The petition and request of Francisco Beltrán was read to them, and both replied that they had seen with their own eyes the cattle that had been in the charge of Francisco Beltrán and that they had all been killed and distributed among the Indians for their sustenance and rations; that the Indians themselves had killed the cattle, skinned and quartered them with the hides still intact for tanning and then put them into lime;<sup>11</sup> that they distributed them in this way and that when some were completely skinned they carried off the hides and suet for food and to their huts, to sleep on and to make sandals.

This had not been prevented, because when the attempt was made, the Indians resisted and said that the king had given this to them and that it all belonged to them. So, because they were wild people and not very rational, and in order to avoid angering them, they were allowed to take the suet and hides. The witnesses declared that for this reason they should not be charged to Francisco Beltrán; that he had been seen to carry out his duties faithfully and that both he and his wife had given the Indians good government and kept them peaceful; that they could converse in the Guachichil and Chichimeca language; that they had even treated their illnesses, and this is the truth under oath. They affirm, ratify, and say that the aforesaid Captain Rodrigo Quintero is over fifty years of age and that Juan Ríos de la Fuente is over forty and that they are competent witnesses. They signed this together with the judges before me, the appointed notary: Diego Infante del Aguila; Juan de Vergara Osorio; Rodrigo Quintero; Juan Ríos de la Fuente. Before me, the appointed notary, Lázaro de Vergara.

#### Statement of Francisco Beltrán.

In the aforesaid city on the aforesaid day, month, and year, the judges ordered Francisco Beltrán to appear before them to further verify the content of his statement. They administered the oath to him in legal form so that he might make a statement as to what he had done with the hides and suet. He confirmed his statement about these and stated that other goods had not been charged to him both because of carelessness in the books and because the entries had been omitted. During the entire time he had been captain and protector of those Indians, other charges could have been made against the royal account and supplies by captains now deceased such as Miguel Caldera, Juan Morlete, and others.<sup>12</sup> However, there

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11. Hides were cured by soaking them until they began to decompose and then treating them with lime for one or two weeks to remove all the hair as well as traces of flesh and fat.

12. See Note 12 in Ortiz de Fuenmayor document.

are no records concerning this —especially concerning provisions given by Miguel Caldera, under whose authority a large quantity of cattle, maize, all sorts of legumes, clothing, wagons, carts, mules, mares, oxen, weapons and other trappings and equipment of war were distributed in their locations and territory. There has been no punctual clarification of what he thus gave and distributed at the time he was caudillo and captain.

In view of these facts the aforesaid judges ordered his statement to be taken so that in it he might confess and declare whatever—besides those entries against him—he might have distributed and made use of, including the hides and suet mentioned above as well as other things. He should of course disclose all this and assume responsibility for it as belonging to the royal treasury of his majesty. He was notified that failure to do this as required would result in the following action: after sufficient time has been spent in the visitation and investigation which will be and is being made, findings that result in charges against the aforesaid Captain Francisco Beltrán shall be paid fourfold by him and his backers as per the order of the chief auditing office of his majesty's royal court. Furthermore, action shall be taken in the case against his person as justice may demand.

After all the above had been seen and heard by the judges, Beltrán stated that he had never taken any of the suet nor had it entered into his possession because the Indians, who had only recently been pacified, carried it off. The same was true of the cattle hides.

He could only assume responsibility for those things he had already reported to the judges, and he was still trying to remember others to report. He also stated that Captain Caldera, or his servant Diego Ramírez acting on his orders, had taken 276 hides. Pedro Hernández,<sup>13</sup> a cart driver, had taken fifty-six hides to bring to this city to deliver to Juan de Monroy, but all trace of them was lost. Three hundred and thirty were sold to Fernando Briceño,<sup>14</sup> *alguacil mayor* of this city, and delivered to Luis Pérez, his servant. He has stated this and presented his records of it. Forty hides were taken by this witness and all the rest were taken by the Indians, together with the suet as reported on and stated in his petition. He stated that the aforesaid Captain Miguel Caldera sent some fanegas of beans to this witness and he has been charged with them. In addition, the viceroy had ordered certain fields to be cultivated in order to obtain maize for the Indians, and this witness therefore was appointed to take charge of the farming in Las Charcas Viejas.<sup>15</sup> As far as he can recall, Captain Miguel Caldera took ten or twelve oxen and some plows with their plowshares and a cart to the fields, and they remained there in possession of the Indians and of this witness, who also went there to see them plow and to report on it. Two or three different times after it was planted, no

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13. As early as 1592 Hernández had been employed as a driver to transport supplies to various distribution points.

14. Fernando (or Hernando) Briceño had served as *alguacil mayor* in Zacatecas since at least December of 1597, because he is mentioned by that title in Captain Miguel Caldera's will. He was also involved in mining activity in San Luis Potosí.

15. The distinction between Las Charcas and Las Charcas Viejas seems to indicate that the settlement was relocated when it was rebuilt following one of the destructive Guachichil raids which forced periodic abandonment.

corn grew, so he had the plows taken to Agua del Venado, where they were worn out and broken in plowing. The cart was also broken up by use. Six plowshares were loaned to Antonio Escobar, a farmer there. Of the oxen, there remained eight that were charged to him as appears in the certification. The rest were all lost and eaten by the Chichimeca Indians because they had no meat. Beltrán has assumed responsibility for everything that came into his possession as shown in the documents he has produced. In coming to present his accounts he has used all diligence in order to account for everything that had been in his charge. In spite of this he is ready to assume responsibility for and to report on everything else that may be remembered or that may appear. He requests permission to go to his house where he has notes and papers. He will review them, and if he should find anything more in them with which he should be charged, he will declare it and take the responsibility for it. This was his answer and he signed his name together with the judges, under oath before me, the presiding scribe.

Diego Infante del Aguila

Juan de Vergara Osorio

Francisco Beltrán

Before me, the appointed notary, Lázaro de Vergara.

*From the Archivo General de Indias, Contaduría 851*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n la ciudad de Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecos a 2 de diciembre de 1602, la presentó ante los dichos jueces en presencia de mí el presente escribano.

El capitán Francisco Beltrán, persona a cuyo cargo estuvo el almacén de las minas de Las Charcas y de presente está el que está en el puesto de San Sebastián del Agua de Venado, parezco antes vuestra majestad y digo que de las cuentas que de vuestra majestad me ha tomado resulta cargo contra mí de cantidad de cueros y sebo de las reses que allí se mataron para los indios guachichiles de lo cual tengo de ser asalto y dado por libre porque realmente al tiempo y sazón que yo di y repartí a los dichos indios el dicho ganado eran recién venidos de paz y como bárbaros se llevaban el dicho sebo y cueros de las dichas reses sin que yo fuese parte para lo poder resistir por ser como dicho tengo gente bárbara de los cuales estoy presto de dar información a vuestra majestad. Pido y suplico me la mande recibir y constando de ella lo susodicho me mande vuestra majestad dar por libre el dicho cargo de sebo y cueros pues es justicia la cual pido que en ello bien y merced y en lo necesario etcétera.

Francisco Beltrán.

Los dichos señores jueces la vieron por presentada y dijo que están prestos de que se haga la dicha información y dada la verán y proveerán justicia y así lo proveyeron y firmaron Diego Infante del Aguila. Juan de Vergara Osorio. Ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara, escribano nombrado.

En la ciudad de Zacatecas a 3 de diciembre de 1602 años el veedor Diego Infante de Aguila y el capitán Juan de Vergara Osorio jueces visitadores de los gastos de la paz

y fronteras de chichimecas por el ilustrísimo conde de Monterrey virrey y capitán general la Nueva España visto lo pedido por parte de Francisco Beltrán para averiguación que quiere dar del descargo del sebo y algunos cueros de ganado mayor que en las cuentas que se le fenecieron el dicho Diego Infante del Aguila la hace alcance de quinientos y cinquenta y nueve cueros y de doscientos y trece arrobas y nueve libras de sebo procedido de las reses del ganado mayor de su cargo presentó por su testigo a fray Pedro de Heredia, guardián del convento de San Francisco de esta dicha ciudad, y a fray Bartolomé Ortiz, conventual en el dicho convento, y que ha sido guardián antes del dicho convento y lo han sido todos en los conventos de Las Charcas y San Sebastián del Agua del Venado a donde el dicho Francisco Beltrán ha sido y al presente es capitán y protector de los indios chichimecos de aquellas poblaciones a los cuales habiéndoles tomado juramento para que las digan y declaren lo que saben acerca del pedimiento pedido por el dicho Francisco Beltrán pusieron ambos a dos las manos derechas en sus pechos. Juraron en (verus sacerdotiz) de decir y declarar la verdad de lo que supiesen y entendiesen por los dichos jueces les fue preguntado por el tenor de la dicha petición y pedimiento y dijeron que en realidad de verdad lo que saben y vieron en todo el tiempo que asistieron en aquellas partes por guardianes de aquellos conventos veían que todo el ganado mayor de vacas y novillos que se mataban para su sustento y provisión de los dichos indios los cueros y sebo se lo llevaban los dichos indios porque las mataban y hacían cuartos con los dichos cueros y si algunas veces sacaban los cueros enteros de ellas se los llevaban para cubrir sus rancherías y para cacles y el sebo era muy poco y ellos se lo llevaban para comer sin poderlo resistir por ser los dichos indios recién asentados de paz además de que entre ellos había algunos indios ladinos en español que en caso que las querían quitar los cueros y sebo se alteraban y decían que aquella era todo suyo porque el rey se lo daba.

Y que las cardas y una caja de madera y cartillas las distribuyó el padre fray Bartolomé Ortiz entre los dichos indios tlaxcaltecos y guachichiles que así no se debe hacer alcance de esto al dicho Francisco Beltrán y que esto que dicho tienen es la verdad se cargo del juramento que han hecho con licencia de fray Alonso Caro comisario que al presente es de la custodia de San Francisco de Zacatecas y no le tocan las generales y dijeron ser de edad el padre guardián fray Pedro de Heredia de cinquenta y cinco años poco más o menos y el dicho padre fray Bartolomé Ortiz de otros tanto y lo firmaron de sus nombres juntamente con los dichos jueces y ante mí el presente escribano Diego Infante del Aguila, Juan de Vergara Osorio, fray Pedro de Heredia, fray Bartolomé Ortiz, ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara, escribano nombrado.

En la dicha ciudad de Zacatecas dicho día, mes y año arriba dicho recibieron juramento en forma de derecho al capitán Rodrigo Quintero y a Juan Ríos de la Fuente estantes en esta dicha ciudad vecino que fueron en tiempo de paz y guerra en las minas y real de Las Charcas los cuales prometieron y juraron a Dios y a una cruz de decir la verdad de lo que supiesen y siendoles leído la petición y pedimiento del dicho Francisco Beltrán dijeron cada uno por sí y todos de mancomún—que han visto por vista de ojos que todo el ganado mayor que se ha muerto y ha sido del cargo del dicho Francisco Beltrán la mayor parte de él veían que cuando se mataba y repartía entre los dichos indios para su sustento y ración ellos mismos los mataban y lechaban y desollaban y cuarteaban con cueros y lo repartían de esta

manera y si algunas reses desollaban enteramente llevaban los cueros y sebo para comer y para cubrir sus rancherías y para dormir encima de ellos y para cacles sin que en esto se tuviese detención porque los indios cuando se lo querían resistir de querérselo quitar decían que el rey se lo daba y que todo era de ellos y así por ser gente bárbara y de poca razón y por no alterar la disimulaban y condescendían con ello y con su voluntad dejándoles llevar el sebo y cueros del ganado y así por esta causa y razón estos testigos declararon que de este género al dicho Francisco Beltrán no se le debe de hacer alcance y que le han visto servir con puntualidad y acudir él y su mujer por ser plática de la lengua guachichila y chichimeca a todo el buen gobierno quietud de los dichos indios de su cargo y hasta curarlos en sus enfermedades y que esto es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tienen folio en que se afirman y a ratifican y dijeron ser de edad el dicho capitán Rodrigo Quintero de más de cincuenta años y el dicho Juan Ríos de Fuente de más de cuarenta años y que no le tocan las generales y lo firmaron de sus nombres juntamente con los dichos jueces ante mí, el presente escribano Diego Infante del Aguila, Juan de Vergara Osorio, Rodrigo Quintero, Juan Ríos de la Fuente, ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara escribano nombrado.

#### Declaración de Francisco Beltrán

En la dicha ciudad dicho día, mes y año los dichos jueces para más verificación de lo contenido en el dicho pedimiento mandaron parecer antes ellos al dicho Francisco Beltrán, al cual tomaron y recibieron juramento en forma de derecho para que declare y diga lo que acerca de los cueros y sebo se hubiere o ha aprovechado y válidose no le estuvieron hechos así por descuidos que pudiese haber en los libros reales en dejarlo de asentar como porque de todo el tiempo que ha sido capitán y protector de los dichos indios podría haber resultado cargos dados fuera de la caja real y de la proveeduría de las fronteras de capitanes que se han muerto como son Miguel Caldera, Juan Morlete y otras personas que sus papeles hasta ahora no aparecen ni han parecido y particularmente los del dicho Miguel Caldera a cuyo poder entró mucha cantidad de ganado, maíz, todas suertes de legumbres, ropa, carros, carretas, mulas, yeguas bueyes, armas y otros adherentes y pertrechos de guerra y de servicio y apero de los dichos indios para repartirlo en los puestos y fronteras de ellas y no se tiene claridad puntualmente de lo que así dio y repartió como principal caudillo y capitán que entonces era por tanto en consideración de esto los dichos jueces mandaron tomar su declaración para que en todo y por todo diga confiese y declare lo que demás de lo contenido en sus cargos hubiere recibido de las dichas personas y lo que así hubiere distribuido y válidose de los dichos cueros y sebo o de otras cosas lo manifieste y desde luego lo declare y se haga cargo de ello por cuenta de su majestad como real hacienda suya con apercibimiento que no lo haciendo como se le apercibe y requiere lo haga así todo aquello que hallaré ahora con algun tiempo en la visita y pesquisa que se va y se fuere haciendo y ha resultado cargo o cargos contra el dicho capitán Francisco Beltrán lo pagará él y sus fiadores con el cuatro tanto conforme la ordenanza de la contaduría mayor de cuentas de la real corte de su majestad además que se procederá en el caso conforme fuere de derecho de justicia en su persona y visto y oído lo contenido arriba proveído por los dichos jueces—dijo que en lo que toca al sebo y cueros del ganado que en su tiempo repartió nunca tomó ni entró en su poder ningún género de sebo porque los dichos indios como recién venidos de paz se lo



llevaban—y asimismo los cueros del dicho ganado que tan solamente pudo aprovechar los que tiene manifestados antes los dichos señores jueces, los cuales como iba haciendo y poniendo por memoria para dar cuenta de ellos y que el dicho capitán Caldera, o por su orden, llevó Diego Ramírez, su criado, doscientos y setenta y seis cueros y a Pedro Hernández carretero cincuenta y seis cueros para que los trajese a esta ciudad y los entregase a Juan de Monroy porque allí se perdían y trescientos y treinta que por remate que se hizo en Fernando Briceño, alguacil mayor de esta dicha ciudad, entregó a Luis Pérez su criado como ya tiene declarado y presentado recaudos de ello y cuarenta cueros que este declarante tomó y que todos los demás se consumieron en los dichos indios con el sebo como tiene dicho en su pedimiento y dado información de ello—Y que el dicho capitán Miguel Caldera envió a este declarante algunas fanegas de frijoles de que se tiene hecho cargo y asimismo por haber ordenado el señor virrey que hubiese ciertas labores para que se cogiese maíz para los dichos indios que este declarante fue nombrado para que tuviese a cargo la labor de Las Charcas viejas y el dicho capitán Miguel Caldera llevó allí a lo que se quiere acordar diez o doce bueyes y unos arados con sus rejas y una carreta lo cual quedó allí en la dicha labor en poder de los dichos indios y de este confesante y venía a verlos arar y a que se tuviese cuenta con todo ello y por no cogerse maíz allí dos o tres veces y que sembraron pasó los arados al Agua del Venado los cuales allí se consumieron y quebraron arando con ellos y la carreta asimismo allí se acabó y quebró sirviéndose de ella y seis rejas tiene prestadas a Antonio Escobar, labrador de aquel puesto y que de los bueyes quedaron ocho bueyes de que se tiene hecho cargo como consta de la certificación y los demás perdieron y comieron los indios chichimecos por haberles faltado carne y que de todo lo que ha entrado en su poder se ha hecho cargo como por los papeles que ha traído parece y que viniendo a dar sus cuentas ha hecho toda diligencia para darla de todo lo que ha sido a su cargo y que no obstante esto todo aquello de más de lo que tiene manifestado cada que se le acordare o pareciere está presto de hacerse cargo y dar cuenta de ello y que se le dé licencia para que pueda ir a su casa adonde tiene algunos recados y papeles y los recorrerá y pasará y que si hallare por ellos cosa que deba hacerse cargo demás de lo que le está hecho lo manifestará y se hará cargo de ello y esto dio por su respuesta y lo firmó de su nombre. Juntamente con los dichos jueces so cargo del juramento que hizo ante mí, el presente escribano; Diego Infante del Aguila, Juan de Vergara Osorio, Francisco Beltrán. Ante mí, Lázaro de Vergara, escribano nombrado.

## Crimes Among the Soldiers

*In the final document of this chapter the viceroy explains actions to deal with an age-old problem—undesireables in military service. This was to trouble Spain throughout her American experience, but official policy was often the root cause of it. Bottom-rank soldiering was held in low regard and viewed as a hardship. Consequently, it was Spanish judicial practice to sentence criminals and offenders to terms in military units. Errant peninsulars were sent to the New World; law-breakers in America often were condemned to the Orient. These men comprised a disproportionate number of the deserters, troublemakers, and repeat offenders that denized the lowest echelons of Spain's military. Doubtless, service in the ranks was an avenue back to decent society and many were rehabilitated. Others continued to break rules and commit crimes. The system was tolerated because it removed wrongdoers from the general population without resorting to costly penal institutions, and it supplied the bodies that filled the rosters in unappealing outposts.*

A copy of a letter to his majesty<sup>1</sup> from the Marqués de Montesclaros<sup>2</sup> dated February 17, 1606.

**I**n the order of August 13, 1605, your majesty states that he was informed by the Council of the Indies that the infantry being recruited in this kingdom is regularly committing many excesses, and those delinquents who are not soldiers are being protected by the infantry. In particular violation is Alférez Cisneros of the company of Captain Pliego, who released other soldiers charged with murder from the prison under the charge of Bartolomé Ruíz, the provincial warden, and Juan del Castillo, the *teniente de aguacil mayor*<sup>3</sup> of the city.<sup>4</sup> They resisted with their swords and ultimately forced Cisneros to retreat to the church of Santa Catalina. Likewise, one Domingo Esteban, a soldier of the afore-

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1. Felipe III was King of Spain from 1598 to 1621.

2. Juan de Mendoza y Luna, the Marqués de Montesclaros, was born in Guadalajara, Spain, in 1571. He served as viceroy of New Spain from 1603 to 1607 and died in Madrid in 1628.

3. An assistant to the high sheriff or chief constable.

4. Mexico City.

mentioned company, stabbed a young man on horseback, for no reason whatsoever, and when an official went to arrest him, some soldiers of repute knocked him down, so that he could not apprehend him. Above all, on your majesty's orders, I will submit a report of the punishments that have been given to these delinquents and others like them. Meanwhile, I shall carry out the orders which have been issued and are feasible.

What transpires is that the infantry of this kingdom is the same as all those of your majesty and is apt to become worse because the companies are made up of reprobates who are fleeing Spain because they are not safe there. They do this even though this course of action endangers their liberty. I swear to your majesty, as someone who understands soldiers, that the ones here commit the least number of excesses, perhaps owing to the care and vigilance of the administrators who govern in your name. And so that the Council may understand, I am sending an authorized transcript of these ordinances. And a few days ago, I published an edict which I assure your majesty will be respected and effective.

In regard to the case of Alférez Cisneros, your majesty will see that on February 7, 1605, he committed the crime and the criminal court pressed charges. On the tenth of that month a report was sent to me since it was recognized as a case of first instance. I immediately returned this report to the *alcaldes* so they could prosecute either as a case of first instance or as an appellate case of the second instance.<sup>5</sup> On October 26 he was sentenced by judicial review to six years in the galleys which he is presently serving in the Orient. Like everything else regarding this case, it is recorded in the testimony that I am sending to the Council.

What could be learned in the case of Domingo Esteban is that, after committing this crime, he was contacted by the court and gave his testimony of the crime. After receiving the summarized testimony, the court did not pass judgment because the injury to the young man was slight. It was nearly time for the departure of the troops for the Filipinas and I was not notified of this. The soldier left to serve with his troops without hindrance or punishment. He could have petitioned to have his name cleared so that he might enjoy life without fear of future punishment. In the future the excesses of the soldiers will be handled more punctually in compliance with your majesty's order. May God protect you as Christianity desires.

México, February 17, 1606  
Marqués de Montesclaros

*Original in the Archivo General de Indias, México 1254*

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5. This involves a jurisdictional dispute. A case of first instance would ordinarily be tried by the local *alcaldes* of the *cabildo*. However, *audiencias* could be courts of first instance in cases involving the interests of the crown and its officials. In this case it was the *sala de crimen*, the criminal court of the *audiencia*, that preferred charges. Because it was a case of first instance, the report was submitted to the viceroy, who made the determination that it should be sent to the local court for the *alcaldes* to try. They would handle the case as one of first instance (*primera*) or prepare an appeal (*segunda*) before the governor. A further appeal to the *audiencia* might be the next step.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Copia de una carta que se envió a su majestad el marqués de Montesclaros en 17 de febrero de 1606.

**E**n cédula de 13 de agosto de 1605, refiere vuestra majestad haberse entendido en el consejo muchos excesos que la infantería, que en este reino se levanta, comete de ordinario, y el amparo que en ellos hallan los delincuentes que no son soldados. Particularmente haberlo así el alférez de la compañía del capitán Pliego, llamado Cisneros, sacándole otros soldados por homicida de la prisión en que tenía Bartolomé Ruiz, portero de provincia, y Juan del Castillo, teniente de aguacil mayor de esta ciudad. Habiéndoles mucha resistencia con sus espadas y últimamente retirándole a la iglesia de Santa Catalina. Y asimismo un Domingo Estevan, soldado de la dicha compañía, haber dado una puñalada a un muchacho estando a caballo sin ocasión ninguna, y que queriéndole prender un alguacil, se estorbaron algunos soldados de fama que no pudo hacer la prisión; sobretodo mande vuestra majestad le dé cuenta qué castigos he hecho en estos delincuentes y en otros semejantes; y entretanto guarde las órdenes que en esto están dadas inviolablemente.

Lo que pasa es que la infantería de este reino es la misma que en todos los de vuestra majestad se hace y pudiera ser peor, porque de ordinario son las compañías de los que vienen huyendo de España como gente de mal vivir y que allá no tienen lugar seguro. Y aunque es verdad que esto bastará a temer cualquier daño en su libertad. Afirmino a vuestra majestad, como quien conoce soldados: que son los que aquí se hacen los de menos excesos quizá debiéndose esto al cuidado y vigilancia de quien en nombre de vuestra majestad lo gobierna y para que el consejo lo entiendo así envió un traslado autorizado de las ordenanzas. Y bando que hice publicar a pocos días en este cargo que aseguro a vuestra majestad sean guardados y infaliblemente.

Respondiendo a lo particular del alférez Cisneros verá vuestra majestad que en 7 del febrero de 1605, cometió el delito y se ejerció sobre él por la sala del crimen. Y en 10 del dicho mes, se me remitió por ser causa de que debía conocer en primera instancia y al punto las volví a remitir a los alcaldes para que hiciesen justa en primera y segunda y en 26 del [febrero] fue condenado por revista en seis años de galeras y actualmente lo está cumpliendo en la China como todo consta por el testimonio del proceso que envié al consejo.

Lo que se ha podido hallar en la causa de Domingo Esteban, es que luego que cometió este delito, tuvo noticia de la sala del crimen y escribió sobre ello; recibiendo la información sumaria, y sin que por mi parte aún por otra persona se le estorbase proceder en ella no lo hicieren juzgo porque fue por ser la herida del muchacho de poca consideración y que por esto y por ser casi al tiempo de la partida de las compañías para Filipinas y no se me dio noticia de ello. El soldado fue a servir su plaza, sin que para estorbarlo, ni hacerle castigo, hubiese pedimento de parte ni cosa que obligase siempre vivido y vive con ayudado de que lo sean, los soldados en los excesos que hicieren y de aquí adelante se haya con más puntualidad cumpliendo en todo lo que vuestra majestad manda. A quien Dios guarde como la cristianidad ha menester.

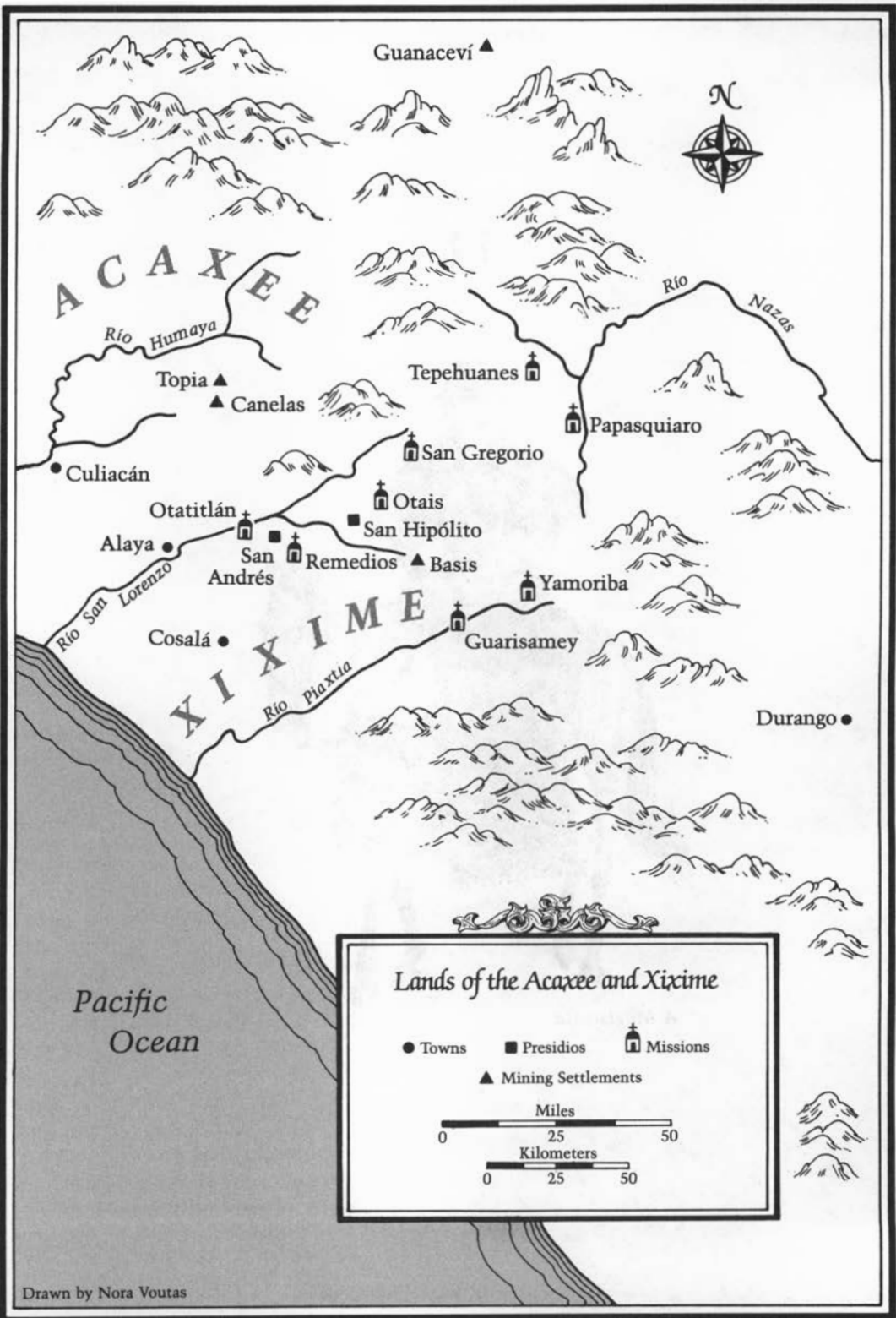
El marqués de Montesclaros, México, 17 de febrero 1606



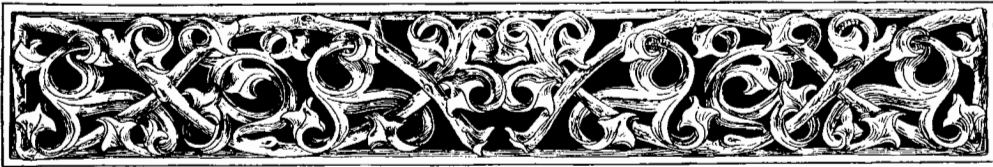
## II



*A Magistrate*



Drawn by Nora Voutas



## Early Rebellions in the Sierra Madre (1601–1618)

**T**roubles throughout the Gran Chichimeca, the northlands infested by fragmented, semi-nomadic Indians, temporarily impeded Spanish imperial expansion. As voracious as the Spaniard's appetite for gold and silver may have seemed to some historians, the zeal for conversion of natives and incorporation of unknown territories into the realm of the Catholic Kings was stronger still. Early contact with high civilizations had led to false expectations about the acceptance of the Spanish way of life; the presumption of political organization and social sophistication that had applied to Aztecs, Tlaxcalans, and Tarascans simply did not hold in the mountains and deserts of the arid north. Survival demanded efforts disproportionate to the way of life in Mesoamerica. So the burden placed on these ranchería peoples to produce goods and services alien to their previous experience became progressively harder to bear. And when mountains revealed outcroppings of precious metals, the influx of prospectors placed severe burdens on the unskilled labor force not only for extracting the ores but also for providing the food and services that attended Spanish custom. The Gran Chichimeca may have been a raw frontier, but it was a frontier being subjected to radical transformation. Very soon behind the pick and shovel came cattle, wheat, and catechism.

Spain's momentum to the north was only momentarily slowed. Even before the most destructive Chichimeca raids of the 1580s, Spanish outposts had probed far beyond the area in conflict and there received a more peaceful reception. In the newly created province of Nueva Vizcaya (1562) this more accommodating acceptance set a tone for the remainder of the century. Missionaries and miners would penetrate distant recesses of the sierra and arid northern basins. The natives they encountered were initially cooperative and generally seemed inclined to accept the Spanish scheme of things. For thirty to forty years relative peace reigned on the expanding frontier, but as the demands of living as vassals of the king disrupted both spiritual and physical lifeways, the older centers of acculturation festered with the poison of upheaval. Even though some suspected a potential for rebellion, pacification of the Indians through missionary centers continued to be fostered.



Discoveries at Zacatecas had launched a horde of miners up the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre Occidental. After the creation of Nueva Vizcaya a host of mining and agricultural settlements stretched as far north as the southern part of modern Chihuahua. Once beyond Zacatecas, the northward advance along the eastern side of the continental divide was unhampered by any serious difficulties with native tribes throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. From southern Durango to the Conchos River, Spaniards settled relatively unmolested and were able to ranch, farm, and probe the Sierra Madre for precious metals.

Along the Pacific slope, west of the divide, events proceeded less smoothly. From the outset, meetings of Spaniards and Indians on the west coast had ended in clashes and confrontation. The 1530 appearance of Nuño de Guzmán and his nephew Diego in the valleys of Sinaloa began a centuries-long pattern of enslavement, exploitation, and deportation of the natives of the western slope. Thirty years later these same Indians were wary of the Francisco de Ibarra party and plotted to lead the group into the sierra to become lost and perish. The Spaniards survived, but they also carefully noted the large populations in the Indian towns and the high level of organization and communication among them. While these characteristics were well suited for Spanish designs upon the natives, it also made them a potentially far more threatening adversary.

Beginning in the 1550s Spanish prospectors began to probe the recesses of the Sierra Madre from the west. A succession of large rivers and their tributaries drained to the Pacific, and although their seasonally high water levels impeded travel during parts of the year, their canyons afforded natural avenues into the heart of the sierra. From Culiacán, miners made strikes in the area of Cosalá (Las Vírgenes), and from settlements there others worked their way ever deeper into the mountains. By 1570 the bonanza around Cosalá was over and the miners were forced to concentrate their searches in the inner canyons of the Sierra Madre.

This awesome country along the present Durango-Sinaloa boundary was home to two closely related groups—the Acaxee and Xixime. They appear to have been considerably influenced by sophisticated Mesoamericans to the south, and aggressive hostility was an important component of their culture. Ritualized warfare was endemic—of which cannibalism played an important part. The entry of the Spaniards into their lands altered this pattern, and the miners were notably successful in coercing the Indians to work for them. By 1590 a network of Spanish mining settlements dotted the western canyon country—made possible by Indian labor.

The miners were well aware of their vulnerable situation in the rugged barrancas among these potentially fierce people. Consequently they appealed for help to bring the Indians under control. At the outset the church attempted to establish its presence in the sierra. From their base in Durango, the Franciscans in the 1570s sent men west into the mountains, where they founded several short-lived mission stations. These were soon beset by supply and organizational problems that forced their abandonment. Missionary need in the 1590s coincided with the readiness of the Society of Jesus to begin active evangelical efforts in New Spain. The Order was officially invited to work among the Indians in Mexico in 1572. Almost immediately the Jesuits were charged with educating the criollo sons of Spanish families, a task which delayed their involvement with Indian commu-

nities for almost twenty years. Viceregal authorities pressed the Jesuits to engage in ministry to the Indians at the very moment expansion to the north was looming most important.

The Jesuit pioneer on the west coast was Gonzalo de Tapia, who barely had time to lay the foundations of the new missionary apostolate before he was martyred on the Río Sinaloa in 1594. Before his death Tapia had journeyed to México to ask for more men to join in the work. They were sent—the first two arriving just days before his murder. One was Hernando de Santarén, who initially took Tapia's place in the low country. However, because the Indian laborers in the mountains were clamoring for a priest, Santarén moved east in 1598 deep into the barrancas to convert the Acaxees.

In 1594 a modest military presence was in evidence. At San Andrés and San Hipólito in the heart of the sierra, small garrisons were positioned to protect the growing number of settlers, merchants, miners, and, after their arrival, the new Jesuit missionaries. The need for protection was real; in September 1601 the Acaxees rebelled. The causes were the standard ones. Isolated in the great canyons, the Spanish miners were beyond the reach of royal authorities. Abuses of the natives mounted as the free-spirited Indians were forced to undergo hardship and ill-treatment at the hands of Spanish overseers. A handful of soldiers and a few priests were powerless to offset the situation; the men of the garrison, in fact, were more miners than militia and they only aggravated the problem. The priests had come in response to the pleas of the Indian laborers for missionaries. That attitude soon changed, however, when the strict discipline and orthodox teaching of the Jesuits collided with the animistic religion of the Acaxees, who revered stone idols and trees. Indian leaders, who remained beyond the influence of miners and missionaries, exhorted their subjugated kinsmen to throw the Spaniards out.

A detailed description of the revolt is better left for the two documents chosen for this chapter. Suffice it to say that scores of Spaniards and friendly natives lost their lives. The missions and mines of the area were utterly destroyed. The two small sierra presidios proved woefully inadequate and were overrun along with their entire communities. The viceroy ordered Governor Rodrigo de Vivero to break off a visit to México and return to Durango to take command. There Vivero, conscripting a large force in and around the city of Durango, marched into the threatened mountain country. Severely hampered by the awesome terrain and swift rivers, the Spaniards floundered for months attempting to coax the illusive and crafty natives to come to peace. Vivero resigned in frustration. The new governor, Francisco de Urdiñola, combined skills he had learned in the Chichimeca War with harsh retribution for the rebels; in six months he accomplished what had eluded his predecessor for nearly two years.

Hostilities ceased in December 1603. Missionaries returned to their posts; churches were rebuilt; and the presidios at San Andrés and San Hipólito were reactivated, but each with only about ten men. Near the coast a new military fortification was established that had little to do with the troubles in the mountains. As the Jesuits expanded their missions north along the coastal valleys toward the Río Yaqui, an additional presidio was required to remind the natives that the missionaries were indeed supported by the king's soldiers. Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y

Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, authorized the construction of a presidio in the northern part of the province of Sinaloa, and thus El Fuerte de Montesclaros was completed and garrisoned in 1610.

The pacification of the Acaxees in 1603 seemed only to embolden their traditional enemies to the south. Missionized Indians and laborers living in settlements made easy targets for the cannibalistic Xiximes, who simply took advantage of the changed conditions to prey on their neighbors and satisfy the requirements of ritual warfare. In 1610 their raiding pattern coalesced and erupted into open rebellion. One of the Jesuit annual letters describes the effects on Acaxees and Spaniards alike, as well as Governor Urdiñola's campaign to defeat the Xiximes. Despite the hardships of the campaign, he persevered and subdued the Indians. Although these two uprisings in the same decade in the Sierra Madre were very similar, they occasioned no changes in defense strategy among the Spaniards.

The last document in this chapter concerns the Tepehuan Indians and their violent uprising of 1616–18. According to contemporary descriptions, the Tepehuan were friends of no one. They were the traditional enemies of the Tarahumara, and a virtual constant state of war existed between them. Their potential for hostility was recognized early by the missionaries, but in spite of the previous troubles with the Acaxee and Xixime to the southwest, the Jesuits had not asked for the establishment of a military presence among the Tepehuan.

The Tepehuan homeland lay northwest of the city of Durango, much of it on the eastern side of the divide along the headwaters of the Río Nazas. The area was easily penetrated, as the broad, grassy valleys offered natural entryways for missionaries, miners, and settlers. Travel here was much less difficult than in the barrancas to the west, and the Jesuits wasted little time after 1600 in establishing a mission network among the relatively populous Tepehuan. While the Indians outwardly accepted the missionaries and their teachings and aided the padres in building chapels and founding new visitas, they remained visibly attached to their native leaders and spiritual spokesmen. Rather than Spanish mistreatment, it was their desire to maintain control of traditional beliefs and customs against missionary pressures to change that caused them to rebel.

November 1616 was the time agreed upon by the Tepehuan chiefs for the revolt. Leaders from many places were in close communication, and their planned hostilities were coordinated so that the Spaniards had no chance to spread the alarm. The nativistic rebellion had as its natural targets the missionaries; eight were quickly killed at their posts or on lonely trails between missions. Notable among the missionaries was Hernando de Santarén, the pioneer padre who had survived the earlier Acaxee and Xixime rebellions. Civilians were hardest hit at the mining towns along the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre. Several communities were attacked and almost totally destroyed. In all, some 200 Spaniards lost their lives. Those who escaped fled to safety in Durango. It took Governor Gaspar de Alvear more than a year to break the back of the revolt. With a large force of conscripts from Durango he attacked all the important centers of the rebellious Tepehuanes, gradually entrapping the native leaders and those who refused to make peace. Those not killed in battle were executed in large groups as examples to the rest. Probably 1,000 or more Tepehuanes died before peace was achieved early in 1618.

The Tepehuan revolt caused the Spaniards to reevaluate their defensive policy in newly pacified areas. Vast numbers of men and enormous sums of money were needed to return the land to peace; the governor was occupied in the effort for more than a year. Even before peace was completely won, Governor Alvear moved to dissuade the Indians from widening the conflict in the north by assigning a garrison of soldiers to the recently recaptured mining town of Guanaceví, where they remained until all hostilities ended. They served as an important safeguard in keeping pacified areas quiet while the governor with the main force was elsewhere combating rebel holdouts. The formal defeat of the Tepehuanes found the Spaniards returning to the option of maintaining a visible military presence in the areas of potential trouble. In 1620 a permanent presidio was established at Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes, a central location in the area of the rebellion. This garrison was maintained at high strength for the next quarter-century, and many officials noted that the Tepehuanes remained at peace thereafter.

The notion of military presence and protection which would parallel both missionization and colonial settlement received new stimulus from this disastrous event. Native rebellions were costly, and disruptions to regional economies took years to repair. As Spanish mining and missionary activities spread into newly won areas, a loose consensus developed in the north that the crown should protect these endeavors with military installations. This was an ideal in the minds of many frontiersmen which budget-conscious royal officials chose to ignore. The idea of spending now to avoid larger expenditures in the future was too easily resisted by those who had nothing immediately at stake. Only after renewed attacks on missions, mines, and haciendas with the concomitant damage to Spanish economy did the policy of protective presidios come belatedly into lockstep with the expanding frontier.

## Prelude to the Acaxee Revolt

*This document is a report written by the Jesuit Provincial of Mexico, Francisco Báez, probably compiled from letters he received from fathers Santarén and Ruiz. It is important for its ethnographic details about the Acaxee and the Jesuits' efforts to convert them to Christianity. In the eyes of the missionaries the revolt was due solely to the natives' continuing adherence to their supernatural deities and the work of the devil. The power and appeal of their indigenous beliefs is given no importance, nor did the Jesuits seem to understand that the Indians' desire to practice their own religion acted as the catalyst in their attempt to throw out all the Spaniards.*

*The report provides background information from the missionary point of view and as such supplements the following document. The two should be used together to form a more complete picture of the revolt in all its stages. This source stresses the work of the churchmen and the conditions prevailing before the outbreak of hostilities. It is concerned with the actions of the padres during the fighting and highlights their role in leading the Spaniards' reaction to it. From this it is evident that the missionaries spread the alarm of the revolt and that religious officials were first in arriving on the scene to assess the damage and lay plans for pacifying the rebels. The Bishop of Guadalajara arrived in the area considerably ahead of secular and military forces, and his presence in the Sierra de Topia rallied the missionaries and strengthened their own resolve to win back their lost converts. This report was penned shortly after Governor Vivero raised a force in Durango and marched into the mountains, and thus his failure to gain a peace was not yet a factor. The successful efforts of his successor the following year are detailed in the document to follow.*



ne can briefly say that the mountainous lands surrounding the mission of the Sierra de los Acaxees and those within the boundaries of San Andrés and Topia are extremely rugged and nearly impassable because of the many peaks and summits.<sup>1</sup> Many of these are so high and precipitous that those who travel across them must take care to keep their eyes fixed to one side so as

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1. The mission field of the Sierra de los Acaxees was located in the northwestern quadrant of the modern state of Durango in the extremely rugged highlands and canyons of the Sierra Madre Occidental. The village and mine of San Andrés were located on the Río Re-

not to faint at the sight. Two fathers administer the vast wasteland surrounding the mission, much of which remains to be explored.<sup>2</sup> It stretches for at least 100 leagues and is mountainous and full of dangerous places. It is so rugged that one of the fathers exhausted the five beasts of his pack train, most of them mules at that, after only thirty leagues. The poor father finally reached his destination after traveling on foot and hanging onto the mules' tails to climb the steeper grades—all in the driving rain. Even when the best of mounts are used, one must go on foot for at least a league or two with no trail, stumbling, getting up again, and sweating if it is the rainy season. A father once lost both his way and his guide and spent an entire day on foot, wet, tired, with nothing to eat, and with no idea of where he was until God provided him with a trail leading to a place three leagues away from his destination. The trails are so bad that it can take up to three days to accomplish a descent. This may sound incredible and must be seen to be believed.

Such is the rugged nature of this land. This does not mean, however, that there is a lack of people in need of evangelization. Until recently the natives have been at peace with the Spaniards, but they have always engaged in bloody battles among themselves of such ferocity that they eat one another. Cannibalism is widespread and indulged in to excess because the villages are so close together. Nonetheless, they are a gentle and hardworking people. They plant their fields in the mountains with great effort and gather honey as well as other edibles with reasonable success. They generally go naked although they are slowly adopting clothing. They wear their hair long, so long that one old man of fair stature, when standing, was found to have ten handwidths of white hair, much like an ermine's coat, dragging the ground. However, they usually wear it bound up on their heads because of the ugly effect and horror it causes when they let it down.

These people have almost always been at peace with the Spaniards who are established and settled at two famous reales on their land.<sup>3</sup> The Indians do visit these settlements but until three years ago none had been baptized. Missionaries and priests had gone out to preach to them on several occasions, but the poor Indians remained infidels. Then three years ago Padre Hernando de Santarén arrived.<sup>4</sup> He is so zealous and earnest in his cultivation of these poor souls that the

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medios, a tributary of the San Lorenzo. The town and mine of Veracruz de Topia are located in the Quebrada de Topia in the drainage of the Río Tamazula. Topia was established by Francisco de Ibarra in 1563 on the site of a native ranchería. Evangelization of the Acaxeos was begun by Franciscan friars who accompanied Ibarra and located a monastery in the Valle de Topia. The Jesuits entered the mission field in Sinaloa in 1591 and by 1598 were extending their efforts to the Acaxeos. In 1600 they established the first mission within the encomienda of Capitán Diego de Avila, "juez y protector de los indios acaxeos."

2. These missionaries were Hernando de Santarén, who administered the pueblos on the Río Tamazula and in the Quebrada de Topia, and Alonso Ruiz, in charge of the missions in the south-central area around San Andrés.

3. These were the mines of Topia and those in the vicinity of San Andrés.

4. Hernando de Santarén was born in 1566 in the village of Huete southeast of Madrid. Being of a noble family that had founded a Jesuit college, he entered the order at the age of 15. At his repeated requests, he was sent as a missionary to New Spain, and his faculty for learning native languages caused Padre Gonzalo de Topia to select him as his companion to begin the Jesuit expansion into Sinaloa in 1595. From 1598 until his martyrdom at the hands of Tepehuanes in 1616, he labored among the Acaxeos.

roughest of roads become meadows. Praise God that He chose Padre Hernando de Santarén to be the apostle to these gentiles for he dismisses even the expected comforts, such as food, with great pleasure and happiness. Glory be to God our Lord! Padre Hernando de Santarén said, "Here in the midst of such want, with the rain falling day and night and only an Indian for company in the heart of these mountains, deprived of viaticum, Our Lord is so generous that I am sure even the pope is not as well-off as I. I have never regretted my decision to work amongst these Indians, for here is Japan, here is China, here is New Mexico." May our Lord provide for His beloved vineyard as He has supplied such good workers as Padre Alonso Ruiz who, with extraordinary fervor, has learned the native tongue.<sup>5</sup> He speaks it reasonably well, although not perfectly.

This padre, one of those who two years ago came with Padre Díaz, spent little time traveling among the Indians because the mission soon became his responsibility.<sup>6</sup> He works with as much spirit, fervor, and zealotry in the care of souls and suffers the same hardships as the other padre. He establishes villages and reduces the Indians into as few settlements as possible. Although they have established houses and recognize leaders, they are so far apart that it is difficult to preach to them. They are accordingly congregated in suitable places, and the Indians do so with such pleasure that it is evident that God is aiding them in realizing their goal of holy baptism.

On one occasion Padre Alonso Ruiz received word that the people of a certain village had fled into the mountains and would not come down in response to the Spanish captain's pleas because they were angered by their previous encounters with him. The padre went to the area, and as soon as the Indians learned of his presence they came running and at fifty paces laid down their weapons, which are bows and arrows, a lance of brazilwood, and a shield of hide. They embraced him, and the padre convinced them to cease their disturbances and to make peace. Although it cost him little effort, were it not for him the rebellion would have spread over all the land.

Twelve villages were founded within a short time with the combined desire and goodwill of the Indians and the labors of the padres.<sup>7</sup> A great many idols were torn down and broken to pieces. In one place alone sixty stone idols were destroyed as well as thirty heads of Xixime Indians. Since these people eat human flesh, they keep and care for the bones of their enemies, worshipping them, dancing with them, and recounting their exploits.<sup>8</sup>

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5. Alonso Ruiz arrived in Acaxee territory in 1600 and took charge of the mission of San Martín near San Andrés. After founding the pueblo of San Gregorio he used it as his base of operation, working among the southern Acaxees. He died in Topia of natural causes, on February 2, the year unknown.

6. This was almost certainly the former Jesuit provincial, Pedro Díaz (1545–1619). A native of Lupiana near Guadalajara, Spain, Díaz was instrumental in beginning the work of the Society in Sinaloa.

7. Ten *reducciones* of some 5,000 Indians were established by Padre Santarén within his mission territory: San Gerónimo, Atotonilco, Tamazula, el Frijolar, Borrachos, Colutla el Viejo, Zapotlán el Grande, Santa Ana, Birimoa, and San José Canelas.

8. The idols, according to contemporary descriptions, were often in human form and were cared for by priests who served as both religious leaders and curers. The principal deities

In the village of San Juan de Nasperez an Indian whom our people have instructed in the holy faith, and who in turn teaches his own people, gave notice that there were many idols and terrible sins and widespread idolatry among them.<sup>9</sup> This was proven to be true; many human bones and small idols to which they make offerings of maize and beans, as well as pots containing various things, were soon found. One old Indian at first refused to surrender the idols in his possession, but he finally did so and the padre and other Spaniards demolished every one. As an enormous bonfire burned the idols to ashes, bones and skulls were cast into it, and the padre exhorted the Indians in a long sermon to believe in the one and only true God. He explained to them the foolishness of believing in such little gods and in witchcraft and superstition. The Indians listened to the sermon and liked it, and the children and adults of the village, who were prepared, were baptized.

At another place the padres and the military captain who accompanied them—his orders were to protect the padres and keep the villages under surveillance—received word that there were many bones and idols nearby which were used in superstitious ceremonies. For example, when the Indians plant beans or other vegetables they hang the idols, bones, and skulls from a *zapote* tree which bears a fruit very common in the Indies<sup>10</sup> and invoke their favor when the first seeds are planted so that the harvests will be bountiful. Among the Indians who came were two, father and son, who were leaders of this idolatry. They brought all their idols and bones and these were publicly burned. The same was done many times and in many places; it would take too long to mention them all here. Nonetheless, some deserve mention because of their peculiar circumstances and because they illustrate the power of the divine word over these barbarous people who are so given to idolatry rather than the worship of the true God.

One time many Indians came with a great number of human bones and eighteen idols of different sorts—some gods of the water, others of sickness, and others of the fields. Among these Indians came one named Andrés, who although he had a Christian name was not a Christian. He had brought with him three idols, one with human features which he came to possess in the following manner:

While walking in the mountains one day he heard voices sounding like human moans which asked, "Are you sleeping? What are you doing?" When the Indian looked toward the source of these voices he saw a large head receding into the distance. He then heard another two voices crying and again saw the head recede. He followed it, but it soon disappeared beneath the ground. When he reached the

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were guardians of crops and animals. The Acaxees were said to take heads of slain enemies when they were unable to take the whole body, and they engaged in all-night victory dances holding the heads in their hands. Trophy heads and anthropophagy were traits they shared with other peoples of the sierra. The Xixime, mortal enemies of the Acaxee, were located to the south of them.

9. San Juan de Nasperez was inhabited by the Aymenes branch of the Acaxees and was a visita of the mission of Remedios in the southern Acaxee territory.

10. It is impossible to say with certainty what tree he is describing. Zapote is the common name of some 50 fruit-bearing trees in Mexico and Central America. Based on the fruit and the locality, a possible candidate would be *Calocarpum sapota*, a tall tree with sweet, edible fruit. *Acras zapote* occurs more widely throughout southern Mexico and Guatemala and also has a fleshy, sweet fruit.



place, he saw a head with eyes, nostrils, mouth, and other organs which said, "Pay heed, for I am God and I shall provide that you shall never starve and will always have plenty of food if you will supply me with maize and tamales, for such is my food." The Indian took the head to his house and henceforth gave it maize and tamales, which he swears it ate. The Indian also swears the idol spoke to him on many occasions. One night when he was preparing to bring this idol along with the others to the padres, it spoke, saying; "I am no devil, so why do you take me to the padres? What have they given you? Have they given you maize and sustained you for as many years as I? Why do you wish to deliver me to them?" The Indian responded he had no choice, that there was nothing else he could do. The idol then grew sad and tears fell from its eyes. The following morning when the Indian came to carry away the idol, it again spoke, "You are taking me to die at the hands of the padres, the captain, and the other Christians even after all I have done for you." Nonetheless the Indian still surrendered it along with a colored idol of stone the size of a decapitated chicken's head. The Indian said this latter idol had spoken to him many times in the mountains and that a year ago he brought it to his house, where it cured several diseases. He also brought a small idol of white stone which he had possessed for about two years and which he had found at the Río de la Campana,<sup>11</sup> a place of the unfaithful who are still at war. The Indian said the idol was swimming in the water when he found it and that it had spoken to him many times, once saying that it was angry with him. He took it to his house and kept it there as his god. The padres thanked the Indian and he left, only to return the next day much alarmed by mournful voices he had heard during the night which repeatedly asked, "Why have you abandoned me and delivered me to the padres and the captain?" The Indian maintained he would have nothing more to do with idolatry because he wished to become a Christian and because such was the hope of the padres.

It is marvelous to see the good effects the divine word has upon the barbarous people. They render up their idols with pleasure, whereas before they had passed whole days and nights before them, dancing and engaging in superstitions. What moves these people to believe our teachings, evangelism, and preachings more than anything else is the fact that we have no ulterior motives and would rather give than take. In a discussion with the padres and the captain the Indians said that they were moved by how we asked for nothing and made our intentions—to save them by means of the true faith—very clear. Had we asked for anything, they would surely have thought that self-interest moved us, not the desire to save their souls. As we destroyed the idols and superstitions with which they had lived since their birth, they eagerly embraced the rules we gave them and attended church as described.

In another village, called San Gerónimo,<sup>12</sup> the Indians presented the padres with an assortment of idols. One was a royal eagle, another a lion's head, and another two colored peregrines. All were thrown into a bonfire in the presence of the

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11. There is no Río de la Campana today. In all probability this name refers to a drainage now called the Arroyo de Campanillas northwest of Conitaca in eastern Sinaloa. It is approximately 60 kilometers southwest of Remedios.

12. San Gerónimo, located near Topia, was one of the first missions established in the area by the Jesuits.

gathered Indians, who appeared pleased with the proceedings. Meanwhile one of our padres preached to them the abomination of their idols and superstitions, glorified the greatness of our sacred faith, and warned them of the terrible punishments awaiting those who reverted to superstition and idolatry.

It would be quite an undertaking to list all the idols and heathen ceremonies our padres have destroyed because, like the Romans, these Indians have a large assortment of deities, some for illnesses, others for war, others for the fertility of crops. The idols have the forms of animals, and their special days are celebrated with dances, drunkenness, the painting of bodies, and other vices which commonly accompany such festivities. The most common and usual form of idolatry among these Indians is the worship of their slain enemies' bones, which they believe endow one with bravery. All the idols which were discovered were publicly burned, and a judicial inquiry was made into the proceedings, after which the charges and sentences against the idols were announced and executed. A great number of people were baptized and they recognized the vanity of their superstitions and idols. Nor did any die as a result of baptism as their lying old men had predicted.

Such, then, is the nature of our padres' work, much to the glory of Our Lord, the edification of all, and the benefit of the natives. Although the missionaries suffer considerably from their travels, the food, and from constantly moving from one church to another, the lack of temporal pleasures is compensated for by Our Lord in heaven and by the sight of so many souls saved. The padres have made a rough count of the Indians in these mountains, which totals more than 5,000. This does not include the many who are still at war.

In the first year of 1600, 400 Indians, both children and adults, were baptized. Many were married *in facie ecclesiae*<sup>13</sup>; thirteen villages were established; idols were torn down, crosses were raised, and churches were built. The Indians attend church with such pleasure and frequency that many spend two or three hours a day learning the gospel in their language so that they can achieve their goal of baptism. A padre once selected three boys for the Christian life and to serve as teachers of their people. Two applied themselves with such diligence that within a few days they knew the prayers and catechism in their own language. Another padre was once in a village for two days and sought to take four boys with him to teach them their prayers and catechism. One of them came to the padre saying, "Do not take me with you for I know the catechism from your prayers and teachings of these two days." The padre examined the boy and found that he indeed knew the catechism very well. The boy accordingly remained and instructed his people in the faith. The Indians are so eager to become Christians that most can learn what is necessary in four days with the help of certain small pebbles they use as memory aids. The padres can spend but little time in one place, even though they never rest, because the Indians are many and the distances so great. The Indians' dedication and study is even more remarkable when one remembers they also have their fields to care for. They will go to catechism before going to their labors so that they shall not lack spiritual sustenance. Finally, the desire for baptism spurs the Indians on in their studies.

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13. By the church.

Once, when Padre Alonso Ruiz was leaving a village, an Indian woman came to him and asked for baptism. She did an admirable job of reciting the catechism, and when the padre asked her why she wanted to become a Christian, she answered that she was married to her own stepfather because he had taken her as his woman when her mother died. She did not believe this arrangement was proper and asked the padre to baptize her, take her away from her stepfather, and marry her to a Christian.<sup>14</sup> This the padre did, and both were happy.

Not only does the holy faith heal their souls, the sacrament has also had a marvelous effect upon the health of their bodies. In another village a very old and sick Indian came to the padre's hut and asked to be baptized. The old man lay down on the floor, and because of his frailty and evident high fever, it appeared his end was at hand; therefore, although the Indian did not know his prayers, the padre briefly prepared him for baptism by instructing him in the necessities and asking pertinent questions. Hardly had the padre sprinkled the water on the Indian's head than the latter got up, joyfully hugged the padre, and left happily. He came to catechism that afternoon on foot with the rest. By the next day the Indian had completely recovered. He had a woman his own age who was so ill that she could neither move nor be carried to church. Learning of her husband's cure, she sent for the padre saying that she also wished to be cured by baptism. Seeing her need, the padre catechised her by means of an interpreter and baptized her. The next day God granted her the power to walk to church with the aid of a staff, and soon her pains and fever subsided. Our Lord provided that because of these examples many doubters and people of little faith applied themselves to learning the catechism and many demanded baptism. The two old people are still alive and well and are good Christians who have never failed to come to mass and catechism.

Such was the prosperity Christianity brought to Topia and San Andrés and such was the improvement wrought by the labors of Padre Hernando de Santarén and Padre Alonso Ruiz at the time the devil incited these miserable Indians to turn against the Christians and to revert to their ancient idolatry. Ever since the idols were destroyed the devil had been restless, causing those which remained to shed tears, although they were made of stone, and to threaten the Indians with starvation and death. Nonetheless, the Indians still surrendered them voluntarily to the padres in spite of their elders' counsel. These old Indians were the principal instigators of the uprising because by means of a diabolical spell they made their people believe the Christian Spaniards were against them, and that once initiated the rebellion could never be stopped.

The uprising began with the murder of five young Spaniards and several Indians who were sleeping unprotected in a church. The rebels, aware of how easily they had committed this foul deed, chopped the bodies to pieces and distributed the parts throughout the land. As part of their ancient rites, the people, including some Christians, pledged to support the conspiracy, whose goal was to break the yoke of the catechism and to return once and for all to the life of their ancestors and shamans.

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14. Marriages that were permissible among the natives were frequently at odds with Christian practice. Indian marriages were based not only upon economic considerations but also upon a kinship reckoning which was incomprehensible to Spaniards.

The Spaniards came to remove the padre from his hut, which stood about half a league from the Real de San Andrés, because it was so exposed to the treachery of the Indians.<sup>15</sup> The previous night an old Indian had come running at full speed all the way from his village to tell his young son, kept by the padre, to advise the padre to go to the real because Indian warriors were coming with the intention of killing every Spaniard in San Andrés. The padre went down to the town and awakened the people, who slept without the slightest suspicion of the impending danger. Our Lord provided a great thunderstorm to accompany the padre's warning so that the Indians postponed their attack for another day and night. On Saturday the padre was to go to another small village to say mass and baptize some Indians. However, an Indian laborer on his way to mass saw that the rebels had prepared an ambush for the padre and captain and came running to the town to report it, as well as saying he saw many Indian warriors killing our faithful Indians. No sooner had he given his warning and the place prepared for battle than the rebels arrived, firing arrows, and declared themselves our enemies from that day forward. They attacked every day from then on, although little damage was done to the village. In the countryside and on the roads, however, they left no Spaniard, Indian ally, mule, or anything useful to the Spaniards alive. They raided the mines called Las Vírgenes, killing everyone there except one wounded Spaniard who managed to spread news of the rebellion.<sup>16</sup> On Tuesday, September 26, 1601, they attacked the mines at San Hipólito and killed almost thirty people—four Spaniards and the remainder black slaves.<sup>17</sup> At that point they had assembled more than 1,000 archers. On Friday, the vespers of San Miguel, they attacked the real. Encircling the town, they showered it with arrows from every side, from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon. Nonetheless, only one Spaniard was killed that day and more than twenty Indian allies wounded. Since the Spaniards and Indian allies were united, there was less chance of them coming to harm.

The rebels burned four millworks outside the real, hoping that forces would be sent to their aid, thus weakening the village's defense. Victory would have been theirs had this scheme not been seen through.

The Indians always attacked fiercely and with war cries, but their losses were always worse than ours. One cannot say how many times God's hand intervened in our favor, for many times they attacked with such ferocity and confidence that victory seemed theirs. They far outnumbered us, and our defenders were ill equipped and with no other protection than the church, in which everyone had congregated.

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15. The discovery of silver at San Andrés in 1581 was followed by a rush of miners. Hernando de Santarén first visited San Andrés in 1598 and returned with a companion two years later to begin missionary work there.

16. This is the town of Cosalá. Silver was discovered there by 1550, and the Real de las Once Mil Vírgenes de Cosalá continued to be occupied by Spaniards after 1570, when most of the mines in the area had been abandoned.

17. The mines at San Hipólito began to be worked about 1590 and a presidio was established there in that decade. It was a visita of San Andrés until 1605 when the mission was reestablished after peace was restored.

The padre gave our people the courage to defend themselves with few weapons, little powder, and even fewer supplies; even the roads were blocked because the Indians had attacked them four times, so sure were they of victory. Our Lord provided a great storm and a whirlwind to descend upon the rebels which scattered and dispersed them. Our people were practically at the point of surrender when Padre Alonso Ruiz, seeing them without spirit, without strength, and without courage, took a crucifix in one hand and a shield in the other saying, "Hear Christians, the enemy is upon us, and it is not fitting to die at their hands without defending our faith and religion. The enemy may be strong, but I believe in the power of the cross and with faith as my shield I shall go out and die at the hands of the people to whom I have preached the gospel."

Our people could not allow the padre to go out alone, and with renewed spirit and strength they took up their weapons and fell upon the enemy, inflicting more damage than they received. The padre stood on a high place in the heart of the battle, simultaneously encouraging our soldiers and showing the rebels the true faith they had received. The rebels remained blind to the divine light and ignominiously dragged upon the ground the banners they had made from the clothing of our holy images. One of their captains even wore the cap and mantle obtained when they sacked Padre Alonso's humble house. The Spaniards were in grave danger until Padre Juan Fonte and Padre Santarén sent reinforcements of friendly Indians.<sup>18</sup>

Although the uprising spread throughout the sierra, including Topia, where Padre Santarén is stationed, its full force was felt here in San Andrés, where Padre Alonso Ruiz resides. The padre has been in great peril, but what pains him most is the sight of his converts, young transplants as it were, being lost to this tempest. As he wrote in a letter, "Although it breaks my heart, the future peace of this nation and the surrounding ones requires severe punishment of the offenders and a decision of how best to deal with my poor children. The devil will steal many souls from us because so many have died and only three were confessed. My soul is filled with great pain knowing that these natives, the best of New Spain, err only because of their elders' false counsel. May God grant that when these people fall they shall beg for His justice."

The governor's lieutenant first came to our aid with only two dozen Spaniards and 600 Indian auxiliaries.<sup>19</sup> When news of the uprising later reached México, it caused no little concern. The Conde de Monterrey,<sup>20</sup> viceroy of New Spain, sent me the letters while I was visiting the Colegio de México.<sup>21</sup> Later, at his government palace, the viceroy ordered the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to leave the next

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18. Juan Fonte was born in Tarrasa, near Barcelona, in 1574. He entered the Society of Jesus 20 years later, and upon being assigned to Mexico he was sent in 1600 to help with the conversion of the Tepehuan Indians. He was martyred in the Tepehuan Rebellion in 1616. At the time of the Acaxee Revolt he was in Santiago Papasquiario.

19. Captain Juan de Castañeda was lieutenant governor at this time.

20. Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, the Conde de Monterrey, was viceroy of New Spain from 1595 to 1603.

21. This was the Jesuit Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo, founded in Mexico City in 1572.

day and go to the aid of those in the sierra.<sup>22</sup> The royal treasuries of both Zacatecas and Guadiana were opened for the purpose, and the governor was ordered to assemble the people he needed as he went along.<sup>23</sup> The Conde de Monterrey's quick action and the governor's rapid departure were both needed, considering the dangerous state of affairs. The Indians, however, are so obstinate and rebellious that any good news we receive is most welcome.

The news of the rebellion was also carried to Don Alonso de la Mota, bishop of Nueva Galicia, who was near Guadalajara, site of his cathedral.<sup>24</sup> The good pastor keenly felt the loss of his new flock and left for the Sierra de Topia paying no mind to the distance involved and the difficulty of the roads. After the bishop's arrival, his presence and good counsel were responsible for our success. He found the sight of our labors most pleasing as well as the results of so many years spent in congregating these barbarians and teaching them the catechism. The labor of our padres and the counsel of the bishop and other persons in Guadiana ensured that we will be entrusted with the care of the entire sierra as well as the province of Culiacán.<sup>25</sup> This latter location presents a difficult situation because it is far from Topia and we are so short on missionaries; the matter must be further discussed with his reverence [the bishop].

While still in México the governor asked if I would permit him to take with him one of the padres from Guadiana because of the great help and satisfaction they had given him on previous occasions. I allowed him to do so, and the presence of the padre was a great comfort to those who had been in such danger. More importantly, the governor sent this padre back to México to report to the viceroy on what the governor had done and how things were in the sierra. The padre stressed as well the importance of quelling the rebellion and communicated what our padres felt was most needed for the pacification of the Indians and the restoration of all that had been lost.

[Francisco Báez]<sup>26</sup>  
[April 1602]

*Annual letter of 1602 from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, México 14, ff. 289–294.  
Original in the Archivo General de Indias, México 1254*

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22. Rodrigo de Vivero was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1600 to 1603.

23. The principal treasury was located in Mexico City, but sub-treasuries were established in other major centers. The treasuries were run by three officials—factor, accountant, and treasurer—but were subordinate to their governors and the viceroy. Guadiana was the original name for the valley and city of Durango.

24. Alonso de la Mota y Escobar was born in Mexico in 1546 and was educated at the University of Mexico. He was bishop of Guadalajara from 1598 to 1607, when he assumed the same position at Puebla. He died there in 1625.

25. This statement is prophetic. In succeeding years the Jesuits were indeed awarded the responsibility for establishing missions in the Sierra Madre Occidental—most importantly those in the Tepahuan and Tarahumara areas—and on the Pacific slope of the mountains in Sinaloa and ultimately in Sonora.

26. The Jesuit provincial of Mexico at the time, Francisco Báez, is the author of this report. Born in Segovia in 1543, he entered the Society in 1566 and arrived in Mexico in 1576. He served as provincial from 1597 to 1602 and subsequently as master of novices and provost of the Casa Profesa. He died at the Colegio Máximo in 1619.

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**A** cerca de la misión de la sierra de los acaxees y los demás que pertenecen a San Andrés y Topía y toda su comarca; se puede brevemente decir que esta serranía es en grande manera áspera y dificultosa de andar por la suma de picachos y puntas que en ella hay de tan alta profundidad, que unos de los mayores cuidados del que por ellos caminan ha de ser volver los ojos a un lado para que desvanecido de la altura de la parte contraria no se despeñe. Hay de travesía en esta misión de lo que está sujeto a dos pueblos fuera de lo mucho que resta por descubrir, cien leguas o más, todas ellas de serranía y montes agros donde en solamente espacio de treinta leguas que uno de los padres anduvo se le quedaron rendidas cinco bestias de remuda con ser las más de ellas mulares, que para semejante efecto suelen ser más fuertes que no pudieron llegar adonde el pobre padre a pie lloviendo yendo lo más del camino asido de las colas de las mulas para poder subir las cuestas. Y aunque llevan buenas cabalgaduras es fuerza el andar una y dos leguas a pie sin caminos cayendo y levantando y sudando en tiempo de aguas como le sucedió a un padre entre otras veces, que una del ellas perdido el camino y tino de la guía anduvo todo un día a pie mojado, cansado, y sin tener cosa que comer ni saber de donde le venía hasta que proveyó Dios que topando una senda sin saber de donde iba le llevó a pie a un lugar tres leguas apartado del que pretendía.

Es tal la dificultad de los caminos que en bajar una cuesta se suelen pasar tres días; cosa que si se oyera y no se viera pareciera increíble y no por eso deja de ser habitada de gente muy apta para el evangelio y que hasta ahora no habí tenido guerra con los españoles pero han la traído siempre entre sí mismos y muy sangrienta; de suerte que se comen unos a otros cuando se pueden haber a las manos, lo cual hacen con gran exceso y de continuo por estar muy cerca los unos pueblos de los otros pero en lo demás habían mostrado ser gente mansa, fácil y trabajadora. Hacen sus cementseras y montes con grande trabajo y tienen su cosecha de miel razonable y otras comidillas, con las cuales se sustentan. Andan desnudos aunque poco a poco van gustando de vestirse y tienen el cabello largo y tanto que a uno se le midió, que puesto en pie con ser de muy cumplida estatura se arrastraba por el suelo diez palmos de canas blancas como un armiño fuera de lo que le cubría el cuerpo. Traenle de ordinario recogido en la cabeza por la fealdad y horror que causa el cubrirles de arriba a abajo cuando lo desenvuelven.

Ha estado esta gente casi siempre de paz con los españoles y se han poblado dos reales de famosas minas en su tierra, a los cuales suelen ellos acudir y aunque en diversas ocasiones han entrado ministros y sacerdotes siempre se han estado estos pobres en su infidelidad, de suerte que si no es cual o cual ninguno estaba bautizado, hasta que de tres años a esta parte que entró el padre Hernando de Santarén ha tomado con tantas veras la cultura de aquellas pobres almas que los caminos asperísimos se le hacen llanos. Las muchas y ordinarias incomodidades de comida y otras cosas las pasa con tanto gusto y alegría que se echa bien de ver haberle escogido Dios para apóstol de aquella gentilidad. Gloria sea a Dios nuestro señor. Dice el que en medio de tantos desavíos; lloviendo sobre mí de día y de noche sólo con un indio en medio de esta serranía y desaviado de todo género de viático que me da nuestro señor soy contento que no lo tiene tal el indio *summo pontifice* prenda para mí muy cierta de mi vocación a estos indios de lo

cual nunca me arrepentí; yo para mí digo que aquí está el Japón y aquí está la China y aquí está Nuevo México. Espero en Dios Nuestro Señor que ha de proveer su viña tan amada y la va proveyendo de buenos obreros, como lo es el padre Alonso Ruíz que con extraordinario fervor toma la lengua en la cual se ha trabajado razonablemente pues se ha puesto en arte aunque no con toda perfección a lo menos como se ha podido.

Este padre de quien hace relación aquí es uno de los que ahora dos años vinieron con el padre Díaz y con haber tan poco que se emplea el ministerio de los indios habiéndole causado luego que llegó en suerte esta misión no con menos espíritu, fervor y celo de las almas se ocupa en compañía del otro padre y padece los mismos trabajos que él asentando los pueblos y reduciéndolos a lo menos que se ha podido porque aunque tienen casas formadas y reconocimiento a sus principales, están tan divididos los unos de los otros que con gran dificultad apenas se podrían doctrinar sino se hiciesen congregaciones de ellos en las partes más cómodas a lo cual acuden los mismos indios con tanto gusto que muestran bien el que Dios les comunica para alcanzar el bien grande que esperan, que es el santo bautismo.

Supo una vez el padre Alonso Ruiz como un pueblo se había subido ha los picachos y no había remedio de que bajasen a los ruegos del capitán; enojados por ciertos encuentros que con él habían tenido. Fue el padre allá y sabiendo que estaba cerca, bajaron volando y arrimaron sus armas antes de llegar a él cincuenta pasos y son sus armas arcoflecha, lanza de Brasil y adargas y todos le vinieron a abrazar. Quitóles los estorbos que tenían, volviéronse a dar de paz con tan poco trabajo como éste que de otra manera dieran en que entender a toda la tierra.

Con este ánimo de ellos y buena voluntad y con el trabajo de los padres se fundaron en breve tiempo doce pueblos; derribándose y haciendo pedazos grande cantidad de ídolos y en una parte sola se derribaron sesenta de piedra y treinta cabezas de indios xiximes que como comen carne humana reservan y tienen guardados los huesos de estos sus enemigos en que idolatran bailándoles y adorando en ellos sus hazañas.

En el pueblo llamado San Juan de Nasperez, un indio que enseña a los demás a quien los nuestros tienen instruído en las cosas de nuestra santa fe; para este efecto dio noticia como entre su gente había muchos ídolos e idólatras y otros pecados enormes, lo cual se procuró saber de raíz y hallando ser verdad se dio traza como haber a las manos todos los huesos de personas humanas e idólos de diferentes figuras delante de los cuales ofrecen maíz, frijoles y ollas con algunas cosas dentro. Rehusando un indio viejo de dar los que tenía en fin los exhibió quebrándolos todos el padre y los españoles que estaban en su compañía y habiendo una grande hoguera hicieron cenizas así los ídolos como los huesos de los hombres y calabras que tenían exhortándoles el padre con un largo razonamiento a creer en un solo y verdadero Dios dándoles a entender la burlería de aquellos diosesillos y de las demás de sus hechicerías y supersticiones, lo cual todo recibieron de buena gana bautizándose en el dicho pueblo los niños y los demás adultos que estaban dispuestos para ello.

En otra parte los padres y el capitán que andaba en su compañía por ser este el orden que se tiene dado, así para la seguridad de los padres como para la disposición de las poblaciones tuvieron noticia de que había muchos ídolos y huesos de la gente que habían muerto con los cuales hacen muchas supersticiones cuando



quieran sembrar frijol o otras legumbres colgando los tales huesos e ídolos y calaberas de un árbol de capote que es fruta muy ordinaria en las indias invocando el favor de ellos para quien dicen siembran los primeros granos para que sean las cosechas copiosas; vinieron entre otros dos que eran capitanes y caudillos de esta idolatría padre e hijo. Trajeron los ídolos y huesos sin que quedase alguno, los cuales públicamente se quemaron como se había hecho de los demás.

Esto mismo se hizo diferentes veces en muchas ocasiones, que sería largo de contarlas pero no es razón pasar en silencio contar algunas en las cuales concurren particulares circunstancias para que se vea cuan poderosa es la divina palabra con gente bárbara tan apartada del conocimiento del verdadero Dios y tan dada a la idolatría. Llegaron una vez muchos indios con cantidad de huesos humanos y con dieciocho ídolos de diferentes figuras; unos dioses del agua, y otros de las enfermedades y otros de las sementeras: entre estos vino un indio llamado Andrés que aunque tenía nombre de cristiano no lo era. Manifestó tres ídolos; uno con rostro de hombre que muchos años a lo hubo andando en un cerro donde oyó muchas voces que parecían lamentos de persona humana y le decía: duermes? ¿Qué haces? Y mirando el indio hacia donde daban las voces vio ir un bulto grande, que se alejaba. Después volvió a dar otras dos veces voces llorando y viole otra vez de la misma suerte y que fingía huir. Fue en su seguimiento y desapareciósele metiéndose debajo de la tierra llegando al puesto donde le había oído; vio una cabeza formada con ojos, narices, boca y lo demás, la cual le decía: advierte que soy dios y te doy licencia que no ayunes y que comas venados y a mí me darás siempre maíz y tamales, que esa es mi ordinaria comida; con lo cual el dicho indio se volvió y la trajo a su casa, donde le ha dado ordinario maíz y tamales lo cual dijo y afirmó haber comido el dicho ídolo y habládole muchas veces. Y una noche yendo él resuelto de traer a los padres este ídolo con los demás, el ídolo real y verdaderamente le habló y le dijo yo no soy el diablo para que me lleves a los padres; ¿Qué te han dado ellos? ¿Han te dado maíz y han te sustentado tantos años como yo? Ahora tienes tu casa llena de maíz que te he yo dado; ¿Para qué me quieres entregar? Respondió el indio que no podía ser menos sino que le había de llevar; el ídolo se mostraba muy triste, saliéndole agua por los ojos. A la mañana llegando a tomar su ídolo, le volvió a hablar diciéndole ya me llevas a morir en poder de los padres del capitán y de los cristianos, pues mira mi corazón se ha de ir con mi padre veremos si te dan esos cristianos lo que yo te he dado. Con todo eso lo tomó, y lo trajo con otro de piedra colorada del tamaño de una cabeza de gallina degollada. El cual dijo, que había un año que lo tenía, y que le habló muchas veces en el monte y le trajo a su casa habiéndoles sanado de algunas enfermedades.

Entregó también otro el mismo indio del tamaño de un brinquiño; era de piedra blanca y dijo que lo tenía dos años había poco más o menos y que se lo halló en el río de La Campana que es paraje de mucha gente infiel que aún está de guerra. Que andaba nadando sobre el agua y que le habló muchas cosas diciendo que estaba muy enojado con el dicho Andrés, y por la calle le trajo a su casa adonde le ha tenido por su dios. Y agradeciendo los padres al indio lo que había hecho se volvió y al día siguiente vino como espantado a decir a los padres y al capitán que aquella noche había oído en su casa voces muy llorosas semejantes a las otras que quedan referidas que le decían: ¿Por qué me has dejado y entregado a los padres y al capitán? Lo cual repetía muchas veces; pero que ya estaba determinado a no dársele nada y que quería ser cristiano pues los padres le decían sería esto mejor.

Es cosa maravillosa ver los buenos y admirables efectos que causa la divina palabra en esta gente aunque tan bárbara, pues de tan buena gana entregan los ídolos ante quien solían pasar las noches y los días festejándoles con bailes y supersticiones y una de las cosas que más les mueve a creer la verdad del evangelio y lo que los nuestros les enseñan y predicán es verlos desinteresados y que no les piden cosa alguna antes les dan lo que tenían como ellos mismos lo declararon en un razonamiento que tuvieron con los padres y el capitán disiendo que habían reparado mucho en ver que ni los padres ni el capitán les pedían nada y que bien claro les daban a entender que su pretensión no era sino salvarlos por medio de la verdadera fe por que si algo les pidieran y tomaran creyeran que el interés les movía, y no el deseo de sus almas; pero pues que así era que ellos irían deshaciendo los ídolos y las demás supersticiones en que se habían criado y vivido y abarcarían de buena gana la ley que se les enseña lo cual confirman con las obras acudiendo a la iglesia como queda dicho. En otro pueblo llamado San Gerónimo los indios presentaron a los padres variedad de ídolos; el uno era un águila real y el otro una cabeza de león, y otros dos de piedra de peregrinos colores, los cuales todos se echaron en una hoguera encendida para este efecto en presencia de los dichos indios mostrando ellos gusto de ello estándoles haciendo juntamente uno de los nuestros una plática sobre la abominación de sus ídolos y supersticiones declarándoles las excelencias y grandezas de nuestra sagrada religión y los grandes castigos que se habían de hacer a los que reiterasen sus supersticiones e idolatrías.

Sería negocio muy largo querer poner por menudo todos los ídolos y ceremonias gentílicas que los nuestros han destruido; porque así como los romanos así éstos tenían su variedad de dioses, unos para las enfermedades, otros para las guerras, otros para que las sementeras tengan buena cosecha. Estos ídolos en varios géneros de animales cuyas fiestas celebran con bailes, borracheras y embijarse el cuerpo, y otros vicios que comúnmente acompañan a éstos. La idolatría más general y singular de estas naciones es la que corre en todas ellas de adorar su valentía en los huesos de los vencidos. Todos los ídolos que se pudieron descubrir públicamente se hicieron ceniza y de ello se hizo información jurídica así como se iban destruyendo, haciéndose una plática a los congregados al auto y sentencia que contra los ídolos se ejecutaban. Bautizóse gran número de gente y tuvieron por vana la superstición de sus ídolos experimentando que aunque los entregaban a los padres no por eso morían como sus falsos viejos les enseñaban.

En estas y otras obras semejantes andan ocupados los nuestros con mucha gloria de Nuestro Señor y notable edificación de los prójimos y provecho de los naturales pasando en caminos y en comidas y mudanza de temples, notables incomodidades; pero todo lo que falta de lo temporal suple Nuestro Señor en los consuelos del cielo y con el fruto mucho que cada día hacen en las almas. Han hecho lista los padres de los indios que en esta serranía hay. Hállanse ser más de cinco mil sin tocar a otra grande infinidad que aún está de guerra y confinan con la de la paz. Bautizáronse entre párvulos y adultos el primer año de 1600, cuatrocientas personas que fueron más que menos casando *in facie ecclesiae*. Los que tenían disposición así como se van haciendo los pueblos y derribando ídolos, se van levantando cruces y haciendo iglesias, a las cuales acuden con tanta frecuencia de su gana dos o tres horas cada día aprendiendo la doctrina en su lengua con el grande deseo que tienen de ser bautizados. Tres muchachos escogió uno de los padres para tema cristiano o maestros de los demás y los dos de ellos se dieron tan de buena gana a la doctrina que entre días supieron las oraciones y catecismo en

su lengua. Otra vez estando un padre en un pueblo dos días queriéndose llevar consigo cuatro niños que aprendiesen el catecismo y oraciones, salió uno de ellos y le dijo; no me lleves padre que ya sé la doctrina de lo que aquí has rezado y enseñado estos dos días; y examinándole halló que las sabía muy bien y así quedó para enseñarla a los demás. Asíéntales todo muy bien y con tanto deseo de ser cristianos que apenas hay quien en cuatro días no aprende lo que es necesario ayudándose de unas piedrecillas de que se usan para la memoria. Este deseo grande se les causa por el breve tiempo que los padres pueden asistir con ellos cuando los visitan, y esto no descansado ni un punto por ser los indios muchos y a mucha distancia; y es más de estimar el aprender tan brevemente cuando tienen ocupaciones de sementeras que entonces procuran acudir primero a su catecismo por no perder su ración espiritual y recibida ésta van a su labranza, más ya se suplen las ausencias de los padres con los maestros que quedan puestos y impórtales mucho la gana que tienen de bautismo para aprender más presto y aún disponerse para él.

Ya que una vez el padre Alonso Ruiz se partía de uno de los pueblos llegó a él una india y le pidió la bautizase; dióle ella muy buena cuenta de la doctrina. Y preguntándole que le movía a ser cristiana respondió, yo estoy casada con mi mismo padrastro porque cuando mi madre murió me llevó él por mujer y esto no me parece bien, bautizadme padre y apartadme de este hombre y casadme con un cristiano. Y así se hizo, con que quedó ella contenta y el padre mucho más y no sólo djóle el remedio de sus almas con este sacramento más también alcanzan maravillosamente salud de sus cuerpos porque en otro pueblo un indio muy viejo y mucho más enfermo vino a la casilla del padre y pidiendo el bautismo se tendió en el suelo tan flaco y con tan recia calentura, que aunque no sabía las oraciones, por el peligro que había de quedarse sin remedio, le pasó con él lo precisamente necesario *in articulo mortis* enseñándole brevemente y por preguntas, como a quien estaba en lo extremo. Hecha esta precisa diligencia, apenas acabó el padre de echarle el agua sobre la cabeza, cuando se levantó del suelo a abrazar al padre con gran risa y contento y a la tarde vino a la doctrina por su pie con los demás y otro día quedó del todo bueno este buen viejo; tenía por mujer una india de su edad aún más enferma que él pues no pudo menearse de un lugar ni ser traída a la iglesia. Y sabiendo lo que a su marido le había sucedido envió a llamar al mismo padre diciendo que pues su marido había sanado con el bautismo; que la bautizasen a ella que quería ser sana. Vista su fe y necesidad que se juzgó ser extrema, catequizóla el padre por medio de intérprete y bautizóla. Otro día fue Dios servido que vino por su pie a la iglesia estribando en un báculo y luego cesaron las calenturas y dolores. Sacó de esto Nuestro Señor; tanto provecho que algunos tibios y de poca fe se enmendaron mucho y todos se animaron a aprender la doctrina y pedían con nueva instancia el bautismo. Los dos viejos viven sanos y muy buenos cristianos y no han faltado un punto de la iglesia a misa y catecismo. A esta prosperidad llevaba la cristiandad de Topia y San Andrés y estos eran los principios que con sus trabajos habían dado al padre Hernando de Santarén y al padre Alonso Ruiz cuando con estos miserables indios pudo tanto su antiguo padre el demonio que con poco fundamento les ha hecho levantar bandera contra los cristianos apellidando libertad para volverse a sus antiguas idolatrías. Muy pesaroso se había mostrado el demonio desde el principio que se les quitaron los ídolos y así los indios los veían llorar y derramar lágrimas aunque eran piedras; y que los amenazaban con muertes y hambres porque los entregaban a los padres con todo eso, ellos se los traían de su voluntad sin hacerles fuerza; sólo los indios viejos

mostraban repugnancia y éstos fueron ahora la principal causa de su levantamiento obligándoles con un hecho deabólico a entender que tenían ya irritados los cristianos españoles y que no podían volver atrás de lo que los viejos una vez habían emprendido. Estos comenzaron el levantamiento con la muerte de cinco españoles mencebos que mataron con unos indios que iban en su compañía estando durmiendo en la iglesia muy descuidados. Y viendo ellos que habían salido con esto a poca costa haciendo pedazos los cuerpos, hicieron presentes de la carne a toda la tierra con lo cual prendados y obligados conforme a su antiguo rito. Aún los que eran cristianos dieron palabras y aún prendas de la conjuración y muerte de los españoles y su fin fue romper el yugo del evangelio y acabar con todo de una vez y quedarse en sus tierras a gusto de sus viejos y hechiceros.

Estando pues los españoles llamando uno de los padres en su casilla que dista como media legua del real de San Andrés, bien descuidado de la traición que su gente le armaba, y anoche vino un indio viejo corriendo a toda prisa desde su pueblo y hablando con un hijuelo suyo que el padre tenía le dijo: dile al padre que se baje luego al real, que vienen los indios de guerra a quemar todo esto y luego han de matar a todos los españoles de San Andrés. Bajóse luego el padre al pueblo y despertólo que dormía con poco recelo de tanto daño, al cual aviso, añadió Nuestro Señor un grande aguacero con que aquella noche y otro día dejaron de ejecutar su mal intento. Luego el sábado le tenían aplazado en otro pueblecillo para decir misa y bautizar algunos indios donde les tenían alguna buena celada armada al capitán y al padre; y descubrióla un indio naborí que debía de ir a oír misa; el cual vio muchos indios de guerra que estaban matando a otro indio de los nuestros. Este vino corriendo a dar aviso y por presto que se recogieron y armaron llegaron los enemigos al real y acercándose arrojaron algunas flechas con que se declararon por enemigos. De allí en adelante cada día les daban guerra aunque con poco daño del real pero fuera en los caminos y campo no perdonaban español, ni indio, ni mula, ni otra cosa que pudiese servir al español. Corrieron a las minas que llamaban de Las Vírgenes y acabaron con todos escapándose herido un español que dio nueva del levantamiento. Acudieron luego martes, 26 de septiembre del año 1601 a las minas de San Hipólito, donde mataron casi treinta, y de ellos cuatro españoles, los demás negros esclavos, allí hicieron una junta de más de mil flecheros, dieron viernes víspera de San Miguel, sobre el real donde estaban los españoles y al padre. Cercáronle y batiéronle por todas partes con innumerables flechas desde las siete de la mañana hasta las cuatro de la tarde en el cual día sólo mataron un español e hirieron más de veinte indios amigos más porque estando en un puesto los españoles y indios de guerra amigos, no pudieron recibir tanto daño. Trataron y pusieron por obra los enemigos de quemar cuatro ingenios de minas que estaban fuera del real para que acudiendo al socorro la gente de él se dividiesen y fuesen más fácilmente vencidos si su ardid no hubiera sido entendido. Desde entonces siempre vinieron a dar algazara y gritería a los españoles con daño nuestro aunque siempre mayor de los suyos en esta ocasión no se puede decir cuanto la poderosa mano del Señor, porque por algunas veces que en diversos días acometieron los contrarios casi fuera suya la victoria y sin duda lo fuera por la pujanza que traían así por el número de gente que sobre los cercados venía como por estar los nuestros mal pertrechados y no haber otro muro ni defensa que el verse todos apretados y recogidos en la iglesia con el aliento que el padre les daba para defenderse con pocas armas, poca pólvora y menos mantenimientos y los caminos cercados. Así por cuatro veces dieron en ellos los enemigos con cer-

tidumbre de la victoria; más fue el Señor servido que todas ellas descargar el cielo tan gran tempestad y torbellino que los desbarató y descompuso. Otra estaban ellos cerca y los nuestros ya casi rendidos para entregarse a sus enemigos, más viéndolos el padre Alonso Ruiz sin ánimo, sin fuerza, ni brió por estar quebrantados del trabajo pasado tomó un crucifijo en la una mano y un simalí o rodela en la otra diciéndoles: Ea cristianos!, los enemigos están sobre nosotros y no es bien morir a manos de ellos con oprobio y afrenta de nuestra fe y religión sin salir a la defensa de ella. Si la fuerza de los contrarios os acobarda yo, confiado en estas armas de la cruz con el escudo de la fe saldré a hacer alarde de ella y morir a manos de aquellos que por mi medio la recibieron. Esto dijo el padre y a su voz, animados y esforzados tomaron las armas por no dejar al padre que ya solo salía. Hicieron rostro a los enemigos haciendo más daño en ellos que el que recibían y en medio de los nuestros, el padre en lugar alto, alentando por una parte a los soldados y por otra poniéndoles a los alzados delante de los ojos la fe que habían recibido, más los bárbaros los cerraban a la divina luz y en oprobio de nuestra religión arrastraban por los suelos las banderas que de los lienzos de las imágenes habían hecho y uno de sus capitanes traía puesto el bonete y manteo que de la pobre posada del padre Alonso Ruiz habían saqueado. Estuvieron los españoles en grande aprieto hasta que del padre Juan Fonte por una parte y del padre Santarén por otra tuvieron algún socorro de indios amigos que fueron a la defensa y aunque esta conjuración es general en toda la tierra que comprende Topia donde está el padre Santarén, y a San Andrés donde recide el padre Alonso Ruiz; pero aquí en San Andrés ha sido con mayor furia, pasando el padre grandes peligros de la vida y lo que él más siente es el dolor de ver aquellas nuevas plantas que había de nuevo puesto que con este cerco y tempestad desecha se le van perdiendo como lo significa en un capítulo de una carta que dice así; ahora es fuerza para la paz de esta nación y de las demás circunvecinas que haya mucho castigo y adivinano lo que ha de ser en estos mis pobres hijos se me parte el corazón viendo lo que en esta primitiva nos ha de hurtar de almas el demonio que ya han caído muchos y solos tres con confesión. Especialmente se me atraviesa el alma de un entrañable dolor conociendo estos naturales que son de los mejores que cría la Nueva España y que sólo hieran por embuste y ardid de sus viejos, plega al Señor que ya que los miserables erraron presto caigan en la cuenta y con humildad suplan la falta de su justicia.

Acudió al socorro el teniente del gobernador con sólo dos docenas de españoles y seiscientos amigos indios y sabida en México la nueva de este, alzamiento que puso en todos no pequeño cuidado el conde de Monterrey, virrey de esta Nueva España me envió luego las cartas al colegio de México donde entonces estaba visitando; y juntos en palacio con el gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya a cuya gobernación pertenece toda la serranía de Topia como parte más principal y más rica de ella. El señor virrey dio orden con toda puntualidad y liberalidad como el dicho gobernador partiese el día siguiente al socorro de la sierra abriendo para ello las cajas reales de Zacatecas y Guadiana donde se hiciese la gente que conforme a lo que en el camino entendiéndose fuese necesaria. Y esta solicitud del conde y gobernador y brevedad en su llegada fue todo el reparo para la importancia y peligro en que las cosas estaban; pero están los indios tan obstinados y rebeldes que cualquiera nueva de conveniencia que estos días se nos escribe la tenemos por muy buena.

Cogió también esta nueva al señor obispo de la Nueva Galicia don Alonso de Lamota cerca de Guadalajara que es la ciudad en que está su catedral y sintiendo como buen pastor la pérdida de su nuevo rebaño dio la vuelta para la serranía de Topia sin detenerle la distancia y dificultad de los caminos. Llegado que fue su señoría con su presencia y buen consejo fue gran parte para él; reparo y buenos sucesos que esperan. Y halló por vista ojos, cuán agradables eran al Señor los trabajos de los nuestros padecidos todos estos años en la doctrina y conragación de aquellos bárbaros y dio ser mucho más lo que en esto se hacía que lo que los mismos padres cuando se vieron con su señoría en Guadiana y otras personas le relataban y escribían. Y así se ha determinado de encargar a los nuestros "*in totum*" el cuidado de toda esta sierra y de la provincia de Culiacán que está distante de esta de Topia cosa que ha de ser muy difícil condescender en esto con su señoría por el aprieto de obreros con que nos hallamos.

Cuando el gobernador fue al socorro de la sierra me pidió aquí en México, el día de su partida, le concediese llevar consigo un padre de los que estaban en Guadiana por la mucha inteligencia y antigua satisfacción que de él tenía para semejantes ocasiones; concediéndolo y fue de mucha importancia para el consuelo de los nuestros que se había hallado en el peligro que arriba dije y la mayor importancia fue haberle enviado el mismo gobernador desde Topia a esta ciudad de México a dar cuenta al señor virrey así de lo hecho por el gobernador en el socorro como del estado de la cosa y lo necesario para fenecerla y principalmente de lo que nuestros pueblos pedían y sentían para la pacificación de los indios y restauración de lo perdido.

[Francisco Báez]  
[Abril de 1602]

*Archivum Romanum Societatus Iesu, México 14*

## Urdiñola's Success Against the Acaxees

*When Governor Vivero attempted to end the Acaxee rebellion, he met with nothing but frustration. Months spent in the sierra brought few sightings of the hostiles and little was achieved in ending the conflict. The Indians were masters of the terrain, and recruits from Durango were all but useless in the labyrinth of crags and barrancas. Disgraced, Vivero gave up, waiting to be given a new post far from Nueva Vizcaya. The viceroy drew upon experience when he chose his successor—one steeped in the vagaries of fighting natives on their terms. Francisco de Urdiñola earned his reputation in the 1580s and 1590s combating and pacifying Chichimecas along the northern arc of Spanish penetration. After the Chichimeca Peace, he settled comfortably on his lands in northern Zacatecas, thinking his royal service completed.*

*Urdiñola's appointment as the new governor came in early 1603, and he quickly turned his attention to the area of Vivero's greatest failure. Bands of Sobaibo Acaxees were responsible for keeping the revolt in full swing, and they had ignored Vivero's inept entreaties to come to terms. The withdrawal of his forces only encouraged them to enlist the support of other villages in their fight against the Spaniards. Urdiñola entered the sierra, where he was met at San Andrés by Lieutenant Governor Juan de Castañeda, who had remained in the mountains to continue the pursuit of the rebels. From the testimonies of the four witnesses that make up this document, it appears that the actions of Urdiñola were no less than miraculous. No doubt the resident miners in the area and Father Santarén were disposed to cast the new governor in the best light. They had much to gain from pacification and were carefully selected to give their impressions of the campaign. Whatever their biases, it is obvious that Urdiñola made fast work of the task before him. Highest priority was the apprehension of the Sobaibo chief, Perico, the self-styled "bishop" who commanded the most feared following of insurgents. This native messianic leader from Chacala had eluded Vivero and Castañeda, and it was his band that had caused most of the damage. The witnesses gloss over how Urdiñola was able so quickly to accomplish the feat of capturing Perico and his assistant, but all agreed that with little effort these two and their principal warriors were caught and executed for their crimes.*

*Most telling is Urdiñola's haste in mustering out his soldiers after peace was restored and his near suppression of the presidio at San Andrés. The continuing potential for more trouble must have been obvious, and one wonders how Santarén could so glibly endorse the military pullout in the name of monetary saving. Six years later the soldiers of Urdiñola would be needed again, and another six would find Santarén martyred in the absence of any military deterrent.*

**I**n the mines of Veracruz de Topia in Nueva Vizcaya<sup>1</sup> on December 30, 1603, being the year 1604 after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, before witnesses and myself, the public scribe, Francisco de Urdiñola,<sup>2</sup> governor and captain-general of this realm and its provinces for his majesty, whom I swear I know, granted that his complete power be given legally, so far as needed, to Diego de Paz [Tenoco],<sup>3</sup> who is present in these mines, so that before the ordinary justices there and in any other place he may choose, he may request the receipt of information concerning matters of peace and war in these lands and mountains from the time the aforesaid governor entered them as well as after his grace had visited them and entered the province of Sinaloa. He may also investigate the results of the punishment he inflicted in his visitation on the natives of the mountains of Alayá<sup>4</sup> and the pueblos in that region where the first uprising and rebellion of all the Indians of the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations took place and which caused the deaths, burnings, and damage that took place in that past year of 1601 as is evident from the investigations that were made in order to inflict the aforesaid punishment. And in order to carry out the aforesaid investigations, Diego de Paz may appear before the aforesaid justices and present petitions and witnesses to the aforesaid. And after they have been made, he should request the originals of the testimonies he may choose, in order to send them to his majesty and to his Royal Council of the Indies. In them will be proof of the status of the land and of what was done with regard to the aforesaid uprising. For this purpose the governor gave him this authority of free and general administration. Diego de Paz pledged his person and property to comply, and he signed it with his name; at his request no record was made. Witnesses to what has been said are Don Martín de Alcalá, Don Juan de Visate, supplier; and Agustín de Abrigo, all present in these mines. Francisco de Urdiñola appeared before me, and I signed it in testimony of the truth. Francisco González Carrasco, notary public.

In the mines of Topia in Nueva Vizcaya on the eighth day of the month of January 1604, in my presence as notary and before witnesses, Francisco de Urdiñola,

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1. The silver strike in Zacatecas in 1548 began a rush of prospecting along the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre and eastward. When other strikes were made in today's states of Durango, Chihuahua, Guanajuato, Querétaro, Aguascalientes, and San Luis Potosí, a new administrative district was needed. The province of Nueva Vizcaya, established in the early 1560s, initially encompassed all the territories beyond Nueva Galicia. Francisco de Ibarra was named the first governor in 1562.

2. Francisco de Urdiñola was born in 1552 near San Sebastián on the Basque coast of Spain. He arrived in New Spain as a young man and made his fortune in mining. He had had extensive experience on the frontier in Nuevo León and Coahuila, where he established the Tlaxcalan pueblo at Saltillo. He was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1603. He quickly put down the Acaxee rebellion, and in 1610, that of the Xiximes. He died at his hacienda of Santa Elena Río Grande in Zacatecas in 1618.

3. Diego de Paz had been recruited by Captain Urdiñola in 1603. He remained in the area after the fighting, engaging in mining operations at San Andrés.

4. San Juan de Alayá is located on the Río San Lorenzo in the state of Sinaloa to the west of San Andrés. It was in the heart of Sobaibo territory.



governor and captain-general of this realm and province for his majesty, being present in these mines, granted his authority in so far as necessary and according to law, in the same manner as he gave it to Diego de Paz on the preceding page, for the purpose stated in the authorization with no exceptions, to Juan López de Bizuela, merchant, who is present in these mines of San Andrés. He sends these decrees to him in the original so that the witnesses presented by Juan López de Bizuela may be examined in accordance with them. For this purpose he has given him the aforesaid unrestricted and general administrative power. This was read to him according to law, and he pledged his person and possessions to fulfill them. He signed this before the witnesses, Domingo de Corazu and Agustín de Abrigo, present in these mines. Francisco de Urdiñola came before me, and I affixed my signature in testimony of the truth. Francisco González Carrasco, notary public.

In the mines of Veracruz de Topia in Nueva Vizcaya on the 31st day of the month of December of 1603 approaching the new year of 1604 after the birth of our Lord, in the presence of Tomás Pérez de Userralde, captain and alcalde mayor of these mines for his majesty, I presented the above to him with the authority conferred by it.

Diego de Paz, in the name of Francisco de Urdiñola, governor and captain-general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces, and by his authority, makes the following statement: It is well known that in the month of December 1601 the Indians of the Acaxee nation in these lands and mountains, conspired and rebelled against the royal service and killed Captain Juan Ruiz and his companions. They also robbed, burned, and destroyed the mining camps and settlements of Las Vírgenes, San Hipólito, San Andrés, and Los Papudos.<sup>5</sup> They killed many Spaniards and laborers and caused even greater harm in burning the statues and churches in these pueblos. They planned to rebel and destroy the royal administration both here and in a great part of Nueva Galicia to which the uprising and conspiracy extended. Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero<sup>6</sup> came to subdue the rebels and did all he could with many soldiers and at great expense to the royal hacienda. He made peace with many caciques of the Acaxee nation but could do nothing against the Sobaibos in the mountains and pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi.<sup>7</sup> It was here that the first uprising and rebellion started, causing all the harm mentioned. The Indians of these pueblos refused to settle down like the others and so the land was in a state of greater confusion than before. Don Rodrigo then left the territory, and the Indians decided to conspire again

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5. The locations of Las Vírgenes, San Hipólito, and San Andrés are found in Notes 1, 16, and 17 of the preceding document. Los Papudos is located east of the Quebrada de Topia and south of the Valle de Topia in northwestern Durango.

6. Rodrigo de Vivero was the creole son of Don Rodrigo del Vivero y Velasco, a Spanish noble who had been granted the rich encomienda of Tecamachalco near Puebla. He served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1600 to 1603, resigning when he was unable to bring the rebellion under control. He became governor of the Philippines in 1608 and, later, governor and captain-general of Panamá. His long years of service to the crown were rewarded with the titles of Vizconde of San Miguel and Conde del Valle de Orizaba. He died in 1636.

7. Amaculi is located northeast of Alayá on a tributary of the Río San Lorenzo. The villages of San Miguel, Ayayepa, and Coyatitlán were presumably within this same region.

and start another still greater rebellion. They put their evil plans into operation and openly tried to induce the Indians of the pueblos and rancherías of Cuespa, Babuca, Tupesi, Guesi, Otatitlán, and Las Vegas<sup>8</sup> to join them. They sent armed men to take them from their houses and force them to rebel against the royal administration. These Indians did not agree to join them and so they burned their villages and killed some of them. The Indians of the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío joined the conspiracy and most cruelly killed and robbed Spaniards Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez on the road from Culiacán and burned a pack train of merchandise they were taking to the mines of San Andrés. On the advice of Perico, an Indian from the pueblo of Chacala<sup>9</sup> who called himself a bishop, the rebels determined to commit still greater crimes, thus offending God, our Lord, and rejecting the obedience they owed his majesty. The chief instigators of all this treachery and "the bishop" continued unpunished in their evil ways. With affairs in such bad shape, Don Rodrigo de Vivero resigned his office at the very time when the land was so afflicted and threatened.

To remedy the situation, the most excellent viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Monterrey, chose Francisco de Urdiñola and appointed him governor and captain-general of this realm. He accepted the post in order to serve his majesty as he had been doing for many years and set out at once for this area, leaving his home and haciendas. Here he found that Captain Juan de Castañeda,<sup>10</sup> lieutenant for Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero, had been going out on expeditions to punish the rebels. However, the chief instigators of the new uprising and conspiracy remained unaffected by his efforts. There were many of them from the mountains and pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi, including the Indian Perico from Chacala, who called himself a bishop. He was a great traitor who instigated many evil deeds. The murderers of Gerónimo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez were also among them. In order to punish the guilty, Francisco de Urdiñola set out at great personal expense. He was a good manager, very prudent and with a great deal of experience in matters of war. He made such good plans that without bloodshed and at no cost to the royal hacienda, he captured all the guilty Indians of the above pueblos and their allies, including the aforesaid bishop. He had them tried legally, and he condemned and punished them in such a way that all the natives of the area were filled with fear and desired peace. They came to surrender to him saying that now they knew they had been conquered—something they had not understood before. They obeyed him and founded many populous pueblos with churches where they could be taught. There they lived in peace and quiet in obedience to his majesty. Then all the natives of the land and their caciques became peaceful and humble. The roads were safe to travel with no threat from the natives. After the whole mountain area had been so effectively

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8. These were additional Sobaibo villages. Otatitlán is located on the Río San Lorenzo near the Sinaloa border. Las Vegas is slightly south of the same river about midway between Alayá and Otatitlán. Cuespa was known to have been located near Las Vegas. The other settlements are assumed to have been in the same general area.

9. Chacala is located northwest of Otatitlán near the Sinaloa border.

10. Juan de Castañeda served as lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1602 to 1611.

pacified, Governor Francisco de Urdiñola dismissed all his soldiers and the greater part of those from the presidio of the mines of San Andrés who had all been paid by his majesty. A great deal of expense was thus spared. The land was now so peaceful that, as is well known, the presidio of San Andrés might as well be abolished.<sup>11</sup> The governor then continued his visitation, traveling through the rough mountain country on rocky roads accompanied by only twelve Spanish soldiers. They were armed and equipped at his own expense and at no cost to the royal hacienda. He went on to the province of Sinaloa of this realm and investigated the state of affairs in that frontier area in order to report on it to his majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies. In proof of all the above, he ordered me to receive testimonies as to the contents of this document. The witnesses presented should be examined in accordance with it. The originals should be given to me to keep for the aforesaid governor.

Diego de Paz Tenoco

The aforesaid captain and alcalde mayor ordered the aforesaid Diego de Paz to make the statement given above. The witnesses presented should be examined as to the tenor of this document, and their testimonies should then be given to Diego de Paz as requested. This was signed by Tomás Pérez before me, Francisco González Carrasco, notary public.

#### Investigation Made for Francisco de Urdiñola, Governor and Captain-General of Nueva Vizcaya, Concerning the Situation in These Areas.

In the mines of Veracruz de Topia in Nueva Vizcaya, on December 31, 1603, approaching the year 1604 after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Diego de Paz appeared before me—Tomás Pérez de Userralde, captain and alcalde mayor<sup>12</sup> of these mines for his majesty—in the name of Francisco de Urdiñola, governor and captain-general of this realm, and by his authority, to investigate the content of a document. For the purposes of this inquiry he presented as witness Captain Francisco Romero de Arellano, resident of these mines. The aforesaid alcalde mayor received his oath, which he took by God our Lord on the cross in legal form. He promised to tell the truth and being presented with the tenor of the document, he said:

He has known the governor for many years. It is public knowledge in all this realm as well as in [Nueva] Galicia and New Spain that in the month of September of the year 1601, the Indians of the Acaxee nation conspired, rose up, and rebelled against the service of his majesty in the mountains and regions of this area. They started in the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi and vicinity. There they killed Captain Juan Ruiz and his people and committed the robberies, murders, and burnings as stated in the document. Then the other In-

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11. At the time of the rebellion there were garrisons at San Andrés, Otatitlán, and San Hipólito.

12. The alcalde mayor was the governor's representative within a given portion of his province. At this time the *alcaldía mayor* of Topia included the areas of San Andrés which, until 1564, had been under the control of the alcalde mayor of Culiacán.

dians of both the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations rose up with them from many pueblos and rancherías. They caused great destruction, burning churches and images, and were guilty of great cruelty in attempting to ruin this realm and that of Nueva Galicia, to which the conspiracy extended. The witness knows this because when it began he was in this mining camp and set out with Captain Miguel Sánchez<sup>13</sup> to punish the rebels in the service of his majesty. He saw the pueblos and churches burned by them and the great damage done throughout the land. He also saw how Don Rodrigo de Vivero, who was then governor and captain-general of this realm, came to put down the uprising. He brought many people with him and at great cost to the royal hacienda set out in pursuit. He inflicted what punishment he could on the conspirators and chief rebels who were the caciques and people of the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Amaculi, and Coyatitlán but was unable to capture them. They were clever and vicious, and in order to commit still greater evils they were careful to avoid being caught, as was seen later. Don Rodrigo de Vivero then did make peace with many of the caciques and ordinary Indians who were willing. However, those of the above-mentioned pueblos refused. Leaving the land in this condition, Don Rodrigo returned to the city of México. The witness knows all this as a Christian who was constantly present in this area. After the governor had left, the Indians, caciques, and leaders of the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi continued to carry out their evil plans to destroy the Spaniards. For this purpose they again conspired under the leadership of an Indian of the pueblo of Chacala, called Perico, a vicious inventor of great evils. He went among the rebels and others of the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations and told them and convinced them that he was God the Holy Spirit who had come down from heaven, that he was a bishop and had come to teach them how to be saved. He said that the teachings of the religious of the Society of Jesus were false and that he would teach them another and better doctrine. The Indians believed this, and many received baptism from him. He married and divorced many of them and changed their names. He said mass and taught them prayers other than the Catholic ones. In order to have assistants who would go to places where he could not and teach this false doctrine, he chose some Indians as disciples, naming one Santiago and another San Pedro. He had the whole country so stirred up that much mischief was to be expected at great cost to the royal treasury. In the meetings he held his purpose was none other than to persuade everyone to join in the conspiracy of the Indians of the aforementioned pueblos of Alayá and not leave a single Spaniard alive either on the roads or in their settlements. He promised to help them with heavenly power and to blind the Spaniards and change them into cows, sheep, and horses so they could more easily be killed. The witness knows that he went about conspiring in this way. He also sent armed men from the aforesaid pueblos of Alayá to the pueblos and rancherías of Cuespa, Babuca, Tupesi, Guesi, Otatitlán, and Las Vegas to induce them to join in the rebellion. They killed those who refused, and burned and robbed their pueblos. The witness knows all this because when Captain Juan de Castañeda, lieutenant of Don Rodrigo de Vivero, went out to investigate, he accompanied

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13. Miguel Sánchez was a miner at San Andrés and held the rank of captain. When peace was restored he became "protector" of the Indians at Topia.

him and saw everything that Juan de Castañeda discovered. The news of all these great evils came to the viceroy, Conde de Monterrey, and to Don Rodrigo de Vivero in the city of México. When Don Rodrigo de Vivero considered the great labor and difficulties involved in putting down the rebellion he abdicated his office, as is public knowledge.

His lordship saw all this and considered what sort of person could best serve his majesty in this affair which might destroy the realm and the settlers in those mountains. He learned of the character and strength of Francisco de Urdiñola and the many services he had already rendered and so he chose and appointed him governor and captain-general of this realm and its provinces. The new governor at once left his home and haciendas with their comforts and came to these mountains. Here he found that Captain Juan de Castañeda, lieutenant governor for Don Rodrigo, had recently come from Alayá and Coyatitlán, where he had investigated the new conspiracy and had tried to punish the guilty and capture the aforesaid "bishop." Although the expedition was well managed and Castañeda had done all that was possible, this witness states that he was unable to capture or punish those from the pueblos of Alayá, Coyatitlán, Amaculi, and Ayayepa who had caused the uprising. While he was there he received news that the Indians of the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío, on orders from this said bishop, had gone out on the road through the mountains that comes from the province of Culiacán to San Andrés. There they killed the Spaniards Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez, who were bringing a pack train of merchandise to the mines. They robbed them and burned what they could not carry away, along with the bodies of the deceased. This witness saw the place where this was done and the burned bodies. Although Juan de Castañeda had gone there immediately, he could do nothing. He gave up and returned to the mines of San Andrés, where Francisco de Urdiñola met him and was informed of all that had happened. Immediately, in spite of the rains, he set out on the road. He took great pains and with his good plans and management this witness saw that he succeeded in capturing Perico of Chacala, who called himself "bishop," and another Indian called Santiago. He had them punished according to the law and then went inland to the mountains of Alayá, Coyatitlán, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Amaculi, and the pueblos of San Hipólito, Los Reyes, Nasperes, Tecayas, and many other mountainous regions. Due to his good plans and methods and without shedding blood or causing expense to the royal treasury, and using great care and vigilance, he captured all the caciques, captains, and people who were guilty of the first and second uprisings in the pueblos referred to. None escaped him. He had them tried for their crimes and when the cases were concluded he ordered forty-eight captains and pirates to be hanged—twelve out on the roads and the rest in the place where the murder and robbery of Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez had been committed. Those who had done the actual killing were executed with the rest. He had many others removed from the region and sold into servitude for some years.

This witness saw that after this punishment all the caciques and leaders from the mountains of the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations came to the governor and offered to make a new peace. They used endearing expressions and told him that now they knew and understood the power of the king; they knew that they had been conquered although they had not understood it before; they desired quiet and peace and so they would subject themselves to whatever the governor wished

to do with them. This witness saw that he ordered them to settle on the plains in other locations and there they built their pueblos and churches with a large population. The witness knows this and saw it all because he went along with Francisco de Urdiñola on this expedition in the service of his majesty and he saw all that happened just as he has said.

After this the whole country was at peace and the roads were safe. There was no fear of any evil on the part of the natives. The governor was satisfied with the situation, and the witness saw how the governor then dismissed all the soldiers he had brought with him, who were being paid by his majesty, as well as some of those from the presidio of the mines of San Andrés. It seemed to this witness that this presidio could be closed, and his majesty would be saved its expense because the whole country was safe and those who had disturbed it were gone. After this, this witness saw how the governor continued his visitation, going through great mountains on rough roads at great cost to his own person. He went to the province of Sinaloa, taking with him only twelve soldiers who were armed, equipped, and maintained at his own expense, with no cost to the royal treasury. This witness knows that he arrived at the frontier province of Sinaloa, where he investigated the state of affairs in order to report to his majesty. All of this was very hard work, and the governor bore his weapons continuously so that—as this witness saw—for more than forty days he never undressed nor laid down his arms, day or night, even sleeping with them. This witness also saw how one of his legs opened [became ulcerated], as a result of which he is very ill and uncomfortable. In all this he rendered many services to God Our Lord and to his majesty. He brought peace to the most important parts of this realm, which is this aforesaid region. This is what this witness knows and saw and understands, and it is the truth. He affirmed it, ratified it, and signed it along with the *alcalde mayor*. He declares that he is over thirty years of age and that he has no legal hindrances nor special interests. His statement was read to him.

Tomás Pérez, Francisco Romero de Arellano,  
in my presence, Francisco Gonzales Carrasco, notary public.

In the mines of Topia on December 31 of the aforesaid year, in the presence of the aforesaid captain and *alcalde mayor*, Diego de Paz presented as witness Captain Miguel Sánchez, resident of these mines. He took the oath by God Our Lord and on the cross in legal form in virtue of which he promised to tell the truth. On being presented with the content of the aforesaid document, he said that he has known Captain Francisco de Urdiñola for more than twenty-five years, and that what he knows concerning the document mentioned is that as a resident in these mines he saw how in the month of September of the year 1601 the Indians of these mountain regions belonging to the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations rose up and rebelled against the service of his majesty. The uprising began in the pueblos and neighboring areas of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi. They killed Captain Juan Ruiz and his companions in the pueblo of San Miguel. Then a great number of other Indians of these same tribes joined them and burned their pueblos and churches. They made a great conspiracy and set out to destroy and burn and rob the populations of the mines of San Hipólito, San Andrés, and Los Papudos, where they killed many of the Spaniards, friendly Indians, and workers. They were so strong that they took over all the roads and attempted to lay waste

this realm and that of Galicia, to which the conspiracy extended. They placed this region and its settlements in such difficulties that this witness set out from the mining camp in the service of his majesty, with armed men equipped at his own expense, to go to the province of Culiacán to obtain help and supplies.

On the road, both going and coming, a great number of enemies came out with whom they had dangerous encounters. With matters in this state, this witness saw how for the punishment of the rebels, Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero came with many soldiers from the city of México at great cost to the royal treasury. This witness saw how the aforesaid Don Rodrigo de Vivero came into this region and administered all the punishment he could. As a result, many caciques and their subjects came to make peace with him, and the governor received them and agreed to this. This witness also knows that the chief instigators of this great uprising and conspiracy in the pueblos and mountains of Alayá remained unpunished. Being evil and clever they always stayed in places where they could not be captured. Although Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero wanted to make peace with them, they always refused, nor did they ever see him, and so he left, leaving these traitors unhindered in their evil ways.

They then managed to bring about a new uprising and conspiracy with the intent of killing Spaniards and acting with great cruelty. They were greatly assisted by an Indian from the pueblo of Chacala named Perico, who called himself a bishop. He was a great imposter and the instigator of great evils. After the departure of Don Rodrigo, he said that he was God and that he had come down from heaven to instruct them and teach them new prayers so that they might be saved because those taught them by the religious of the Society of Jesus were false. With satanic tricks he persuaded a great number of people of the aforesaid nations to follow him. They believed what he told them and agreed to be baptized by the aforesaid Perico of Chacala. He married some and divorced others and said mass. With many tricks and deceptions he persuaded them to accept his evil teaching. His whole intent was to destroy the Spaniards, and he told them that they should leave none alive either on the roads or in their pueblos or wherever else they might catch them. He also told them that he had the power to blind the Spaniards and transform them into animals so that they could be killed more easily. In this way he persuaded the natives to rise up and join the other Indians from the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Coyatitlán, Ayayepa, and Amaculi. From these pueblos, on orders of Perico from Chacala who called himself "bishop," many armed Indians set out to persuade those in the rancherías and pueblos of Tupesi, Guesi, Cuespa, Babuca, Otatitlán, and Las Vegas to join them. When these refused, they killed them and robbed and burned their pueblos. In this way they continued trying to achieve their purpose. All this was reported in the Villa de Durango and to the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain and to Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero. He took into account the hard work involved in the needed pacification and punishment and all the difficulties involved, and for this reason he resigned his position as governor. The viceroy considered the great dangers and risks and set his eyes on the person of Francisco de Urdiñola. In view of the many services he had rendered his majesty for many years and his reputation for prudent judgment and management, he charged and ordered him to come to this realm. This choice was believed to have come from heaven, for everything turned out very well. As soon as Francisco de Urdiñola received the appointment from the

viceroys, he left his home and hacienda and came in great haste to repair the great harm that had been caused. He came to the mines of San Andrés where he met Captain Juan de Castañeda, who was the lieutenant of Don Rodrigo. He had just returned from an expedition to the mountains of Alayá and Coyatitlán, where he had inflicted a considerable punishment on the Indians. This witness had gone along with him and his armed men in the service of his majesty and saw everything that happened just as he has said. They made a new investigation of the aforesaid conspiracy, and although it is true that much punishment had been inflicted, the Indian captains, caciques, and leaders of the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi escaped and could not be captured. Thus the land was still insecure as long as they were free. In addition to this, while they were traveling on this expedition in the interior, the Indians of the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío, who were allied with the rebels, came out to a pass on the road from the province of Culiacán to the mines of San Andrés on orders of the Indian Perico of Chacala, and there they robbed and killed Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez, Spaniards, who were taking a pack train of merchandise to the mines of San Andrés. The robbers burned what they could not carry away, along with the bodies of the deceased. Juan de Castañeda set out to punish this act with this witness in his company. They came to the place where the murder had been committed and this witness saw the burned bodies. Juan de Castañeda could do nothing about it both on account of the rains that were starting and the ruggedness of the terrain, so he left the place. When Francisco de Urdiñola found out what had happened, in spite of the rains and the other difficulties he succeeded in capturing the Indian Perico of Chacala who called himself "bishop." With his good planning and management he did this and executed him, along with another Indian whom the bishop called "Santiago," his aide in trickery and deception. Then he set out to visit the whole region and investigate the situation. This witness went with him in the service of his majesty and entered the mountains of San Hipólito, Nasperez, Tecayas, Los Reyes, and the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi and their surrounding areas. There, with great astuteness, wisdom, and good management, with no shedding of blood or actions of war, he succeeded in capturing all the caciques, chiefs, and captains of those pueblos, along with many others who were guilty of the first and second uprising and conspiracy. He also captured those murderers from the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío who had killed Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez. He instituted criminal proceedings against them and charged them with their crimes. He ordered forty-eight caciques and captains to be hanged—twelve along the roads and the rest in the place where the killing had taken place. Others who were less guilty he had taken away from this region and sold for a certain period of time. After such exemplary punishment, this witness saw how many caciques of the Acaxee and Sobaibo nations came from all these mountains with their people and their wives and children to make peace with Francisco de Urdiñola, governor and captain-general. They submitted to whatever he wished to do with them and promised to be always faithful and loyal to the king our lord, saying that they now believed in his great power and wished to live in peace. They asked to be settled in the plains where they could be occupied in matters of our holy Catholic faith, and accordingly the aforesaid governor settled them in different places where they had churches and a large population in every pueblo.



This witness understands and considers it certain that the governor thus removed the roots of much evil. All the land is so peaceful and tranquil that the roads can be traveled with neither fear nor suspicion of any bad action on the part of the natives. This had been accomplished so effectively that the governor dismissed the soldiers he had brought with him, whose salaries were paid by his majesty, as well as many of those from the presidio of the mines of San Andrés in order to avoid needless expense to the royal treasury. This witness has seen the state of affairs in the aforesaid mines and the great fear of the natives. It seems to him the rest of the presidio soldiers of these mines could also be dismissed as unnecessary. In addition to this, the witness saw how the aforesaid Governor Francisco de Urdiñola continued his visitation in spite of the many labors he had undergone without ever laying down his weapons or removing his clothing for a period of more than forty days. He had with him eleven or twelve soldiers all armed, equipped, and supported at his own expense with no cost to the royal treasury nor to anyone else. He traveled new roads through the mountains and went to the province of Sinaloa in order to give a report to his majesty on the status of this whole realm as one who has seen everything with his own eyes. In this and in all else referred to, Francisco de Urdiñola performed great services to God Our Lord and to his majesty. His valor and good government had brought peace more quickly than expected. He had avoided the labors, expenses, and deaths that had been feared.

This witness declared that he knows, understands, and has seen all that he has stated above and that it is all true according to the oath he took. He affirmed and ratified this and signed his statement along with the alcalde mayor. He declares that he is more than fifty years of age and has no legal impediment nor any special interests.

Tomás Pérez, Miguel Sánchez  
before me, Francisco González Carrasco,  
notary public.

#### Statement of Padre Hernando de Santarén

In the mines of Veracruz de Topia in Nueva Vizcaya on January 2, 1604, Diego de Paz, acting by authority of Francisco de Urdiñola in the aforesaid investigation, in the presence of Tomás Pérez, captain and alcalde mayor of these mines, presented as witness Padre Hernando de Santarén of the Society of Jesus, who is the superior of the missions in this mountain conversion of the Indians of the Acaxee and So-baibo nations. The judge received his oath, and the aforesaid padre, placing his right hand on his breast, gave his priestly word in legal form, promising to tell the truth. Being questioned as to the tenor of the statement of Diego de Paz, he said:

He had known Francisco de Urdiñola, governor and captain-general of this realm and province of Nueva Vizcaya, for a period of about five months from the time he came here to visit this region. What he knows, has seen, and understands of the content of the aforementioned statement is as follows:

In his travels he was at the mines of San Andrés in the month of September 1601. There he saw as a certain and proven fact, entirely apart from the notoriety

and publicity concerning it, how the Indians of the pueblos and mountain areas of Alayá rose up and rebelled against the service of his majesty. One night they killed Captain Juan Ruiz and his companions in the pueblo of San Miguel together with a Spanish woman and her baby who were in the nearby pueblo of Materipa. After this crime, they allied themselves with the caciques and natives of the pueblos of Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, Amaculi, and the neighboring areas and burned their pueblos and churches. In this way the instigators of the uprising persuaded the Acaxee and Sobaibo Indians in a great part of the land to join the rebellion.

They held a great meeting of warriors and set out to burn, rob, and destroy the mining camps and haciendas of San Hipólito and San Andrés and killed many Spaniards and laborers. The allies acted with such boldness and daring that they took over the roads leading to these settlements and nothing was safe. They attempted to destroy them completely and acted with such violence that everyone was confused and feared that the conspiracy would reach—as it did—the realm of Nueva Galicia. Then this witness saw how Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero came from the city of México to repair the damage and punish the guilty. At great cost to the royal treasury, he brought with him many men and their equipment. He entered this mountain country and inflicted all the punishment possible. This witness saw how as a result the caciques and natives of many pueblos and rancherías came to make peace with the governor. Many of them made their request through this witness, whom they used for this purpose. He also states that although Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero attempted to make peace with the Indians of the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, and Amaculi (where the rebellion and conspiracy had started), they were unwilling to make peace and continued unhindered and unpunished in their atrocities. He could not catch them because of the rugged terrain and the fact that they were clever enough to avoid capture.

Leaving matters in this state, this witness saw how the governor of this realm, Don Rodrigo de Vivero, left and returned to the city of México. After some months, during which time this witness never left the mountains, it is the truth that the same Indians of those pueblos of Alayá, Coyatitlan, San Miguel, Ayayepa, and Amaculi continued in their evil plans to start a new conspiracy and to ally with them all the other Acaxee and Sobaibo natives in order to destroy the Spaniards who live here. They took as their leader and advisor a wicked and pernicious Indian named Perico, who was a native of the pueblo of Chacala. He was a great inventor of lies and evil deeds. He told the rebels and their new allies that he was God the Holy Spirit, that he had come down from heaven, that he was a bishop, and that he had come to teach them a new doctrine because what they had learned from this witness and his companions was false and deceptive. Thus he invented prayers full of lies which he taught the natives. He had many teachers and assistants whom he sent throughout the land to preach and teach his doctrine. He said mass and told such lies that he converted a great number of these wretched people. He was venerated and well received in every pueblo and ranchería. All the natives—men, women and children—agreed to be baptized by him. He married and divorced and did many other evil deeds which were a great offense to God Our Lord and caused harm to the country. All of his talks were intended to persuade the natives to rise up and rebel against the Spaniards along with those of the pueblos of Alayá previously mentioned. They should not receive this witness

nor his companions in their pueblos and should try to kill them. This they attempted many times by means of trickery.

This Indian (Perico) had the rest of the natives so much under his control that he openly sent armed men from the pueblos of Alayá to those of Las Vegas and Otatitlán and the rancherías of Tupesi, Guesi, Cuespa, and Babuca to persuade them to rise up and join him. Some who resisted he killed and quartered, and he robbed and burned the houses of their pueblos. Everything was going from bad to worse, and this witness states that he reported this to México and to the Villa de Durango. He went there in person and returned here with Captain Juan de Castañeda, lieutenant governor for Don Rodrigo de Vivero, who came to these mountains to investigate all that happened, and what he discovered proves the truth of everything stated by this witness. He [the witness] also states that he sent his companion, Padre Alonso Ruiz of the Society of Jesus, to accompany Juan de Castañeda. He was present at everything done during the visitation and reported it. When he had an opportunity, Captain Juan de Castañeda went into the mountains of Coyatitlán, where he found the foe hidden on the cliffs. He did them considerable damage although the chief instigators of all the damage escaped unharmed and could not be caught. In spite of all this, there was no safety in the land as long as the roots of these evils were still in it. Even while Juan de Castañeda was in the mountains, by order of Perico from Chacala, who called himself a bishop, Indians from the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío went out to the road through the pass that comes from the province of Culiacán to the mines of San Andrés, where they assaulted, killed, and robbed the Spaniards Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez, who were going to the mines with a pack train of merchandise. What they could not carry away they burned along with the bodies of those who were killed. The news of this came to Juan de Castañeda, and with his men he went to the site of the massacre but was unable to catch or punish either the murderers or the aforesaid bishop from Chacala, being hindered by both the rough terrain and the rains. It seems that when this became known in the city of México to the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Monterrey, and to Don Rodrigo de Vivero, who was governor of this realm, the latter took into account the bad situation in the mountains and the great dangers and difficulties involved. It is public knowledge, as this witness has been advised, that Governor Don Rodrigo de Vivero then resigned his office into the hands of the viceroy, who set his eyes on Francisco de Urdiñola, whom he chose and appointed as governor and captain-general of this realm and its provinces. The witness considers this a very good choice.

Francisco de Urdiñola had had a great deal of experience in war in this region, and his good government and personal characteristics of strength and prudence—according to the experience of this witness—fit him for greater matters than this. As soon as the aforementioned [Urdiñola] received the appointment from the viceroy, he left his home and haciendas with all speed and came to put an end to the dangerous situation in these mountains. He came to the mines of San Andrés, and as this witness is aware, he met Captain Juan de Castañeda there, just recently returned from the aforementioned expedition to punish the Indians. This witness saw that, on being informed of the situation and all that had happened, Francisco de Urdiñola at once set out in spite of the bad weather, and with good planning and cunning he captured Perico of Chacala, who called himself a bishop, together with another named Santiago, who was his assistant. This was a most

important event. Both were convicted of their crimes, and this witness saw that the governor ordered them executed and this witness helped them to die well. They burned Perico and hanged the other.

After this, the governor took this witness with him and set out to visit the region, and they came to the pueblos and mountains of San Hipólito, Los Reyes, Nasperes, Tecayas, and also to the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Coyatitlán, Ayayepa, Otatitlán, and Amaculi. In these places the governor, with his accustomed prudence, good planning, and astuteness, without the clamor of war nor the shedding of blood, captured the guilty instigators of the first and second uprising and conspiracy as well as those from the pueblos of Don Luis and El Judío who had robbed and killed Guillermo Beltrán and Antonio Pérez. This witness saw how the governor proceeded against them in a criminal trial, and on their being convicted he ordered their execution. Forty-eight caciques and captains from the pueblos of Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán, Amaculi, Don Luis, and El Judío were hanged—twelve of them along the roads and the remaining thirty-six in the place where the aforesaid massacre had taken place. Many others he ordered sold and condemned to a certain number of years of servitude away from this region, and he set the wives and children of all these captives free. When the natives of the land saw what had happened, their caciques with their women and children were filled with fear and they came to the governor to make peace. He received them kindly and they promised to be always faithful and loyal vassals of the king our lord and to settle down wherever the governor should command. This witness saw how he settled them in different places and good locations in populous pueblos where they built churches in which this witness and his companions instructed them in our Catholic faith. After this, all the land and the roads remained in such peace and safety that this witness considers it certain that there is nothing to fear.

In confirmation of this the governor dismissed all the soldiers he had brought with him who were being paid by his majesty along with eight others from the presidio of the mines of San Andrés. It seems to this witness that after the rest have remained in that presidio for some time, they could then be removed and his majesty would be saved their expense. This witness is quite sure that the country is now safe since the governor has torn out the root of all these evils. This witness with only two companions was able to travel through the country of the Acaxee Indians across many mountains as far as Maymoa, which is more than 100 leagues inland. There he found many people by whom he was entertained and well received and who hear the holy gospel gladly.

This witness declares that formerly, even with twenty companions, he would not have dared to go where he now went, trusting only in the security of the whole country. When this was all finished, this witness saw how Governor Francisco de Urdiñola continued his visitation without regard to the difficulties he had encountered. He continued his labors and crossed great mountains along very rough paths and came to the frontier of the province of Sinaloa, where he recorded the state of the land and people in order to report to his majesty. He took with him, at great personal expense, ten or twelve Spanish soldiers who were armed, supported, and paid by him without this costing his majesty a cent.

When he finished with the visitation of that province, this witness saw how one of his legs opened [was ulcerated], and he was and is very ill as a result. All the

above is what this witness knows and it is the truth. He affirmed, ratified, and signed this with the *alcalde mayor* after all he had said was read to him. He declared that in all these events the aforesaid Francisco de Urdiñola performed great services to God Our Lord and to his majesty. He pacified this realm and by his coming and visitation he spared the royal hacienda great expense and much harm. The witness declared that he was not affected by any legal hindrances and that he is more than thirty-five years of age. This witness also states that for more than forty days during the visitation and punishment of the Indians, the governor never laid down his arms nor undressed day or night even though this witness begged him with all his authority to do so. His soldiers also urged him to put down his weapons and remove his clothing because he should not suffer such strain at his age. However, the governor was unwilling to do this. The witness also saw the great prudence and wisdom with which he endured the continual annoyance of the Indians who came to surrender to him and whom he heard with close attention and never with impatience. This witness is of the opinion that the great prudence and good management of Francisco de Urdiñola as shown in the reports this witness has of him—all of which are matters of public knowledge and the many services he has rendered his majesty through many years—make him worthy of singular favor. He would perform most honorably the duties of some other office of greater importance than that which he holds at present. This was signed by Tomás Pérez and Hernando de Santarén in my presence. Francisco González Carrasco, notary public.

*Original in the Archivo General de Indias, México 1254*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n las minas de la Veracruz de Topia de la Nueva Vizcaya en 30 de diciembre de 1603 años, entrante el año del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de 1604 años, ante mí, el escribano público y testigos, el señor Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino y sus provincias por su majestad, que doy fe conozco, otorgó que da su poder cumplido bastante cual se requiere de derecho a Diego de Paz, estante en estas dichas minas, para que ante la justicia ordinaria de ellas y de otras cualesquieras partes que le pareciere pida se le reciba averiguación del estado en que estaban las cosas de la paz y guerra de estas comarcas y serranías, al tiempo que en ellas entró el dicho señor gobernador, y del que tienen después que su merced las visitó y entró hasta la provincia de Sinaloa, y lo que resultó del castigo que hizo en la dicha visita en las personas naturales de las serranías de Alayá y los pueblos de su contorno de adonde nació el primero alzamiento y rebelión de todos los indios de la nación acaxee y sobaibos que causaron las muertes, incendios y daños que sucedieron el año pasado de 1601 años, como consta por las averiguaciones que sobre ello están hechas para hacer el dicho castigo. Y para hacer las dichas averiguaciones, parezca ante las dichas justicias y presente pedimentos y testigos de lo susodicho y siendo hechas, lo pido el original de los testimonios que le pareciere para los despachar a su majestad y a su real consejo de las Indias y por ello conste del estado de la tierra y de lo que en razón del dicho alzamiento se ha hecho para lo que dicho es, le dio

este dicho poder con libre y general administración y al cumplimiento obligó su persona y bienes, y lo firmó de su nombre, y de su pedimento no quedó registro siendo testigos a lo que dicho es don Martín de Alcalá y don Juan de Visate, proveedor, y Agustín de Abrigo estantes en estas minas. Francisco de Urdiñola pasó ante mí y fijé me signo en testimonio de verdad. Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

En las minas de Topia de la Nueva Vizcaya en 8 de enero de 1604 años, ante mí, escribano y testigos, el señor Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia por su majestad estante en estas dichas minas otorgó que da su poder bastante cual se requiere de derecho según y como lo dio y otorgó a Diego de Paz a la vuelta de esta foja para lo propio que en el dicho poder se declara sin exceptar en cosa alguna a Juan López de Bizuela, mercader, estante en estas dichas, digo en las minas de San Andrés al cual envía estos autos, probanzas originales para que por el escrito que está por cabeza por donde se examinaron los testigos por su parte presentados, se examinen los que el dicho Juan López de Bizuela en su nombre presentare. Que para ello le dio dicho poder con libre general administración y le releyó según derecho y al cumplimiento obligó su persona y bienes y lo firmó siendo testigos, a lo que dicho es, Domingo de Corazu y Agustín de Abrigo estantes en estas minas. Francisco de Urdiñola pasó ante mí y fijé mi signo en testimonio de la verdad. Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

En las minas de la Veracruz de Topia de la Nueva Vizcaya en 31 de diciembre de 1603 años, entrante el año del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de 1604 años ante Tomás Pérez de Userralde, capitán y alcalde mayor de estas dichas minas por su majestad le presentó el contenido con el poder que en ella se hace mención.

Diego de Paz en nombre y con poder que presentó ante mí de Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad. Digo que como es notorio por el mes de diciembre del año pasado de 1601, conspiraron y se rebelaron de su real servicio los indios de la nación acaxee de estas serranías y comarcas y mataron al capitán Juan Ruiz y a sus compañeros y quemaron, robaron y destruyeron los reales y congregaciones de minas de Las Vírgenes, San Hipólito, San Andrés y Los Papudos con muerte de muchos españoles y gente de servicio y hicieron otros muchos daños de gran consideración quemando los imágenes e iglesias de sus mismos pueblos y van pretendiendo arruinar y rebelar del real servicio este reino y mucha parte del de la Nueva Galicia adonde llegó el dicho alzamiento y gran conjuración. Y al castigo de los alzados vino el gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero y haciendo el que pudo con mucha gente y gran costa de la real hacienda se salió de estas comarcas dejando asentada paz con mucha gente y caciques de la dicha nación acaxee. Y a causa de no haber sido castigados los indios sobaibos de las serranías y pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi, de donde nació y se movió el dicho primero alzamiento y rebelión que causó los daños referidos, no haber éstos querido dar la paz que los demás, la tierra quedó en mayor confusión que la pasada y éstos determinaron hacer otro mayor movimiento y conjuración. Y poniendo sus malos intentos en ejecución al descubierto, pretendieron aliar y juntar consigo en su traición los indios de los pueblos y rancherías de Cuespa, Babuca, Topisiguesi, Otatitlán y Las Vegas, de donde de mano armada los fueron a sacar de sus casas con violencia para que se rebelasen del real servicio. Y porque no consin-

tieron en esto, les quemaron sus pueblos y mataron algunas personas, sin lo cual los indios de los pueblos de don Luis y el Judío que estaban en alianza y conjuración de los alzados mataron, robaron y quemaron a Gerónimo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez, españoles saliéndoles al camino que va de la puesta de Culiacán a las minas de San Andrés donde iban con una recua de mercaderías que les robaron usando de grandes crueldades. Y por consejo de Perico, indio del pueblo de Chacala, que se nombraba "obispo" entre los alzados estaban determinados a cometer mayores daños en mucha ofensa de Dios Nuestro Señor y menosprecio de la obediencia que debían tener a su majestad. Estando las cosas en tan mal estado y los principales amotinadores e inventores de estas traiciones y el dicho "obispo" sin castigo enteros en sus maldades, el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero hizo la dejación de su cargo en tiempo que la tierra estaba tan afligida y con tanto riesgo como queda referido. Para cuyo reparo y remedio el excelentísimo virrey de la Nueva España, conde de Monterrey, eligió y proveyó por gobernador y capitán general de este reino al dicho Francisco de Urdiñola, el cual para servir a su majestad como a muchos años que lo hizo aceptó el dicho gobierno y muy por la posta dejando su casa y haciendas vino a la visita de estas serranías y comarcas donde halló que salía de hacer cierto castigo el capitán Juan de Castañeda, teniente de gobernador, por el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero con el cual se quedaron sin él los indios principales inventores del dicho rebelión y nueva conjuración en mucha cantidad de las dichas serranías y pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y el dicho indio, Perico de Chacala, que se llamaba "obispo", gran traidor e inventor de grandes maldades y más los matadores y salteadores de los dichos Gerónimo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez; al castigo de todo lo cual y a hacer la dicha visita salió el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola con mucho trabajo y costa de hacienda. Y con su buen gobierno y prudencia y con la mucha experiencia que tiene de estas cosas de la guerra con buenos acuerdos y trazas sin derramamiento de sangre sin costa de la real hacienda donde tanto se prometía gastar, prendió a todos los indios culpados de los dichos pueblos y al dicho obispo salteadores y matadores y otros muchos con ellos aliados y les hizo proceso y causa procediendo contra ellos judicialmente por sus cuerpos y los justificó y castigó de tal manera que toda la comarca y naturales de ella con mucho temor y deseo de su sosiego se le vinieron a rendir de paz diciendo que ahora sabían que eran conquistados, lo que de antes no conocían. Y se ofrecieron de hacer y fundar como hicieron y fundaron muchos pueblos de grandes congregaciones con sus iglesias donde ser doctrinados con mucha paz y sosiego en obediencia de su majestad. Con lo cual toda la tierra, caciques y naturales de ella, están quietos, pacíficos y muy humildes y domesticados. Y los caminos se andan con mucha seguridad sin sospecha ni recelo de alteración en los dichos naturales y esto hecho, siendo tan cierto y eficaz la paz de toda esta serranía, el dicho gobernador Francisco de Urdiñola despidió todos los soldados que tenía en su compañía y la mayor parte de ellos del presidio de las minas de San Andrés ganaban sueldo de su majestad excusándole grandes costas y gastos. De tal manera ha quedado la comarca que con este castigo hecho es cosa muy notoria que de todo punto se puede acabar de quitar el dicho presidio. Y prosiguiendo el dicho gobernador en la dicha visita atravesando muchas y muy fragosas serranías y caminos de mucha aspereza con doce soldados españoles armados y bien aderezados a su costa y munición y sustentados sin ningún gasto de la real hacienda, pasó a la provincia de Sinaloa de este reino y tomó razón del estado de aquella

frontera para la dar a su majestad y a su real consejo de las Indias y para que conste de todo lo susodicho.

Vuestra merced pidió se me reciba información de lo contenido en este escrito, y los testigos que presentare se examinen por el tenor de él, y siendo hecho se me dé original para en guarda del derecho del dicho gobernador y pido justicia. Diego de Paz Tenoco.

El dicho capitán y alcalde mayor mandó que en el dicho negocio el dicho Diego de Paz dé la información que ofrece y los testigos que presentare se examinen por el tenor de este escrito y siendo hecha la dicha información, se le dé original al dicho Diego de Paz para el efecto que se pide, y lo firmó Tomás Pérez ante mí Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

(Probanza hecha por parte del señor Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya del estado de estas comarcas.)

En las minas de la Veracruz de Topia de la Nueva Vizcaya en 31 de diciembre de 1603 años, entrante el año del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de 1604 años, ante Tomás Pérez de Userralde, capitán y alcalde mayor de estas dichas minas por su majestad, Diego de Paz, en nombre y con poder del señor Francisco Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este reino, para la averiguación de lo contenido en un escrito, en virtud del cual se hace esta probanza, presentó por testigo al capitán Francisco Romero de Arellano, vecino de estas dichas minas, del cual el dicho alcalde mayor recibió juramento y lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y a la cruz en forma debida so cargo del cual prometió de decir verdad y siendo presentado por el tenor del dicho escrito, dijo que este testigo conoce al dicho señor gobernador de muchos años a esta parte. Y sabe que es verdad pública y muy sabida en todo este reino y en el de la Galicia y Nueva España que por el mes de septiembre del año pasado de 1601 años, conspiraron y se alzaron y rebelaron del servicio de su majestad los indios de la nación acaxee de estas serranías y comarcas, empezando el dicho alzamiento de los pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y su contorno donde mataron al capitán Juan Ruiz y a su gente y hicieron los daños, robos, muertes e incendios que en el escrito se declaran para lo cual los dichos aliados conjuraron y alzaron consigo todos los indios de su nación acaxee y sobaibos de muchos pueblos y rancherías en gran distrito de tierra, quemando sus iglesias, e imágenes y usando de grandes crueldades y pretendiendo asolar este reino y el de la Nueva Galicia donde llegaba la dicha conjuración. Todo lo cual sabe este testigo porque cuando sucedió lo que dicho tiene, se halló en este real y salió al castigo de los alzados por servir a su majestad en compañía del capitán Miguel Sánchez. Y vio los pueblos e iglesias de los indios rebelados quemados y muchos daños por toda la tierra y así mismo vio que a el castigo de todo ello vino don Rodrigo de Vivero, gobernador y capitán general que fue de este reino. El cual con mucha gente y con muy gran costa de la real hacienda salió a correr la tierra e hizo los castigos que pudo en los aliados y conjurados con los principales inventores de tan gran alzamiento y conjuración que, como dicho tiene, fueron los caciques y gente de los pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Amaculi y Coyatitlán y sus comarcas. A los cuales por ningún caso pudo coger ni castigar el dicho don Rodrigo por ser todos resabidos y malvados y como personas inventores de tan grandes males para hacer otros mayores se guardaban, como después se vio, de manera que quedando estos sin ningún castigo, el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero asentó paz con muchos indios caciques y macegales que se la



dieron y aunque procuró asentarla con los de los pueblos referidos, nunca se la quisieron dar.

Dejando la tierra en este estado, se salió de ella y se fue a la ciudad de México. Todo lo cual sabe este testigo como cristiano que siempre se halla en estas comarcas; después de lo cual, habiéndose ido el dicho gobernador, sabe este testigo que los dichos indios caciques y maceguals de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi, prosiguiendo en sus malos intentos y traiciones, procuraron llevarlas adelante con ánimo de destruir a los españoles. Para lo cual hacían esta nueva conjuración siendo para ello su adalid un indio natural del pueblo de Chacala, llamado Perico, muy pernicioso inventor de grandes maldades. Y éste se mostró entre los rebelados y otros muchos de las naciones acaxeas y sobaibos y les dijo y hizo creer que él era Dios Espíritu Santo y que había bajado del cielo y se llamaba obispo y venía a los doctrinar y enseñar como se habían de salvar porque la doctrina que les enseñaban los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús era falsa y que él les enseñaba otra mejor. Y siendo éste creído de los indios de las dichas naciones, en mucho número de gente recibieron el bautismo de mano de este indio y les casó a muchos y descasó a muchos y les volvió a casar y mudar sus nombres y les decía misa y enseñábalas otras oraciones de las católicas. Y para tener ayudantes que anduviesen por otras partes que él no podía entre estas gentes enseñando esta falsa doctrina, escogió algunos indios como discípulos suyos llamando al uno Santiago y a otro San Pedro. Y por este modo traía tan alborotada la tierra que en ella se esperaban grandes daños y gastos de la real hacienda porque el paradero de sus amonestaciones en las juntas que hacía no era otra cosa sino persuadir a todos que se aliasen y conjurasen con los indios de los dichos pueblos de Alayá y los demás y que no dejasen español a vida así por los caminos como en sus congregaciones que él les ayudaba con el favor del cielo y a los dichos españoles para que mejor los pudiesen matar les cegaría y convertiría en vacas y carneros y caballos. Y con estas amonestaciones sabe este testigo que andaba haciendo la dicha conjuración y de mano armada envió de los dichos pueblos de Alaya mucha gente de guerra a los pueblos y rancherías de Cuespa, Babuca, Tupesi, Otatitlán y Las Vegas para que todos los de estas parcialidades se rebelasen con ellos. Y porque algunos no lo quisieron hacer, les mataron y quemaron y robaron sus pueblos. Todo lo cual sabe este testigo porque cuando el capitán Juan de Castañeda, teniente del dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero, fue a hacer las averiguaciones de esto, este testigo fue en su compañía y lo vio y entendió y el dicho Juan de Castañeda bastante lo averiguó, hallándose a todo presente este testigo. Y habiendo llegado la nueva de tan grandes males a la dicha ciudad de México así al señor virrey, conde de Monterrey como al dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero, considerando el mucho trabajo que se había de pasar, a lo que este testigo presume, y la dificultad que tenía el allanar esto, parece que el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero hizo dejación de este gobierno en manos del dicho señor virrey según esto es muy público. Y visto por su señoría lo uno y lo otro y advirtiendo cuál persona podría mejor servir a su majestad en semejante caso y dónde pendía la destrucción de este reino y vecinos de él, siendo satisfecho e informado de la calidad y suerte del dicho Francisco de Urdiñola según lo reza su provisión, el dicho señor virrey le eligió, proveyó y escogió por gobernador y capitán general de este reino y sus provincias. Y el susodicho, continuando el real servicio, dejando su casa y haciendas y el regalo que en ellas tenía, muy por la posta vino a la visita de estas serranías donde halló que de

las de Alayá y Coyatitlán era recién salido el dicho capitán Juan de Castañeda, teniente de gobernador por el dicho don Rodrigo, el cual habiendo hecho las averiguaciones de esta nueva conjuración pretendió castigar los culpados y prender el dicho obispo. Y aunque hizo el castigo que le fue posible y una acertada entrada, dice este testigo no pudo coger para castigar a los inventores del dicho alzamiento de los pueblos de Alayá, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y Ayepa, más antes estando metido la tierra adentro le fue nueva a el dicho Juan de Castañeda de como los indios de los pueblos de don Luis y el Judío por mandado del dicho obispo habían salido como salieron al camino de la quebrada de la provincia de Culiacán al de San Andrés donde mataron a Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez, españoles que iban con una recua de mercaderías a las dichas minas, y se las robaron y las que no pudieron llevar quemaron con los cuerpos de los difuntos, que en el paraje donde esto sucedio los vio este testigo quemados. Y aunque allí fue luego el dicho Juan de Castañeda, no hizo ni pudo hacer nada. Y dejando esto por castigar se salió a las dichas minas de San Andrés donde le halló el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola y allí tomó razón y se informó de lo que había pasado. Y luego el dicho gobernador sin embargo de las muchas aguas se puso en camino y con sus buenas trazas y medios y buen gobierno, poniendo grandes industrias en este caso, vio este testigo que vino a conseguir la prisión de dicho Perico de Chacala que se nombraba "obispo" y a otro indio que se llamaba Santiago. Y de ellos mandó hacer justicia y luego entró la tierra adentro hasta las dichas serranías de Alayá, Coyatitlán y San Miguel, Ayayepa y Amaculi y pueblos de San Hipólito, Los Reyes, Nasperes, Tecayas y otras muchas serranías y con buenas trazas y medios sin derramamiento de sangre ni costa de la real hacienda con gran cuidado y vigilancia fue prendiendo y prendió a todos los caciques y capitanes y demás gente culpada del primero y segundo alzamiento de los dichos pueblos referidos sin que se le escapasen tres personas. Y teniéndolos presos les hizo sus causas y procedió contra ellos criminalmente y siendo sus causas conclusas por sus delitos a cuarenta y ocho capitanes belicosos y grandes corsarios mandó ahorcar, los doce por los caminos y los demás en la parte y lugar donde sucedio la matanza y robo de los dichos Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez adonde entre los justificados acabaron los propios matadores que con los demás prendió el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola. Y a otros muchos hizo sacar de la comarca y vender su servicio por algunos años. Y con este castigo vio este testigo que todos los caciques y maceguals de la redonda de estas serranías de las naciones acaxeas y sobaibos se les vinieron al dicho gobernador y le vinieron a ofrecer nueva paz haciéndole grandes caricias y diciendo que ahora sabían y conocían la fuerza del rey y sabían que estaban conquistados, lo que de antes no entendían. Y en conformidad del deseo que tienen de su quietud y sosiego se sujetaron a lo que el dicho gobernador quisiese hacer de ellos y vio este testigo que los mandó poblar y se poblaron en partes llanas diferentes donde hicieron sus pueblos e iglesias con gran concurso y congregación. Y todo esto sabe y vio este testigo porque fue a servir a su majestad en compañía del dicho Francisco de Urdiñola en esta jornada y visita que hizo donde lo vio ser y pasar así como dicho tiene. Lo que siendo hecho, toda la tierra quedó de paz como lo está y los caminos con seguridad sin sospecha ni recelo de ningún mal acontecimiento por parte de los dichos naturales mediante lo cual y a la satisfacción que de esto hay vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador despidió a todos los soldados que traía en su compañía, pagados por su majestad y algunos de los del presidio de las dichas minas de San Andrés,

donde le parece a este testigo que se puede excusar el dicho presidio y la costa que allí tiene su majestad por la gran seguridad de la tierra y haber acabado los inquietadores de ella. Demás de lo que vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador prosiguiendo en su visita, atravesando grandes sierras y caminos de mucha aspereza con gran gasto de su hacienda, fue a la provincia de Sinaloa y llevó en su compañía doce soldados armados y bien aderezados y sustentados a su costa y misión sin ningún gasto de la real hacienda. Y supo este testigo que había llegado a la dicha provincia y frontera de Sinaloa y allí había tomado razón del estado de las cosas de ella para la dar a su majestad. En todo lo cual el susodicho pasó mucho trabajo andando de continuo armado de tal manera que le vio este testigo que en más de cuarenta días no se desnudó de noche ni de día ni se desarmó y de esta manera se acostaba. Y de los muchos trabajos vio asimismo que al dicho gobernador se le abrió una pierna de que está muy enfermo y molesto. En todo lo cual hizo mucho servicios a Dios Nuestro Señor, y a su majestad y puso en paz lo principal de este reino que es esta dicha comarca. Y esto es lo que este testigo sabe y vio y entiende y la verdad en que se afirmó y ratificó y lo firmó con el dicho alcalde mayor y declaró que es de edad de más de treinta años y que no le tocan las generales de la ley ni lleva interese. Leyósele su dicho. Tomás Pérez, Francisco Romero de Arellano. Ante mí, Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

En las dichas minas de Topia en el dicho día, 31 de diciembre del dicho año, ante el dicho capitán y alcalde mayor, el dicho Diego de Paz, para la dicha averiguación presentó por testimonio al capitán Miguel Sánchez, vecino de estas dichas minas, del cual se recibió juramento y lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y a la cruz en forma de derecho so cargo del cual prometió de decir verdad. Y siendo presentado por el tenor del dicho escrito dijo que este testigo conoce al dicho capitán Francisco Urdiñola de más tiempo de veinte y cinco años a esta parte y lo que sabe del dicho escrito es que como vecino de estas dichas minas vio que por el mes de septiembre del año pasado de 1601 años se alzaron y rebelaron del servicio de su majestad los indios naturales de estas serranías y comarcas de las naciones acaxeos y sobaibos. Empezando el dicho alzamiento y rebelión los indios naturales de los pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y otros a ellos comarcanos, que mataron al capitán Juan Ruiz y a sus compañeros en el dicho pueblo de San Miguel y hecho este daño alzaron y juntaron consigo gran número de indios de estas dichas naciones, que quemaron sus pueblos e iglesias hicieron una gran conjuración con que fueron a destruir y quemar como destruyeron, robaron y quemaron los reales y congregaciones de minas de Las Vírgenes, San Hipólito y San Andrés y Los Papudos con muerte de muchos españoles e indios amigos y gente de servicio. Y con tanta pujanza andaban los alzados que tenían tomados los caminos y pretendían de acabar de asolar este reino y el de la Galicia donde llegó la dicha conjuración y de tal manera pusieron esta comarca y congregaciones en aprieto que este testigo por servir a su majestad con gente armada y bien aderezada a su costa, salió de este real para la provincia de Culiacán por gente de socorro y bastimentos. Y al camino les salieron a la ida y vuelta gran cantidad de enemigos con quien tuvo peligrosos encuentros. Y andando las cosas en este estado vio este testigo que al castigo de los alzados vino de la ciudad de México el gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero con mucha gente y con gran costa y gasto de la real hacienda vio este testigo que dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero entró por estas comarcas e hizo todos los castigos que le fueron posibles mediante los

cuales muchos caciques y maceguals se le vinieron a rendir de paz y con ellos la asentó el dicho gobernador y este testigo con su comisión por esta parte. Y sabe que sin los dichos castigos se quedaron los inventores y principales causadores de tan gran alzamiento y conjuración que fueron los indios de las dichas serranías y pueblos de Alayá, porque éstos como astutos y malvados nunca se pudieron coger. Ni ellos se pusieron en parte donde pudiesen ser habidos y aunque el dicho gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero con estos quiso asentar la dicha paz, nunca ellos la quisieron recibir ni le vieron. Y así se fue quedándose estos traidores enteros en sus maldades procurando hacer como iban haciendo otro nuevo alzamiento y conjuración de tal suerte que siendo ellos inclinados a matar españoles y usar de grandes crueldades a esto les ayudó mucho un indio del pueblo de Chacala llamado Perico que se nombró "obispo", persona de grandes embustes e inventor de grandes maldades de tal forma que este dicho indio entre los rebelados, después de ido el dicho don Rodrigo muchos meses, dijo que él era Dios y que había bajado del cielo a les doctrinar y enseñar nuevas oraciones para que se salvaran porque las que les habían enseñado y enseñaban los religiosos de la compañía de Jesús eran falsas. Y con modos diabólicos persuadió y atrajo a su voluntad gran número de gente de las dichas naciones que creyendo lo que les decía se consintieron bautizar de mano del dicho Perico de Chacala y les casó unos y descasaba otros y les decía misa. Con muchos embustes y engaños les tenía persuadidos a una siniestra doctrina y muy pernicioso fundando todos sus intentos en la destrucción de los españoles diciéndoles que no dejasen ninguno a vida así por los caminos como en sus pueblos y donde los pudiesen coger que él tenía poder para cegarles y convertirles y trasformarles en animales para que mejor los pudiesen matar. Y de esta manera iba persuadiendo a los dichos naturales para que se alzasen y rebelasen del servicio de su majestad y se alzasen y aunasen con los dichos indios de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Coyatitlán, Ayayepa y Amaculi adonde por orden y mandado del dicho Perico de Chacala que se nombraba "obispo" salieron muchos indios de mano armada a resistir y aliar consigo los indios naturales de las rancharías y pueblo de Topisiguesi, Cuespa, Babuca, Otatitlán y Las Vegas donde no queriendo algunos naturales de estos dichos pueblos consentir en esta nueva conjuración, los mataron y quemaron y robaron sus pueblos. Y por esta orden iban haciendo su hecho para conseguir su intento de todo lo cual se dio aviso a la villa de Durango y al ilustrísimo virrey de la Nueva España y al dicho gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero, el cual debió de considerar el mucho trabajo que se ofrecía en esta pacificación y castigo y las dificultades que tenía, a cuya causa hizo dejación del gobierno. Y visto por el dicho virrey el aprieto y riesgos en que estaba la tierra puso los ojos en la persona del dicho Francisco de Urdiñola y atendiendo a los muchos servicios que había hecho a su majestad de muchos años a esta parte y a la buena fama y bien de su prudencia, consejo y gobierno, le encargó y mandó viniese a este reino; cuya elección se tuvo por encaminada del cielo y así ha sucedido todo muy bien porque luego que el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola recibió la posición del teniente virrey, dejando su casa y hacienda muy por la posta vino al remedio de los daños que iban sucediendo y llegó a las minas de San Andrés donde halló al capitán Juan de Castañeda que como teniente de gobierno por el dicho don Rodrigo acababa de salir de visitar las dichas serranías de Alayá y Coyatitlán donde hizo un importante castigo y en su compañía por servir a su majestad anduvo este testigo con gente armada a su costa y vio ser y pasar todo lo que dicho

tiene a hacer nuevas averiguaciones de la dicha conjuración. Y aunque es verdad que en los casos que el dicho castigo se hizo fue de importancia, quedaron sin él los indios capitanes, caciques y más principales de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi que se escaparon y no pudieron ser habidos. Con lo cual no quedaba ninguna seguridad en la tierra quedando estos en ella, de más de lo cual andando en la dicha visita la tierra adentro sucedió que en el camino de la quebrada que va de la provincia de Culiacán a las minas de San Andrés por mandado del dicho indio Perico de Chacala, salieron los indios de los pueblos de don Luis y el Judío que estaban aliados con los demás en el dicho camino mataron y robaron a Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez, españoles que llevaban a las dichas minas de San Andrés una recua de mercaderías, de las cuales las que los salteadores no pudieron llevar quemaron con los cuerpos de los difuntos. Y al castigo de esto fue luego el dicho Juan de Castañeda y este testigo en su compañía y se pusieron en el paraje donde sucedió este robo y matanza y allí vio quemados este testigo los cuerpos de los dichos difuntos. Y nunca el dicho Juan de Castañeda pudo hacer ningún castigo así por las aguas que entraban como porque la aspereza y fragosidad del terreno le ayudaban y con esto se salió. Y luego el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola sabiendo lo que pasaba sin embargo de las dichas aguas, rompiendo con todos inconvenientes y dificultades puso en ejecución la prisión del dicho indio Perico de Chacala que se nombraba "obispo" llamaba Santiago, su ayudante en sus enredos y embustes. Y esto hecho, vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador Francisco de Urdiñola salió a visitar la tierra y a hacer las averiguaciones de lo sucedido y este testigo por servir a su majestad fue en su compañía y entró por las serranías de San Hipólito, Nasperes, Tecayas, Los Reyes y pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y sus comarcas donde con grande astucia y sagacidad, buen gobierno y mucha madurez del dicho gobernador sin derramamiento de sangre ni guerra, con su industria prendió a todos los caciques, cabezas y capitanes de los dichos pueblos y a otros muchos culpados en el primero y segundo alzamiento y conjuración y con ellos asimismo prendió a los matadores y salteadores de los dichos pueblos de don Luis y el Judío que mataron a los dichos Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez y contra todos precedió judicial y criminalmente y les hizo cargo de sus delitos y los justificó mandando ahorcar a cuarenta y ocho caciques y capitanes; los doce por los caminos y los demás en el paraje donde sucedió la dicha matanza. Y a otros, por no ser tan culpados, hizo vender por cierto tiempo fuera de todas estas comarcas y con este ejemplar castigo vio este testigo que de toda la redondez de estas serranías vinieron muchos caciques con su gente y mujeres e hijos de las dichas naciones acaxeos y sobaibos y al dicho Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general, se le rindieron de paz, y se sujetaron a lo que de ellos quisiese hacer prometiendo ser para siempre jamás, fieles y leales al rey, nuestro señor, diciendo que ahora acababan de creer su mucho poder y mostrando el deseo de su quietud. Pidieron que querían ser poblados en partes llanas donde fuesen industriados en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica y en esta conformidad el dicho gobernador en diferentes partes les hizo y asentó sus poblaciones e iglesias con mucha vecindad en cada pueblo de manera que este testigo entiende y tiene por cierto que mediante el dicho castigo haber el dicho gobernador de todo punto quitado las raíces de tantos daños, toda la tierra está de paz con mucha quietud y lo propio se pueden andar los caminos sin sospecha ni recelo de ningún mal acontecimiento por parte de los

naturales. Y tan eficazmente se ha visto esto que luego el dicho gobernador despidió a los soldados que traía en su compañía ganando sueldo de su majestad y a muchos de ellos del presidio de las dichas minas de San Andrés por excusar la costa que sin necesidad se hacía de la real hacienda. Y según este testigo ha visto el estado de las cosas de la tierra y el gran temor con que quedan los naturales le parece y entiende que el resto del dicho presidio de las dichas minas se puede excusar por no ser a menester, demás de lo cual vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador Francisco de Urdiñola prosiguiendo más adelante en la dicha visita sin embargo de los muchos trabajos que había pasado, cargado de armas sin se las quitar ni desnudar en más de cuarenta días con gran costo de su hacienda y con once or doce soldados armados y bien aderezados y sustentados a su costa sin ayuda de la real hacienda ni de otra ninguna persona, atravesando nuevas caminos y serranías pasó a la provincia de Sinaloa y llegó a aquella frontera por dar razón a su majestad de todo este reino como la podía dar como persona que todo lo ha visto por vista de ojos. Y en ello y en todo lo demás referido el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola hizo mucho servicio a Dios Nuestro Señor y a su majestad pues con su valor y buen gobierno ha dejado en paz lo que tan presto no se pensaba con ella excusando grandes gastos y costas de la real hacienda y los trabajos y muertes que se esperaban. Y esto que dicho tiene declara que es lo que este testigo sabe y pasa y entiende y vio y todo es la verdad so cargo del juramento que hizo en que se afirmó y ratificó y lo firmó de su nombre con el dicho alcalde mayor y declara que es de edad de más de cincuenta años y que no le tocan las generales de la ley ni lleva interese. Tomás Pérez, Miguel Sánchez. Ante mí, Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

En las minas de la Veracruz de Topia de la Nueva Vizcaya en 2 de enero de 1604 años, ante el dicho Tomás Pérez, capitán y alcalde mayor de estas dichas minas, el dicho Diego de Paz en nombre del dicho Francisco de Urdiñola para la dicha averiguación presentó por testigo al padre Hernando de Santarén de la Compañía de Jesús, superior en las misiones de la de Santarén de la conversión de los indios de la nación acaxee y sobaibos de estas serranías. Del cual el dicho juez recibió juramento y el dicho padre poniendo la mano derecha en el pecho lo hizo *ein verbo sacerdotis* en forma de derecho so cargo del cual prometió de decir verdad. Y siendo preguntado por el tenor del escrito del dicho Diego de Paz dijo: que este testigo conoce al dicho Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya de cinco meses a esta parte poco más o menos que aquí entró en el dicho gobierno a la visita de estas comarcas. Y lo que sabe y ha visto y entiende de lo contenido en el dicho escrito es que andando este testigo en la conversión de los dichos indios y estando en las minas de San Andrés por el mes de septiembre del año pasado de 1601, allí vio y supo este testigo por cosa cierta y muy probada demás de la notoriedad y publicidad que de esto hay, que los indios de los pueblos y serranías de Alayá se alzaron y rebelaron del servicio de su majestad y una noche mataron al capitán Juan Ruiz y a sus compañeros en el pueblo de San Miguel y a una mujer española y a una criatura que estaban en el pueblo de Materipa allí cerca. Y hechos estos daños los dichos indios juntaron y aliaron consigo a los caciques y naturales de los pueblos de Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi y a otros a ellos comarcanos y quemaron sus pueblos e iglesias. Y por este modo los inventores de este alzamiento fueron aliando y rebelando los indios de la nación de acaxee y sobaibos y en gran distrito de tierra con que se hizo una gran junta de gente de guerra con que fueron a quemar, robar y asolar

como quemaron robaron y asolaron los reales de minas y haciendas de Las Vírgenes, San Hipólito, San Andrés y Los Papudos con muerte de mucho españoles y gente de servicio. Andando los aliados con tanta altivez y osadía que tomaron los caminos de las entradas y salidas de estas congregaciones que nada estaba a seguro. Y pretendían de acabar de asolarlas y en esto pusieron tanta fuerza que todo esto estaba confuso y temerosos y con recelo de que esta conjuración entrase como entró en las límites del reino de la Nueva Galicia. Hasta que este testigo vio que al castigo y reparo de tantos daños de la ciudad de México vino a estas comarcas el gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero con mucha gente y aparato y con gran gasto de la real hacienda. Y entró por estas serranías y en ellas hizo todo el castigo que le fue posible. Mediate el cual vio este testigo que caciques y naturales de muchos pueblos y rancherías se le vinieron a rendir de paz al dicho gobernador y muchos de ellos la pidieron por medio de este testigo de quien se valían para su intención. Y declara que aunque el dicho gobernador don Rodrigo de Vivero pretendió asentar la dicha paz con los indios naturales de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi de adonde nació tan gran rebelión y conjuración, nunca los dichos indios quisieron darle la dicha paz y se quedaron enteros en sus maldades sin castigar por no los haber podido coger así por la mucha fragosidad de la tierra como porque ellos se guardaban bien de ser cogidos. Y estando las cosas en este estado y quedándose esto así, vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador de este reino don Rodrigo de Vivero se salió de estas comarcas y se fue a la dicha ciudad de México. Y después de pasados algunos meses este testigo que nunca ha faltado de estas serranías supo y por muy bastantes averiguaciones se sabe y es verdad que los dichos indios de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, Coyatitlán, San Miguel, Ayayepas y Amaculi prosiguiendo en sus dañados intentos estándose pertinaces en su alzamiento pretendieron hacer otra nueva conjuración y aliar consigo a los demás naturales acaxeos y sobaibos para la destrucción de españoles que por aquí vivían tomando por adalid y muñidor de esta conjuración a un indio malvado y pernicioso, grande inventor de embustes y maldades llamado Perico, natural del pueblo de Chacala. Este entre los alzados y los demás que nuevamente procuraban alzar dijo y decía que era Dios Espíritu Santo, y que era venido del cielo y se llamaba "obispo" y venía a les enseñar nueva doctrina porque la que deprendían de este testigo y de sus compañeros era falsa engañosa. Y así inventó unas oraciones de muchos disparates que enseñaba a los dichos naturales y tenía muchos temastianes y ayudantes que enviaba por toda la tierra a precidir y enseñar la dicha su doctrina y les decía misa. Y hizo tales embustes que a gran número de esta gente miserable este dicho indio Perico tenía persuadida a la dicha su doctrina de tal manera que no entraba en pueblo ni ranchería donde no fuese venerado y bien recibido. Y todos los naturales hombres y mujeres y muchachos se consentían bautizar de su mano y casaba y descasaba y hacía otras muchas cosas malsonantes en grande ofensa de Dios Nuestro Señor, y daño de la tierra. Y finalmente todos sus intentos, pláticas y persuaciones entre los dichos naturales era que todos se alzasen y rebelasen con los indios de los dichos pueblos de Alayá contra los españoles y que a este testigo ni a sus compañeros no les recibiesen en sus pueblos y procurasen matarlos como muchas veces lo pretendieron hacer queriendo cogerlos con engaños. Y de tal manera traía a este indio a los demás naturales que al descubierto de mano armada hizo meter gente de los dichos pueblos de Alayá en los de Las Vegas y Otatitlán y rancherías de Topisiguesi,

Quespa y Babuca para que por bien y por mal se alzasen y aliasen con ellos. Y algunos que los resistieron mataron y se los llevaron hechos cuartos y les quemaron y robaron las casas de sus pueblos. Y andando todo esto tan de mal en peor dice este testigo que dio razón de ello a México y a la villa de Durango adonde personalmente fue y volvió en compañía del capitán Juan de Castañeda, teniente de gobernador por el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero, el que entró por estas serranías a las visitas y a hacer como hizo las averiguaciones de todo lo sucedido. Y por ellas consta la verdad de todo lo referido por este testigo y en compañía del dicho Juan de Castañeda dice que envió al Padre Alonso Ruiz de la dicha Compañía de Jesús su compañero que a todo se halló presente y dio razón de lo sucedido en la dicha visita. De la cual resultó que el dicho capitán Juan de Castañeda entró en muy buena ocasión en la serranía de Coyatitlán adonde halló empeñolados los enemigos y en ellos hizo un importante castigo aunque sin él se habían quedado los principales inventores de estos daños porque se escaparon y no pudieron ser cogidos con lo cual sin embargo del dicho castigo ninguna seguridad quedaba en la tierra con las raíces que en ella quedaban. Y esto de tal manera que andando el dicho Juan de Castañeda en las dichas serranías sucedió que por mandado del dicho Perico de Chacala que se llamaba obispo, según se averiguó, que los indios de los pueblos de don Luis y el Judío salieron al camino de la quebrada que va de la provincia de Culiacán a las minas de San Andrés y en el dicho camino saltaron, mataron y robaron los dichos indios a Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez, españoles que a las dichas minas iban con una recua de mercaderías. Y las que no pudieron llevar quemaron con los cuerpos de los difuntos, la nueva de lo cual fue al dicho Juan de Castañeda y con la gente que traía se vino a poner en el paraje donde esta matanza y robo había sucedido y no pudo hacer como no hizo ningún castigo en los matadores ni los pudo coger ni al dicho "obispo de Chacala" así por la mucha fragosidad de la tierra como porque empezaban a entrar las aguas. Y parece que sabido en la dicha ciudad de México por el virrey de la Nueva España, conde de Monterrey, y por el dicho don Rodrigo de Vivero, gobernador de este reino, el mal estado de la paz de estas serranías y el mucho aprieto y trabajo en que estaban, es cosa cierta y muy pública y por tal este testigo lo ha sabido y tenido por aviso que el dicho gobernador, don Rodrigo de Vivero, hizo dejación del dicho gobierno en manos del dicho señor virrey el cual en su lugar puso los ojos en el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola y le eligió y proveyó por gobernador y capitán general de este reino y sus provincias. Cuya elección este testigo ha tenido y tiene por muy acertada por la mucha experiencia que el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola tiene de las cosas de la guerra en estas partes. Y por su buen gobierno y la calidad de su persona cuya suerte y prudencia, según este testigo ha experimentado, es para mayores cosas porque como el susodicho recibió la provisión del dicho señor virrey dejando su casa y haciendas muy por la posta vino al remedio de los daños de estas serranías y llegó a las minas de San Andrés donde este testigo supo que había hallado al dicho capitán Juan de Castañeda que era recién salido de la dicha visita y castigo. Y siendo informado de lo que había pasado y el estado en que estaban las cosas vio este testigo que sin embargo del rigor del tiempo el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola luego puso en ejecución la prisión del dicho Perico de Chacala que se nombraba "obispo" y con sus buenas trazas y ardidés la consiguió y trajeron preso a este mal indio con otro su ayudante en su doctrina a quien se llamaba Santiago que fue una importantísima suerte. Y siendo convencidos por sus delitos vio este



testigo que mandó el dicho gobernador hacer justicia de ellos, y este testigo les ayudó a bien morir, y al dicho Perico quemaron y al otro ahorcaron. Y siendo esto hecho luego el dicho gobernador y este testigo en su compañía salieron de estas minas a visitar la tierra y llegaron a los pueblos y serranías de San Hipólito, Los Reyes, Nasperes, Tecayas y a los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Coyatitlán, Ayayepa, Jocotlán y Amaculi donde vio este testigo que el dicho gobernador con su acostumbrada prudencia y buen gobierno y astucia con buena maña sin estruendo de guerra ni derramamiento de sangre prendió a los culpados inventores del primero y segundo alzamiento y conjuración y a los de los pueblos de don Luis y el Judío que robaron y mataron a los dichos Guillermo Beltrán y Antonio Pérez. Y contra todos vio este testigo que precedió el dicho gobernador criminalmente por sus delitos y siendo convencidos mandó hacer justicia de ellos y se ahorcaron cuarenta y ocho gandules, caciques y capitanes de los dichos pueblos de Alayá, San Miguel, Ayayepa, Coyatitlán y Amaculi, don Luis y el Judío de los cuales los doce fueron ahorcados por los caminos y los treinta y seis en la parte y lugar donde sucedió la dicha matanza y a otros muchos mandó vender y condenó en ciertos años de servicio fuera de estas comarcas, y a las mujeres e hijos de todos estos presos dio por libres. Y estando a la mira todos los naturales de la tierra de lo que sucedía, viendo el dicho castigo con sus caciques, mujeres e hijos llenos de temor, se vinieron a rendir de paz al dicho gobernador, el cual los recibió benignamente y ellos prometieron, para siempre jamás, ser fieles y leales vasallos al rey, nuestro señor, y de asentarse y poblarse donde el dicho gobernador les mandase. Como en diferentes partes y buenos asientos vio este testigo que los pobló con concurso de mucha vecindad en cada pueblo, y hicieron sus iglesias donde este testigo y sus compañeros les instruyeron en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica. Con lo cual toda la tierra y caminos han quedado con tanta paz y seguridad que este testigo tiene por cierto que no hay de que poderse recelar y en confirmación de esto vió este testigo que el dicho gobernador despidió todos los soldados que traía en su compañía ganando sueldo de su majestad y ocho de los del presidio de las dichas minas de San Andrés y los que han quedado le parece a este testigo que habiendo estado por algunos días en el dicho presidio de presente, después se puede quitar y excusar a su majestad la costa que allí tiene por la mucha satisfacción y seguridad que este testigo tiene de la paz en que queda toda la tierra por haber el dicho gobernador arrancado la raíz de los males que aun quedaban y esto de modo que este testigo con solos dos otros compañeros se metió entre los indios de la nación acaxee por muchas serranías hasta llegar a la de Maymoa que es más de cien leguas la tierra adentro donde halló mucha gente de quien fué regalado y bien recibido y reciben de buena gana el santo evangelio. Y declara este testigo que en otro tiempo con veinte compañeros bien aderezados no osará entrar adonde ahora entró tan sólo fiado de la seguridad que toda la tierra tiene. Lo cual acabado, vió este testigo que el dicho gobernador, Francisco de Urdiñola, prosiguiendo su visita sin embargo de los trabajos pasados, tomando otros de nuevo y atravesando grandes sierras y caminos de mucha aspereza llegó a la frontera de la provincia de Sinaloa, y allí tomó la razón del estado de aquella tierra y gente de ella para darla a su majestad. Y llevó consigo con gran costo de su hacienda diez o doce soldados españoles armados sustentados y pagados a su costa sin que a su majestad le costó centavo y saliendo de la visita de la dicha provincia, vió este testigo que al dicho gobernador se le abrió una pierna de que ha venido y está enfermo. Todo lo cual es

lo que este testigo sabe y la verdad en que se afirmó y ratificó y lo firmó con el dicho alcalde mayor, siéndole leído su dicho, y declaró que en todo lo sucedido el dicho Francisco de Urdiñola hizo muchos servicios a Dios Nuestro Señor, y a su majestad y pacificó este reino y excusó con su venida y visita grandes gastos de la real hacienda y muchos daños. Declaró que no le tocan las generales de la ley y que es de edad de más de treinta y cinco años. Y otro si declara este testigo que en más de cuarenta días que curó la visita y castigo el dicho gobernador anduvo armado sin se desarmar ni desnudar de noche ni de día aunque este testigo le rogó de su autoridad y persuadido de los soldados a que se desarmase y desnudase por sus años y no pasase tanto trabajo. Y nunca el dicho gobernador jamás se quiso desarmar y le vio con gran prudencia y cordura sufrir y pasar la continua molestia de los indios que se le venían rindiendo de paz oyéndoles con mucha atención sin disgustar a ninguno. Según este testigo conoció de la mucha prudencia y buen gobierno del dicho Francisco de Urdiñola y las relaciones que este testigo tiene y son públicos, los muchos servicios que de muchos años ha hecho a su majestad, merece que se le haga señalada merced que por todo ello y su mucha autoridad y gobierno dará honradísima cuenta de todo que sea de mayor calidad que lo que ahora tiene y lo firmó. Tomás Pérez, Hernando de Santarén. Ante mí, Francisco González Carrasco, escribano público.

## Urđiñola Subdues the Xiximes

*The document that follows is instructive in several ways. Compiled from Jesuit annual letters, it reports on the state of the mission fields for the year 1610 and contains one of the best accounts of the Xiximes and Governor Urđiñola's campaign to defeat them. Notwithstanding its pervasive religious viewpoint there are glimpses into the rationale and objectives of the rebels that normally would be lacking in a document authored by a Spanish military official. While abhorring many of their customs, the priest by training and inclination saw the natives more as struggling heathens than as armed foes. Consequently, we are able to see the conflict through the eyes of the Indians, albeit very minimally.*

*The Xiximes were much feared by neighboring Indians and Spaniards alike for their cannibalism. These Jesuit correspondents were likewise appalled, but their letters resulted in a report that was surprisingly straightforward in describing the practice. Cannibalism played an integral role in Xixime warfare, and the document further illuminates a little-known aspect of it. A fasting virgin would be imprisoned before a battle and her virtue would determine its outcome. In the event of a victory, she was presented with severed parts from a slain enemy and ritualistic consumption of those killed in battle would follow. If the fight ended in defeat, her honor was impugned and she was banished from the tribe. Details of this nature abound.*

*The report combines the four Jesuit mission regions of the northwest. While ecclesiastical in nature, it describes the state of native conversions in the districts of Parras, Sinaloa, Tepehuana, and Topia, aptly setting the stage for the revolt of 1610 and others to follow.*

Annual Report of the Jesuit Missions from the Province of New Spain for the Year 1610. For the present assistant, Nicolás de Almazán.<sup>1</sup>

### MISSION OF PARRAS<sup>2</sup>



here are three districts in this mission and in them about 4,000 Indians. These natives are now so cultivated and indoctrinated by us that they are rid of their natural bellicosity and wildness; they are so peaceful that there is neither Spaniard nor outside Indian who fears them. They serve and help the Spaniards with as much love and respect as if they were brothers. Those from

the interior and heights and gorges who want to enjoy peace and stability, which they know their fellow natives are enjoying, are abandoning their camps and coming down to live in these settlements. They say that in them, unlike their highland mesas and mountains, their honor, lives, and farms are safe.

Many children were baptized in these districts this year and most were carried away by the grim reaper from a violent cough that ran through this land. And it was a marvelous thing, and of no small edification to us, to see the resignation of their parents to the will of God when they heard from us that their children went directly to heaven as little angels, sinless from dying with holy baptism, and as such crowned with flowers and roses to carry them to the grave. Those who have remained alive and are of sufficient age are taught the Christian doctrine each day. Some are so skillful in it that they cause admiration in whosoever hears them. In the patio of the church where they learn the doctrine, these same children are given a good meal on the Day of Holy Innocents, the better to cherish them.<sup>3</sup> With each course we bring to the table, the musicians play their trumpets (which sound like creaking tumbrels) in order to proclaim themselves thankful. These catechized children are strengthening the Indian seminary which was founded two years ago from the grant your majesty gave for the support of seminarians. They study reading, writing, and singing in the service of the church, and they are already beginning to serve it by singing the masses.

Usually there are sick among the adult Indians. Thus it is necessary for whichever padre is in charge to travel almost every day—sometimes at considerable distance—to confess them. And because these miserable creatures lack the basic human necessities, he takes them meat, flour, or maize to prevent their dying of hunger. On this the padres annually spend the greater portion of the stipend which his majesty gives them to help with their sustenance.<sup>4</sup>

For the conquest of the Xiximes,<sup>5</sup> of whom I have made little mention, the gov-

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1. Padre Nicolás de Almazán apparently recopied this report when it arrived in Rome.

2. The Parras mission encompassed the southwestern portion of today's Coahuila from the drainage of the Río Nazas and the Laguna de San Pedro northward into the central part of the state. Missionary efforts began in late 1596, when Jesuit Juan Agustín de Espinosa arrived to take charge of the Zacatecos and Laguneros. Parras was officially founded in 1598 and at the time of this document had three districts, or cabeceras: Parras itself, San Pedro, and San Ignacio. By 1610, five missions had been founded: Santa Ana, San Pedro, Aztla, San Francisco, and Cuatro Ciénegas.

3. December 28.

4. Since there was no separation of church and state under the Spanish crown and the conversion of the Indians to Christianity was of prime importance, the king helped underwrite the process of missionization. In addition to contributions made for the construction of monasteries and missions, the crown sent missionaries to the New World at its expense and provided them an annual sum for their maintenance. It was not at all unusual for priests of the various orders to use their allowances on their Indian charges.

5. The Xiximes were Cahitan speakers who inhabited the mountains and canyons of western Durango and adjacent portions of Sinaloa. They were located to the south of their traditional enemies the Acaxees.

error of this mission took 120 Indian archers, who have a reputation as faithful and courageous people in time of war, away from the mission. We were not able to confess these at the time of their departure due to the great clamor that was raised, something they regretted very much. In order to mitigate their uneasiness, they requested letters of recommendation from our priests who reside in this mission that they might be confessed in the mission of Tepehuanes,<sup>6</sup> near the Xiximes, before they go to war. With these letters they were consoled.

On Friday afternoons during Lent, the Indians parade in procession through the streets, singing the Christian doctrine. Upon their return one of us gives them a talk on the passion and afterwards the Misereri is sung. They perform the sacraments without wine, the blood offering being reserved for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. All attend this with great affection and devotion. And after being restored to spiritual health we give them some gift that they esteem and appreciate.

This year some vestments which the churches needed were brought from México at the expense of his majesty. Our principal church—the one at Parras<sup>7</sup>—has been repaired and painted. A statue of Our Lady with her Most Precious Son in her arms was the first one seen by these new converts and has caused much admiration and devotion.

That you might praise God our Father for the admirable effects of His divine predestination and providence, I shall recount what happened to one of our priests. Upon arriving with his companion at one house in an Indian ranchería, he asked if there was anyone sick within. They answered that there had been one but he was now dead. This caused the priest great sorrow for not having arrived sooner. Two or three times he invented reasons to verify the death with his own eyes. Each time the Indians tried to persuade him not to tire himself needlessly and not to waste his time going to the rancho of that dead man but to spend his time profitably with the living. The more the Indians tried to dissuade the padre from going, the more determined he became to go see for himself the man whom the Indians insisted was already dead. Finally he went and found, behind the house, a very old man lying on his back exposed to the sun—so thin with only skin covering his bones as to appear as a living portrait of death. His eyes were half-closed and his teeth so decayed that he could scarcely speak, but after calling out a few times he, who appeared to be dead, revived. Asked by the padre if he wanted to become a Christian and receive the sacrament of baptism, he answered yes between half-closed teeth. Then the priest gave him a mouthful of food and a swallow of wine. With this he revived; he took courage so that he was able to raise his head and sit up. The padre catechized him and instructed him in the necessary mysteries of the faith. The father warned him of the great suffering caused by his sins and, drawing from his memory some of those sins common to his people, the old Indian answered in great peace and sincerity with these words: "Father, in all my life, I have never killed, harmed, nor wanted to harm anyone. I have coveted neither the wife nor property of another, nor have I lost my senses from drink-

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6. This was the mission of Santiago Papasquiari, founded in 1597.

7. Santa María de Parras, established in 1598.

ing." And in this tone he related his life in this manner. Admiringly, the father ordered four Indian women to carry him to the church in a blanket where he received holy baptism with notable reverence and spiritual rejoicing to the admiration of the padre, his companion, and the rest of the Christian and gentile Indians who were present there. After the padre had baptized the sick man, giving thanks to God, he asked him how he had believed so readily in the mysteries of our holy faith and demonstrated such desire for baptism. "Look, Father," responded the Indian, "at the beginning of that sickness two venerable, resplendent personages of great authority came to me and carried me through the air to the highest part of the heavens. Upon entering those delightful palaces populated by celestial beings, I saw an empty chair so surpassingly beautiful that it made me very happy, especially when they told me it was designated for me. I responded that it was well and that I wanted to stay there. To this, those who had brought me here replied that it was not the time because I was not a baptized Christian, but that I should return and await two padres who would come to this place shortly and who would instruct me in the holy faith and baptize me. Later I would return to enjoy that chair in the company of those fortunate people." And as the good old man said, no sooner had he fulfilled his duty, having received the water of baptism, his soul flew to heaven, leaving the priest who had baptized him with the comfort and wonder that one can imagine in this case.

#### TEPEHUAN MISSION<sup>8</sup>

There is a mining district in this mission where some Spaniards reside.<sup>9</sup> Our priests have assisted them, their children, and servants this year by preaching to them and hearing their confessions. Two priests spent the last three weeks of Lent laboring successfully for the souls of particular individuals who were in conflict with one another over serious and honorable matters which could have easily led to some murders. But Our Father was served when this danger was stopped through the mediation of our priests by causing the leaders of both sides to talk and having the offender beg the pardon of the aggrieved. This is in regard to the Spaniards.

Coming to the Indians, some 140 adults have been baptized this year, not counting many children, some of whom have already gone to heaven.<sup>10</sup> In the

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8. The missionization of the Tepehuan began in 1591, and Padre Gerónimo Ramírez arrived in 1593. By 1597, he was congregating the Indians into towns and Padre Juan Fonte had joined him to help with their conversion. At the time of this document, missions had been established at Santiago Papasquiaro, Santa Catarina, Atotonilco, Zape, Ocotlán, and San Pablo Balleza.

9. The mining district was Guanaceví, northwest of Zape in Durango, which was probably in operation as early as the 1570s. It was an established operation before the Jesuits entered the area in the 1590s.

10. These were the northern Tepehuan, who at that time were distributed over northern Durango and southwestern Chihuahua. They were culturally similar to other mountainous tribes such as the Acaxee and Xixime to the south and the Tarahumara to the north.

sierra of Ocotlán<sup>11</sup> are about 380 people, both grown and young. About seventy are Christians; the rest, gentiles. Even though our priests go many times to visit the Christians, they endeavor to get them to leave that tortuous territory and come down to the old settlements where it will be easier to indoctrinate them. Those who desire to enjoy communication and contact with us for the benefit of their souls and those of their children are slowly abandoning their mountain fastness and building their houses where we wanted them. The ministers are making daily progress at domesticating the other Indians of the mission so that they may better receive the seed of the gospel. This requires great labor and difficulty for such a barbarous people. Now those conscientious workers of this Society are planting in a valley called San Pablo,<sup>12</sup> where they expect to harvest abundantly in the future because of the many people who daily have been coming down from the sierra to this valley, drawn by a large irrigation ditch which was begun last year to water the corn and fields by which the Indians sustain themselves. This acequia was no sooner finished and the population settling down than the devil, jealous of so many souls who were escaping from the sierra and highlands where he controlled them, persuaded an old Indian shaman to come with ten Indian braves, relatives of his, and kill certain Indian leaders, just as he had killed an Indian leader and catechumen who was a close relative of the cacique of San Pablo. The Indians were so incensed over the murders that they went in pursuit of the killers to avenge themselves. However, they were detained by the fear that, while they went looking in one area, the killers might come from another and kill the leaders who were being indoctrinated. Several days later the Indians of San Pablo learned that their enemies were three leagues away in another Indian village. Fearing an alliance and that they would come to attack soon, they persuaded the padres, even though with tears and with great pain to themselves, to leave that valley for a peaceful land because if the enemies, who outnumbered them, returned again they would neither be able to defend themselves nor the priests. This counsel appeared sound to our ministers; they followed them from there to another area, three days' hard travel by road. They retreated with pain at leaving behind those whom they now considered as their children, but they left with the hope of soon renewing them for Christ and as Christians. With the padres gone they prepared themselves for war and for whatever might follow. At the same time they dispatched a son of the cacique of San Pablo with twelve of the most important and valiant Indians to seek the governor of those provinces, who was at that time in Guadiana, asking him to punish the insolence of that Indian who for three entire years had harassed them and disturbed the tranquility and peace that they desired in order to become Christians.<sup>13</sup> At this time the governor was away on the conquest of the Xiximes.

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11. The Sierra de Ocotlán is located in northwestern Durango northwest of Guanaceví and adjacent to the Chihuahua border. Father Juan del Valle established the mission of Santa Cruz there in 1607.

12. The Valley of San Pablo, known in late colonial times as the Valle de los Olivos and now Balleza, is located in southern Chihuahua. Its river flows north to the Río Conchos.

13. Guadiana was the early name for the city of Durango. These hostilities broke out about 1607 between Tepehuanes and allied Tarahumaras, who had requested indoctrination since

The old shaman, knowing that the governor would be coming with a large accompaniment of soldiers to punish him, feared for his fate. Because of this fear of having been singled out by God for punishment, he went to one of our priests and pleaded insistently and very sincerely for the sacrament of holy baptism. Having first catechized and tested him carefully, the priest baptized him. After being baptized, he went to see the governor, who was now close by. Arriving before him, the shaman told him that he was not a Christian and asked him to pardon his past because he truthfully resolved to improve his conduct in the future. The governor accepted and pardoned him upon condition that he comply with his word and to this day he has done so very well. One hopes that he will play an important part in the conversion and pacification of those Indians who had followed him before in harassing the Indians of San Pablo. These Indians are now quiet and pacified with the peace which they now enjoy and have again asked with ardent desire that our priests return to instruct them in the faith and baptize them. Due to a shortage of priests only one padre<sup>14</sup> has gone until now, but it will be necessary to send more. Our Lord will be served by giving us more priests because that harvest of souls is very great, according to the news of many settlements in the upper valley toward the north.<sup>15</sup>

#### SINALOA MISSION<sup>16</sup>

As Nuestra Señora de Sinaloa<sup>17</sup> is the seat of this province, the captain resides here most of the year with his majesty's presidio of soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Apart from them there is a town of many Spaniards, all of whom frequently gather at our building to confess, receive communion, and to pray with much devotion. This is particularly so in times of public festivities—Advent, Lent, and principal feast days during which they celebrate the holy offices with much solemnity and music provided by the Indian seminarians.<sup>19</sup> These young men are trained by us, and they

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1603, and an opposing group of Tarahumaras. The delegation to Guadiana occurred in April 1608, at which time they requested formal recognition and help for their mission.

14. This was the superior who took charge of the new mission in 1608.

15. This refers to the Río Tepehuanes.

16. The Jesuit mission of Sinaloa began in 1591 with the arrival of Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez, although both Franciscan and secular clergy had preceded them into the new area. By 1610 the Jesuits were making rapid progress at settling the Indian population into mission towns, with doctrinal centers having been established along the Mocorito, Sinaloa, and Fuerte rivers: San Pablo Mocorito, Ocoroni, Bamoa, Chicorato, Ahome, Sivirijoa, Toro, and Vaca.

17. The original villa of Sinaloa, known as San Juan Bautista, was founded on the Fuerte River in 1564 but was moved several times before being finally established on the Sinaloa River, where it was usually known as the Villa de San Felipe y Santiago.

18. The presidial captain was Diego Martínez de Hurdaide. Born in Zacatecas in 1564, he served under the governor of Nueva Vizcaya before being sent to Sinaloa in 1595. In 1600 he was made alcalde mayor of that province. He died in 1626.

19. A seminary for Indians had been established in the Villa de San Felipe y Santiago.



come from the entire province to learn to read, write, to play musical instruments, to sing, and to learn the Christian doctrine and good habits so that they return to their lands very different from when they arrived. They are important in helping to convert their fellow natives.

From this house a father left during Lent for the valley of Culiacán<sup>20</sup> at the request of the valley's beneficiary, who has sixteen pueblos of Indians.<sup>21</sup> For their consolation, for their great need for the doctrine, and for someone to confess them carefully, the priest wanted to visit and travel among them even at considerable labor. They always received him with a tall cross, singing the doctrine, and with this reception they took him to the church where the padre briefly explained the purpose of his coming and the method in which they would confess. The following day he began to confess them; he did not leave that place for another until he had heard and comforted everyone with great care. He talked with them each day to explain points of the Christian religion. So many of the listeners enjoyed these talks that many of them followed the padre from one pueblo to another, moved by their hunger to hear the gospel.

Our Lord was greatly served by the many who confessed who had never confessed before they were Christians. Others who had confessed had done so with so many defects that it was necessary to repeat confessions from fifteen to twenty years ago. His majesty was no less served by the sermons or talks because the padre regularly reprehended the vices rampant in that land, and as a result the Indians completely stopped many of the abuses, superstitions, and dances with both men and women that gave rise to many great sins. The greatest consolation was to see many come with their doubts and return contentedly with the padre's answer and to see the reverence that the leaders had for the images, stories, Agnus, and rosaries he gave them.<sup>22</sup> All were very impressed that the padre did not want to accept any of the things they offered him in recompense for his labor in coming so far to preach and confess them. A further satisfaction was the solicitude and diligence with which the padre went to confess the sick whenever they called him, even though it might be many leagues from where he was. Finally, when Holy

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20. The Spaniards first entered the area in 1531, when Nuño de Guzmán and his party of adventurers and Indian auxiliaries arrived to lay claims to prime land and to take slaves. The villa of San Miguel de Culiacán was founded the same year and remained an outpost of Spanish activity for the ensuing half-century.

21. This was probably Gonzalo López, who received a repartimiento of Indians on February 10, 1567, for a period of six years. His grant constituted the encomienda given to his father, Diego López, by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, former governor and captain-general of Nueva Galicia. According to the grant, "these encomiendas are the towns of Ysbabitu in the valley of Culiacán, Tapira—with three farms near the said town, Toperi, Bayame, Bitaremi, Cobaltama, Nabolama, Quescrey, Cuno Miramamaya, Taiacoato, Tnenbama, Babetacama, Badarami, Bibiteme, Ovacania, Aristo, and Tedomo. . . ." Notwithstanding the New Laws of 1542, encomiendas were held in the Culiacán valley until about 1670.

22. An Agnus was a small medallion with an image of Christ as a half lamb, depicting the Lamb of God. They were extremely popular devotional trinkets.

Week was approaching, the padre had to return to Sinaloa, filled with emotion at leaving behind more than 400 Indian men and women who had received communion in that valley alone.

All the Indians who up until now have been peaceful in this land are divided among four principal rivers and eight smaller ones. All are populated along their banks with numerous people, but only those of the two largest rivers are indoctrinated because of the lack of padres to send to the others, even though on many days they request baptism from one or the other.<sup>23</sup> One of the rivers is called Petatlán and is located between two lesser rivers.<sup>24</sup> Almost all the people of these rivers are already Christian ladino and clothed according to their custom. Our Christian religion is so established among them that no one misses masses on feast days and Sundays. And they are not content to confess only during Lent, but come to confess several times a year as Christians do in Europe. And some are so fearful of Our Lord that they come to confess after committing a sin, saying they are not able to sleep because of their sadness at having offended God and fear that death might overtake them in their disgrace. They perform their flagellations during Holy Week like the Spaniards, and each week during Lent they go out two or three times in procession from a hermitage singing the litany in organic chant. Upon arriving at the church they flagellate themselves while chanting the Misereri. When they need rain from heaven for their fields they employ fasts and flagellations to appease God and He shortly sends them water in abundance. Those most experienced in the mysteries of the faith receive communion with great preparation and afterwards they give thanks with great care. With this celestial bread they strengthen their souls against the devil with such resolve that even with more ropes with which he binds them and more occasions for sin that he brings them, they are not tempted, saying that where God enters there is no room for this demon.

There are two districts on this river, and when the priest in charge visited that of the mountain-dwelling Indians, he found only seventy who had not been baptized and never wanted to come to church with the Christians. The priest understood that fear or shame deterred them, so he made them bring everyone to the church and told them that he wanted no more from them than to come to hear the doctrine on three or four days. If they afterwards cared for baptism, it would be opportune. Force would not be used on them because to be Christians and go to heaven one must do it willingly and without any sort of coercion or violence. All of them said they would be pleased to come hear the doctrine on these days and when that ended, touched by the divine Hand, they asked for baptism and were baptized with great consolation to them, and even more to the padre. That baptism ended all the paganism in that district. This good feeling was filled to over-

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23. The four rivers he refers to are the Petatlán (Río Sinaloa today), Fuerte, Mayo and Yaqui. The Mayo and Yaqui he considered the smaller two, and missionaries had as yet only contacted native groups living along them.

24. The lesser rivers flanking the Petatlán (Sinaloa) were the Ocoroni (actually a tributary of it) on the north and the Mocerito to the south.

flowing with the arrival of a Christian Indian woman. As a child she had gone into the wilderness and stayed in the mountains for many years where she married an Indian and already had three children. Stimulated by her own conscience and by the call of God, she begged her husband to come with her and their children to where the padre was. He confessed the Indian woman, baptized her husband, married them (*in facie ecclesiae*), and later baptized the children. And the parents and children remained with much pleasure and consolation among the rest of the Christians of that land. Even though they are visited only from time to time they know the prayers very well and gather conscientiously at the church. And what is most admirable, they have given up their drunken feasts entirely even though by nature they are much given to this vice.

The other district belongs to a people much newer to the faith. This year they have been coming down, little by little, from their mountain fastness and thickets and have established a very large settlement and are ready to be indoctrinated and taught. This district is in the charge of Father Pedro de Velasco,<sup>25</sup> who states in a letter:

"Before the people started coming down to this town, they called me to minister to an ailing old woman, and even though I left promptly, since the road was rough and long, before I could arrive at the town, they came to tell me she was dead. The news gave me much pain, although I was somewhat consoled by having confessed her several times previously because of her age and infirmity. In spite of this I continued my journey to see if there was any other sick person in that town, and I found a young woman, recently arrived from the sierra, who was very sick. I catechized her briefly and baptized her with all speed. She was no sooner baptized than she went to heaven, a clear illustration of divine predestination, because my coming to her had been with such grief and fatigue from having descended at night such a very rough and craggy mountain that it was necessary to carry a candle ahead of me to traverse some bad places without great danger. But if I had not gone, that Indian girl would not have received the inestimable benefit of the sacred sacrament of baptism, because the rest of the gentiles are sufficiently catechized for ordinary purposes and have someone there who can baptize them, but this one had neither one nor the other (the effect of the same eternal predestination). The same things happened with another gentile boy when I failed to recognize him among the others of the doctrine. Upon questioning him, I found he was unbaptized. At the time he had a slight fever and in order to catechize him more carefully it occurred to me to take him with me to Chicorato.<sup>26</sup> He was better for a

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25. Pedro Velasco was the nephew of the viceroy Luis de Velasco and the son of Don Diego de Velasco, Order of Santiago, and Doña María Menéndez de Aviles of the house of the conqueror of Florida. Velasco was born in México in 1581. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1597, and in 1605 he went to Sinaloa, where he labored as a missionary for fourteen years. Upon returning to México, he served as rector of the Jesuit colleges of Valladolid and Tepetzotlán and held the position as rector and master of novices at the latter when he was elected procurador for the Society in Rome in 1637. He held the post of Mexican provincial from 1646 to 1649, the year in which he died in México.

few days, but afterwards the fever clutched him in such a way as to kill him in short time. I had catechized and baptized him first, however."

Thus goes Father Velasco's toil. But before continuing, since I have mentioned this padre, it occurs to me to transcribe here part of another of his letters he wrote me in response to one of mine in which I sent him notification of his being named to teach a course in the arts here in México because he is a man of learning and integrity.<sup>27</sup> This alone moved me, even though he is related to Don Luis de Velasco,<sup>28</sup> the Marqués de Salinas, viceroy of New Spain, and to other noble gentlemen. The part of his letter which is most notable is as follows:

"I received the October letter of your reverence in December. Even though it was so full of paternal love that it was a great consolation to me, I must not abandon the feeling of my heart to what is sometimes offered to me. My sentiment is that, having come to an area where the great cause of the Lord can be served, which in these parts there are many occasions for His greater giving, while on the other hand making known to me my shortcomings, I decided that if for these I had to be punished, it would be for the Lord to remove me from my work, like a wretch, and place me in some other. And now I see this concern fulfilled. I am greatly troubled by Him, believing that my offense persists in the memory of the Lord; thus I see the punishment carried out. For my part I feel fondness and affection toward these poor creatures and am very consoled by and inclined to this ministry. To have me return to the Spaniards, when there would be hardly enough time under holy obedience, would impel me to express my great disconsolation to your reverence. As to a loving father and superior, I am reminded to propose what is for the greater glory of God and which by chance may block my removal. It may be noticed that, in the three years I have been here, 1,900 people have been baptized, of whom more than 300 have died. From this it appears to me more glory has accrued to our Lord than if I had been employed during this time in teaching the arts. There are still a great number of these spiritually impoverished souls who lack baptism and need to be separated from their heights and brought down from the mountains to be congregated and given the spirit of living. And this will be done without voice or language inasmuch as those who have been baptized are able to say that they have no flesh, let alone feet, and are only bones and if it pleases God, they are still alive with holy baptism. Now the task is to teach them

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26. Father Velasco had his mission cabecera at Chicorato, which was located on the upper Río Petatlán (Sinaloa) in the lower sierras above the Villa de San Felipe.

27. The Jesuit colleges in México and environs at this time were the Colegio Máximo, San Pedro y San Pablo, San Gregorio, San Ildefonso, and Tepotzotlán.

28. Luis de Velasco, Marqués de Salinas, was born in 1539 in Carrión de los Condes, Palencia, Spain. Son of the viceroy of the same name, he served twice as viceroy of New Spain—from 1590 to 1595 and from 1607 to 1611. During his first administration, he concluded the peace with the Chichimecas and began the colonizing expedition of Juan de Oñate to New Mexico. He served as viceroy of Perú between his two terms of office in New Spain. Upon completion of his second term, he became president of the Council of the Indies (1611–17). He died in Sevilla in 1617.

to be Christians and to dress these bones with a spiritual skin and flesh, prepared through what appears to be the medium of some prophetic voice. Even though I may not be the one, I am at the least the first priest of these people for whom someday, by chance, they may have need for their tranquility. There are four towns and three languages (*omnino diversas*).<sup>29</sup> In these three years I have gotten along well with one, moderately with the other, and am learning the third, which is essential in order to baptize those who speak it.

"Beyond this it appears to me to be for the greater glory of God our Lord to have produced 1,600 baptized souls and to bring together and baptize many others who lack it than to spend three years with thirty students. And later, if, by chance, the superiors should want me to return to the Indians I have longed for, I would have forgotten the language, when, if I continued here, I could accomplish much with greater satisfaction, especially because there is a surfeit of others for the ministry elsewhere but a lack of them in this place. My sentiments are further strengthened when thinking of having to change the book of Christ and his apostles for one of Aristotle because of my faults and for not having known how to read the book of the holy evangelists with the proper disposition and reverence. Finally, to go about among my relatives can only cause one more uneasiness. The viceroy, as a pious and prudent uncle, would want me to remain here, so important is my staying for the greater service of God our Lord and the good of these forsaken people. And if you would like to do me some favor, it might be to send a nice donation for vestments for this church, which has just been completed as I have written. It is so poor that I have borrowed the missal and surplice. Now I mention, but not on account of it, the great charity and efforts your reverence has shown toward me which I acknowledge with esteem and appreciation, and I would consider myself content if I might stay in this region."

These and other instructive reasons the padre sent me in his letter, and at the end he finished them with much resignation and impartiality like a true son of the Society, but seeing him so inclined to remain with his apostolic work, I decided not to take away his pleasure and holy consolation nor such an evangelic minister from those poor souls. Since then he has finished and improved the church, referred to in his letter, which is large and filled with people on holy days and Sundays even before they are summoned by the bell.

The second river by the four of which I said the Christian area of this mission is divided is called the Río Sinaloa, from which the province takes its name.<sup>30</sup> The people of this river are very fierce and bellicose and as such caused fear in the Spanish soldiers, but now, gloriously, almost all have been domesticated and pacified by the doctrine of evangelism which they embrace so strongly that they appear to be age-old Christians. They are a people of natural honor and valor who have taken to heart and truly embraced the Christian religion. Three out of four have now been baptized and all these attend mass on saints' days and Sundays

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29. The three languages referred to were Cahuameto, Hoguera, and Chicorato. Almost certainly they were Cahitan languages, but it is uncertain to which sub-family they belonged.

30. This was the original name for the Río Fuerte, not to be confused with today's Río Sinaloa, then called the Petatlán.

without fail. Many of them also attend the doctrine, talks, and sermons during the week, no more, no less. During Lent they confess their sins very truthfully and clearly, and with great sorrow, and demonstrate it in their flagellations. During holy week they celebrate the feast days of the saints, their patrons, with great solemnity and rejoicing. On the day of the dead it is something to see the piety with which they bring to the church offerings for their relatives and the dead which they distribute later.<sup>31</sup> The fathers are going among the poor helping to build their churches and houses of adobe as well as they can, bragging that they are no more inferior in this nor in other ways in these parts than among old Christians. The few who remain to be baptized are a hard and ill-disposed people since almost all have two or three wives. Nevertheless, the padres who are here never cease their efforts to conquer them for Christ, even though with considerable labor, and their labor is not in vain because this year they have converted some and made them marry only one wife, with much satisfaction (*in facie ecclesiae*), rejecting the other woman. All of this is admirable for those once known as religious and barbarous people, but no one knows the power of the hand of God, who knows and is able to change from one hour to the other the hearts of men.

Of no little help in the conversion and subjugation of all these people has been the presidio of Montesclaros, begun this year in the middle of the province on the top of a very prominent hill.<sup>32</sup> The same river runs on one side, and on the other are vast plains where they are able to graze many cattle. Should the enemy at any time occupy these plains, the people would be able to protect many cattle and horses within the heights or walls of the fort because the enclosed site is very spacious. Four strong towers are located on the four corners of the fort which serve not only as ornaments to beautify the structure but also to frighten the Indians, who in this way are constrained. At the same time the Spaniards are reassured and safe to enjoy more peace in the future than they have enjoyed up until now, while the padres minister with greater security.

The other two rivers are the Mayo and the Yaqui and are full of barbarous people, the same as those of the Petatlán and Sinaloa rivers. Until now, as I said above, they have not been cultivated by us as much for the lack of personnel as for the continuous wars they have had with the Spaniards and christianized Indians. An account was given to your reverence last year of the war the captain of this province made against the barbarians inhabiting the banks of the Yaqui River at a cost of 40 Spaniards and 4,000 Indian allies.<sup>33</sup> The hostiles appeared in such numbers against us and they produced so much fright and terror in the Indian allies

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31. The day of the dead is known in northern European countries as All Souls Day, which is celebrated on November 2. It was the practice at the time for the priest to celebrate three masses; the people made elaborate preparations in the cemeteries, often bringing gifts of food to the graves of deceased relatives.

32. The presidio of Montesclaros, built on the Río Fuerte in the territory of the Tehuecos, was authorized by Viceroy Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros (1603–07). It was completed under his successor, who named it for him.

33. The costly subjugation of the Indians on the Yaqui River began in 1607 and required three years of effort. The troubles were instigated by two Indian leaders identified in this document. Juan Lautaro was a native of Sinaloa who had spent time in the reales de minas

that they fled, and what gave the captain more pain was that half the Spanish soldiers fled with them. But the captain was so valorous that with only twenty soldiers who stayed with him he was able to kill a great number of the enemy without losing one of his soldiers. And with God's favor and his good industry, he attained a miraculous victory, although with the loss of several horses, beasts of burden, and cattle, and with some wounds which he and his men sustained from the battle from which they all shortly recovered. This victory caused such admiration and terror among the enemy Indians that they surrendered when defeated and proclaimed to us that we and our captain must be great shamans.

Shortly after our priests had come to Sinaloa, the enemy sent two Indian women to the place as ambassadors to ask peace of the captain because no worthy man had dared to come with this delegation to the Spaniards. The captain received and listened very carefully to the Indian women and dispatched them with the security and promises of peace which they desired. They agreed that the principal caciques of all the Río Yaqui could come to present themselves and make the necessary capitulations. The caciques came willingly and agreed to peace in April of the past year of 1610 with only two conditions. The first was that under no circumstances would they give refuge to fugitive Christians in their lands nor harbor criminals. The second was that they would bring in and turn over to us the Indians Juan Lautaro and Babilomo, who were the headmen and captains of all of them and the principal perpetrators of the wars, treacheries, and injuries which the Spaniards and Christian allies had suffered from the Yaquis for seven years. Furthermore, they had to bring in as prisoners the christianized Indian outlaws who had gone to take shelter and defend themselves among them. The caciques willingly accepted these conditions and as a sign that they would comply and would never violate the peace, they presented us with many rich feathers and the

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of Topia where, although well instructed in the faith, he was unbaptized. Nevertheless, he was considered an hijo of the Mission of San Andrés and, therefore, a fugitive when he returned to foment trouble among the Mayo against the missionaries and Spaniards. The second leader, Babilomo, was a Suaqui cacique with the reputation of being a formidable warrior. The leaders fomented rebellion among certain Ocoronis, and when the Mayos refused to shelter them despite the arguments of Lautaro, he, with 40 or more christianized Indians, sought refuge among the Yaqui. When Captain Hurdaide went after the apostates he was forced to back off because of the superior numbers of the hostile force. Hurdaide gathered a stronger army of 400 Spaniards and Indian allies. They found the hostiles divided into two camps. Those under a cacique named Anabailutei sued for peace. Those under Lautaro first held out but later pretended to seek peace. When a delegation of two christianized Indian women of their nation and some Tehuecos were sent to the enemy camp, the women were captured while some of the men were killed. Hurdaide was again forced to retreat to raise a still larger force of presidials and more than 2,000 Indian confederates. This force was routed, with many Mayo and Tehueco casualties. The largest troop yet mounted in Sinaloa, consisting of 40 Spaniards and 4,000 Indian allies, made the final assault against the Yaquis. It was no more successful than the previous two, and Hurdaide himself was wounded. At this point fate played into the hands of the Spaniards. With the chance appearance of Spanish ships along the coast, the Yaquis, fearing that a two-pronged attack against them from both land and sea was about to be implemented, sued for peace and met the conditions imposed by the Spaniards, and the treaty was celebrated on April 25, 1610.

mules, horses, worked silver, and other things that the captain and his soldiers had lost during the battle. Furthermore, they left fourteen children as hostages, without being asked to do this, of whom four are in this seminary learning to read, write, sing, and know the Christian doctrine in their language so that they might help the padres in the conversion of their people when they return to serve our Lord. I understand that this will be soon, if we have the necessary people, to which end the padres have been hurriedly teaching and baptizing them.

Within a short period of time after leaving, the ambassadors brought to this settlement as prisoners Juan Lautaro and Babilomo and the other Christian fugitives, and the captain sentenced them to death for their crimes. Juan Lautaro, being a Christian for a long time and as such very knowledgeable in the mysteries of the faith and instructed by God our Lord that he appeared to be predestined to take this road, confessed at the last moment that he was unbaptized and begged with great fervour and much sorrow for his sins that they grant him holy baptism before he was to die. His companion Babilomo asked the same, and both were baptized together with much pleasure and happiness for the padre who baptized them. As soon as they had received the water of baptism, they executed them; all gave infinite thanks to God for liberating them from such cruel devils and having died baptized. Witnessing what transpired, the christianized outlaws who had fled from Sinaloa asked pardon from the captain through one of our priests and he pardoned them. Other fugitive Christians, who have been unmanageable until now, are soliciting the Yaquis to break the peace and rebel against the Spaniards, promising their help and that of other nations of the Río Sinaloa. These are not only refusing to listen to similar persuasions but are seizing and even killing those who attempt to incite this discord, for which the captain thanks and rewards them with things which they esteem. Some Indians located more distantly on this same Yaqui River did not accept peace easily and thus they conspired against those of their own nation and made war against them, incited by Christian Indians of the Río Sinaloa who had fled and taken refuge among them. But seeing the damage caused by their internecine warfare, they agreed to make peace among themselves and with the Spaniards. Once again the caciques from different parts of Sinaloa came with 130 men whom the captain received in peace. With this peace, and the presidio of Montesclaros, whose fame is known throughout the province, the people of the Mayo and Yaqui rivers remain completely pacific—and not only the inhabitants of them but eight other totally different nations who dwell farther on.<sup>34</sup> These people have come recently to Sinaloa to give themselves in peace and to ask the captain, with great insistence, to have the padres indoctrinate and baptize them. It is a pity that after asking for bread (*non est qui frangat eis*) all would enter the evangelistic net if we had the people to extend it to them and to the many other nations of this province that continues to New Mexico and

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34. There is no way of knowing with certainty what groups he is referring to. If one interprets "farther on" as meaning along the coastal plain and lower valleys, then the Guaymas, Seri, Névome, Nuri, Tepahui, Pima Bajo, Eudeve and Opata would be logical. If it is interpreted as meaning up the major water courses toward the sierra, then he might mean the Warihio, Chinipas, Tubar, Témoris, Guazapare, Jova, Pima Bajo, and Eudeve.



even as far as Florida. I sent some padres, even though we were few last year, and they were well received and with such consolation to them, as one of them indicated to me in his letter, with which I shall end this address.<sup>35</sup>

“Our Lord was served, Father Visitor, when we arrived in this Villa de Sinaloa fifteen days before the nativity of the Lord. May he grant me as good fortune in the future as in the beginning where I enjoyed such pleasure and consolation as I certainly had never experienced. I would never have believed that the Society has so many men of letters with such notable holiness in these missions. I have seen, my Father, certain saintly old priests, while greatly afflicted with the ills of this world, much devoted to their work amid such poverty as would break the heart of your reverence to see them so tattered and shoeless and in want of all the basic necessities. Glory to God that He knows how to augment their pleasure and consolation in the midst of their affliction and labors. I have found, my Father, excellent opportunity to attain quickly the road of perfection and do not want to lose the present good occasion through my inadequate virtue. For the honor of God I hope He will give me strength. I say this because recently the Indians of this area of Sinaloa once again wanted to take the life of Father Cristóbal de Villalta, who has had me as companion in the six villages we have in our care.<sup>36</sup> These are located twenty-two leagues from the villa and are filled with fierce and bellicose people. May my God be served that they are not just threats but that we might shed our blood for Jesus Christ and that with such short labor I may attain eternal glory. Your reverence, ask our Lord that I, with my imperfections, am not too forward. Now, my Father, to conclude the discourse on our trip to the two missions of Topia and Tepehuanes. Even though we failed to offer up our bodies to Christ, there was consolation of the soul and much satisfaction on both our parts to see the extraordinary devotion of the padres of all these missions, employed in the most barbaric portion of this kingdom. Moreover, God is consoling even among the barbarians to the end that, although not all, at least many will be christianized. In their mode and according to their capacity the Indians entertained us. All the towns greeted us with a cross held high at the front of two orderly lines, one of men and boys, the other of girls and women, singing the Christian doctrine all the way to the church. There the padre told them the reason for our coming, and they listened to him with demonstrations of great consolation and happiness. Seeing and hearing them it was not possible to hold back the tears that our hearts poured out through our eyes. And with this luck we arrived at the present place in Sinaloa where we remain well and content and with the desire to work untiringly for the good of these souls, for the love of the Lord and Creator of them. To Him

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35. The padres were Laurencio Adame, the author of the following quotation, and Cristóbal de Villalta, who is identified in the letter. Adame was born in Sevilla about 1581 and entered the Society in 1598. He worked in the northern missions for many years before becoming rector of the Colegio Máximo in 1648. He died in México in 1660.

36. Cristóbal de Villalta was born in 1578 in Granada, Spain, and entered the Society at the age of 14. He was ordained in Mexico in 1602 and worked in the Sinaloa mission from 1604 until 1623. He was superior of the Yaqui missionaries during his last three years on the frontier. He was en route to serve as rector of the Colegio de Guatemala when he died at Puebla in 1623.

who protects your reverence through prayers and holy sacrifices, I entrust myself. Sinaloa, January 26, 1610."

From this letter you will see the comfort our Lord gives to those employed in His glorious work.

#### TOPIA MISSION<sup>37</sup>

I have intentionally left this mission for last because I believe it should not be as short as the others have been. I can be most forceful by giving you an account of the expedition which Francisco de Urdiñola, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, made against the Xixime Indians the past year of 1610, in which he took in his company two of our priests (whom I shall mention later).<sup>38</sup> And I shall refer to the letter of one of them, knowing that this account will be pleasing to your reverence, long though it may be. These Xixime Indians are the most bellicose of all those which to date have been discovered in this kingdom of New Spain, and they have always maintained their houses and settlements in the heart of this province, never having been conquered by the Spaniards or the christianized Indians who surround them.<sup>39</sup> Their ferocity and bravery, the roughness and ruggedness of the depths of the canyons where they live, the mountain thickets which fortify and guard them are reasons which, up until now, have made them so insolent and so impregnable that no one has dared make war on them. And when Christian Indians or Spaniards have at times attempted to do so, upon encountering them they have turned and fled, losing not only honor but lives. Because of these victories they remain so haughty and so daring that every day they make a thousand assaults against the neighboring Indians, there being not one who falls into their hands that they do not kill and eat, taking away their bones and skulls to celebrate with them in their dances and hanging them over their doors as trophies of their victories.

The Acaxee Indians, who border them to the north, have suffered the most harm from these barbarians. Finding themselves so exhausted and persecuted by the Xiximes, who little by little were destroying them, for three or four years they sent petitions to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to protect and defend them, as Christians and vassals of his majesty, from such cruel enemies. At the same time they asked us to take charge of indoctrinating them. It appeared to the governor that the padres and Indians asked for equity and justice, and he plotted how they might capture one or more of the Xiximes when they were raiding and attacking the Acaxees. Capturing two, one died shortly thereafter from a wound sustained when they caught him, but the other was brought safely and soundly to the governor who entertained and embraced him. After several days he dressed him and sent him home, free and safe, in order that he might tell them to stop such murders and assaults which until then they had been committing against the Span-

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37. See Acaxee Revolt, Note 1.

38. See Acaxee Revolt, Note 2.

39. The Xixime inhabited the highlands and canyons of western Durango and adjacent portions of Sinaloa to the south of the Acaxee.

iards and the friendly and christianized Indians and that they should sue for peace and subject themselves to the obedience of the king, our lord, because if they did not, he would come in person with a powerful army to their own lands to punish them. With this assignment the Indian left contentedly in the company of one of our priests who had been indoctrinating the Acaxee Indians at the presidio of San Hipólito on the Xixime frontier.<sup>40</sup> The governor ordered the captain of this presidio to receive, in the name of his majesty, the obedience of those barbarians if they should come in to give it and to pardon their past murders and insults. The captain dispatched the Indian from the presidio and he was well received by his people, who listened to him. Later the principal headmen from all the Xixime villages came to the presidio of San Hipólito and pledged peace and rendered obedience to his majesty under the jurisdiction of the said captain.<sup>41</sup> This obedience and peace appears to have been made with feigned intent on the part of the Xiximes because at the end of three years, during which time they had joined the christianized Acaxee Indians and Spaniards who lived in the mining camps and had done no harm and appeared to have become sedentary people, they broke the peace.

With no provocation they rebelled and once again with great fury began to kill neighboring Christian Indians throughout four or five different districts simultaneously. Seeing this, the neighboring Indians again asked the governor to either defend them in earnest from their enemies or to give them permission to abandon their homes and lands and to resettle elsewhere, because the Xiximes would exterminate them very quickly if the Acaxees did not join with them against the Spaniards and their allies as they had intimated to them several times. And as proof of this they sent to the governor a captured Indian who had just brought this proposal from the Xiximes.

The governor ordered the captain of San Hipólito again to request peace of the Xiximes by promising them once more that those who complied might begin anew, but for those who would not, he would go out and punish them as their breach of faith deserved. The captain made this offer several times through the medium of a Xixime cacique who, since he had heard the tenets of our holy faith, had withdrawn from his own people and had come to settle near the christianized Acaxees with twenty Indian men and additional Indian women. They had taken refuge in a church they had made at the foot of a rugged high mountain which separated them from the other Xiximes at Santo Tomé.<sup>42</sup> On various occasions during this period the Xiximes had been determined to kill this cacique and his people because of their friendship with the Spaniards, and it was a wonder that they did not carry out their intentions when the cacique brought the renewed proposal to them from the captain of San Hipólito. On that occasion they answered

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40. San Hipólito, which was destroyed during the Acaxee revolt in 1602, was soon re-occupied: a Jesuit mission was in operation there by 1605, and the presidio followed soon after.

41. Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba was captain at San Hipólito at this time.

42. The church of Santo Tomé was built near the presidio of San Hipólito for the Xixime cacique and his followers who chose to live among the christianized Acaxees.

quite openly and insolently that he might go and tell the captain and his soldiers that they did not want peace with the Spaniards without first waging war. Later they might engage them in battle, but if not, they would be ready to hunt them down and kill them in their own territory and they would eat them because the meat of the Spaniards tasted good to them. Saying this, they gathered together a large squadron of people and marched toward the mining camp called Las Vírgenes in order to destroy it and kill those Spaniards who resided there.<sup>43</sup> One league before arriving at the real they came across a poor man (who was a resident of that mine and who had gone with his son to an orchard which he owned) and five Indians, both male and female, whom they killed. But one Indian escaped and alerted the camp to what had happened and how the Xiximes had carried off to their land the bodies of the dead, except for the entrails, which they had left as evidence of what they had done.

With this news the whole land became terrified and agitated. The governor, hoping to prevent a general uprising and desiring to punish the perpetrators of such a great outrage, consulted with the Marqués de Salinas, the viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, over what he should do in this case. His excellency, with the advice and accord of his oidores and other qualified jurists and theologians, both religious and secular, determined and ordered the governor to go personally with as many warriors as he could gather to punish these crimes and to curb those people. He did so, taking with him some 200 Spanish soldiers and 1,100 christianized Indian allies and archers. Upon arriving at the presidio of San Hipólito, the governor chose twenty Spanish soldiers, leaving them to guard the Acaxees and the padres who had charge of them, and with the rest of the people he went after the Xiximes. He took with him two of our priests, one of whom, Father Alonso Gómez, wrote me at some length of what had transpired during the war.<sup>44</sup> Following some explanations, he writes thus:

"The Xixime Indians were divided into two groups, one at a place called Xocotilma, the other at Guapisuxe.<sup>45</sup> To avoid any difficulties the governor did not want to divide his force but keep them together to march on Xocotilma, where the greater number of the enemy were said to be. Everyone suffered greatly on the journey because it was necessary to transport everything by hand and to proceed on foot, descending deep gorges, climbing steep mountains and traveling through thickets as impenetrable as tempered steel and rivers swollen in flood. But finally, with God's favor, we all arrived, although extremely burdened and tired, at the territory of the Xiximes. We first took from them some rocky heights and important

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43. From 1607, when the Xiximes had made peace with the Acaxees, until 1610, when the former tribe rebelled, Father Alonso Ruiz had worked among them. See *Acaxee Revolt*, Note 5.

44. Alonso Gómez de Cervantes, a member of one of New Spain's oldest and noblest families, was born in México about 1578 and joined the Society in 1598. He refused teaching appointments at the colleges of Oaxaca and Guadalajara in favor of devoting himself to the mission of Topia. He eventually returned to México, where he died in 1634.

45. Guapisuxe was up the Río Remedios from the modern village of Remedios. Mines were founded there in 1628, but later in the century the place had dwindled to a mere rancho. The location of the site of Xocotilma is not known.

peaks. Later they began to be afraid and were consulting among themselves when a great number of Spaniards and christianized Indians came upon them. At this point several of the Xiximes came to see the governor; his lordship received them affectionately. He embraced and entertained them, assuring them that he did not come to do them harm but to castigate certain delinquents and rebels among them and to reestablish the peace they had broken. He ordered them to advise their companions to gather in their village the day after the Feast of San Lucas,<sup>46</sup> when we would enter Xocotilma and where he would address them, explaining in more detail the reason for his coming. With this the Indians went away to counsel the others on what the general had ordered. On the day of San Lucas we arrived within view of Xocotilma, which was the best and most pleasing experience we had on the journey, both for having arrived at that region which had cost us such labor and to see a country that was so attractive and cool that it looked like a sylvan paradise. Then the soldiers armed themselves, and the entire army prepared for battle. Descending slowly, we came upon 150 Indian braves, ordered in single file ready for war, some with lances and shields, others with bows and quivers and a sufficient supply of arrows and, finally, others with their clubs, hatchets, and knives. All wore their hair long, braided with ribbons of various colors, and some came with their faces painted. In this manner they came to see the governor, who received them in a friendly way and exclaimed that, given the multitude of people he knew to be in Xocotilma and neighboring rancherías, he saw very few. For this reason he did not want to tell them why he had come until they all convened. For this he would give them an additional two days. These days passed and the Feast of the 1,100 Virgins arrived.<sup>47</sup> On this day many Indian men and women began coming down from the heights. There were probably 200 people in all, not counting another big group of children.

Before allowing them to see the governor, the captain of San Hipólito made them put down the weapons which they carried openly. Once this was accomplished the governor ordered them to sit down and then the soldiers formed a circle with them inside. In this manner the governor explained to them that his sole reason for coming was for their good and the peace and tranquility of the territory and that, in spite of the murders and peace which they had broken, he wanted to settle them once again. But it was necessary that they first contact and bring in the large numbers of those who were missing. To oblige them to do this, the governor wanted three or four to remain as hostages, and he implored them not to be disturbed or uneasy about this because after he selected the three or four, the rest were free to go to look for their companions. The first one his lordship selected and manacled was a villainous Indian responsible for many murders. Handcuffing this one easily, he named the second, who resisted the soldiers who wanted to handcuff him. This excited and agitated the rest, who were further aroused by an old Indian who stood up among them and exhorted them that they would have to kill them before they would be manacled. At that point they attempted to break the circle of Spaniards. The Indians pressed against them with-

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46. October 18.

47. October 21.

out considering the sword points with which the soldiers threatened to stop them. Those who had hidden hatchets and knives started to defend themselves. Seeing that they would not be able to contain the Indians, the Spaniards concentrated on those who did the most to flee and stopped them by force, resulting in some deaths; the others were taken prisoner. And from among the casualties, the mortally wounded were baptized after we prepared and catechized them.

Afterwards the governor ordered the troop to another location where he had information about the Xiximes who had been the most culpable and who had killed a Spaniard a few days before. He came and found eleven who were imprisoned and who later confessed their crime. At the same time they confessed that they and the rest of the Xiximes who had received the Spaniards in peace had plotted to kill his lordship. Afterwards they were to shoot all the soldiers with arrows as they returned through the narrowest and most difficult passes through which they had allowed the soldiers to enter with that purpose in mind. With this confession the governor condemned all eleven to death. They conceded willingly to the sentence as punishment for their sins. And having persuaded them with the help of our Lord to become Christians before dying so that they would please God in heaven, we catechized them and prepared them in the little time allowed. Having baptized them at the foot of the trees where they were hanged, more of them died as good Christians, leaving us definite signs of their predestination and eternal salvation. The tenth who died was the old man who had incited them when the governor wanted to keep three or four as hostages. As fate would have it, because this old man had been the cause of that event, our Lord permitted him to die desperately and without the relief that he might have received through our most diligent pleadings to receive the water of baptism. Thus as he struggled on his gallows, the Indian allies shot him so full of arrows that he looked like a hedgehog from here. The eleventh of those condemned remained alive at the request of Padre Francisco de Vera, who interceded for him as much for his youth as for having no charge against him other than having been in the company of the murderers.<sup>48</sup>

The Indian cacique and his people, our friends although Xiximes, through the affection he had acquired for the tenets of our sacred faith the first time he had heard us and come to know the Spaniards, had left the Xiximes, as I stated above, with twenty couples and came to live among the christianized Acaxees at the presidio of San Hipólito. There they have built the church of Santo Tomás in which to gather his people to learn the prayers with the desire of becoming Christians. He had come with his wife to witness the justice meted out to these delinquents and to scold those imprisoned for the evil they had committed in wanting to flee after having broken the peace and caused so many deaths without ever having wanted to listen to his counsel. For this some would be killed, justifiably, while others would be kept in miserable and perpetual captivity. I say then that this good Indian, knowing that we wanted to go from Xocotilma to Guapisuxe at the request of the other Xiximes there, insisted that we baptize him and his wife and marry

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48. Francisco de Vera was the second of the two padres who accompanied the governor in the expedition to put down the Xixime revolt. He was born in Tobarra, Spain, about 1561, and in 1613 he became rector of the college of Oaxaca.

them now that they knew the prayers and principal mysteries of our holy faith. Furthermore, they were in apparent danger from the Indians who had fled and retired to their mountaintops and canyons of Xocotilma and who might unexpectedly kill them for being Christians, friends of the Spaniards, and for having given passage and free entry to their lands. This Indian's request appeared reasonable to us, and after examining him and his wife with several questions regarding the Christian doctrine and the four prayers, which they answered satisfactorily, Father Francisco de Vera baptized and married them. The governor honored them by being godfather and giving him his name of Francisco. Thus he was called "Don Francisco" and his wife "Doña María."

At the time of the baptismal ceremony, the soldiers fired a salvo with their arquebuses and the friendly Indians played their drums, trumpets, and bugles, so that the baptism and marriage of Don Francisco and Doña María were celebrated as best they could. The governor spoke, saying that they would celebrate this fiesta more appropriately when they later blessed them at the fort of San Hipólito. The Indian prisoners were greatly impressed by all this. Finally, the governor gave an order or decree to the cacique Don Francisco in which he pardoned and set free any Xixime Indian who might want to go and live with him in peace even though they had been culpable and implicated in murders, robberies, or rebellions.

This concluded, the Indian went home contentedly and we endeavored to go search out the Xiximes of Guapisuxe. But before going back up to the mining camp, the soldiers burned and laid waste the rancherías and houses of Xocotilma so that the rebels could no longer have shelter there. In them, along with Spanish prizes such as arquebuses, swords, and so forth, we found more than 1,000 skulls of people that those inhuman barbarians had eaten. This done, we began the march to Guapisuxe, overcoming the same difficulties we had in traveling to Xocotilma. Upon encountering the first rancherías of Guapisuxe, the governor sent an Indian from among the accompanying prisoners with the same commission he had sent to those of Xocotilma. He was badly received and repelled by a barrage of arrows since they knew why he had come. The Indian returned to take refuge among the Spaniards, who were attacking certain positions from which the Indians could impede their passage. With several arquebuses they put to flight the Indians of the first ranchería, in the center of which they found a spectacle that horrified us and caused sorrow to all—pieces of human flesh on the fire, a human heart on a grill, the eyes on a corn stalk, and the cleaned skull with the rest of the bones hung from a pole which had been erected in the center of the plaza.

Here the governor selected another Indian from the prisoners and sent him to plead with a petty king of the Guapisuxe, whom the Indians considered a god (and as such they fear and revere him for the tricks they have seen him perform through the devil's craft), to come seek peace with assurances that he and any others who came with him would come to no harm or injury. This commission was very important because the ambassador found the petty king holding a war council with his people as to whether they should attack the Spaniards. Thus he listened to the governor's message, dismissed his counselors, and came with him to see the governor. The governor received him well and embraced and entertained him and his people as much as possible. Having been asked if he came in peace and if he wanted to reestablish the peace which he and his followers had broken, he responded that he and seventeen rancherías under his command were at peace

and that they had never broken the peace but that they were at present very afraid because of what had happened at Xocotilma. He pointed out some rocky heights where the Indians had fled and fortified themselves upon seeing so many Spaniards and Indians allied with us and enemies of theirs within their territory. The soldiers later went there, although with great effort, and found the houses and rancherías abandoned and stripped and the Indians huddled on those rocky cliffs and peaks. At this point a Xixime Indian appeared on a high crest and in a loud voice asked that someone approach to where he was. Advised of this, the governor ordered two soldiers accompanied by two Indian vassals of the petty king to go there. They climbed to where the Indian was, and he appeared quite frightened and said he wanted to come talk with the governor. He came, and having been well received, he confirmed what the petty king had said, that if the governor would pardon their past, they would all come down little by little. The governor promised to pardon all who would come. Should most want to come down together, the headmen of their villages and rancherías should descend alone at first with one or two companions in order to confirm the peace in the name of all, and with this he would be satisfied. With these instructions they began descending a few at a time, reassuring themselves each day, to the point that they are now asking for axes to build their churches, people to show them how, and padres to indoctrinate and baptize them. And so that we would believe their sincerity, they made two arbors in the manner of a church in two different areas. They placed altars with crosses in them; in one arbor Father Vera and I have said mass several times. The Xiximes of Xocotilma took notice of this and sent twenty of their number to ask the governor to pardon them and reestablish peace because they wanted to settle down and be Christians wherever his lordship might best be served.

Although aware that those who had remained there were few, the governor granted the prisoners their liberty and sent padres to them to teach and baptize them. The father and I immediately asked the same thing of the governors, and I offered to go to christianize them. His lordship then granted all prisoners their freedom with great generosity and high-heartedness, telling them that they should thank us for the freedom he granted to their children and relatives which he would not have considered had we not asked for it. For this they should love us much and be obedient in everything when we return to teach them the sacred things in their villages and to build their churches. They answered that they would do so, and they came to kiss our hands and embrace us. The devil must have regretted this, for while these Indians liberated themselves from servitude of the body they also freed their souls from his harsh captivity, and we hope that innumerable others may be liberated from that same bond and misery. Peace now having been bestowed throughout the land of the Xiximes, who were formerly scattered and spread over more than seventy-five hamlets, not counting other rancherías and huts which they had erected in various mountains and canyons, they are now congregated in five sizable towns numbering 5,000 to 6,000 Indians in all. The governor charged us to catechize and baptize all of them, and now we are building churches where we can preach to them and properly administer the holy sacraments.

Until now, Father Alonso Gómez and Father Hernando de Santarén, whom the governor asked for as the persons with seniority in these missions and with the



most experience with these new conversions, have been chosen to cultivate and win those souls for Christ our Lord.<sup>49</sup> It appears to me that one superior cannot adequately manage both the sierra of Topia and those of the Xiximes, given the distances involved. To minister to them adequately a more immediate superior is needed; there is ample honey to be gathered by the work of each superior. In view of all the priests available in Guadiana, it appears reasonable to me to divide the jurisdiction into two, with one encompassing the highlands and canyon of Topia and the other that of San Andrés into which the Xiximes overlap, stationing in each one a superior and the padres needed for each mission.<sup>50</sup> From what has been said here so far, your reverence will appreciate that the craggy, rugged mountains extend over all the Xixime territory, a fact which is verified by the accounts that emanate from the area by outsiders as well as from us.

The area is rich in silver, but richer yet are the souls being won from those barbarous people and which we hope will be won for God, which is the only thing the Society searches for. The governor has informed me though a letter that these Xiximes are a courageous people and notably hard-working, a rare quality and much esteemed among Indians. They are well built and have pleasant visages and lively eyes and minds, although lacking crafts and industry. Slightly built, both men and women cover the entire body when it is cold and from the waist down in warm weather. They wear their hair long and braided with ribbons which the women weave of various colors. Up until now they ate human flesh, as the Spaniards found them when they entered their towns and houses. As I touched upon above, they found 1,724 skulls, not counting innumerable other bones of people who had been killed in battles. After eating the meat they hung the bones from the walls and doors of their houses as trophies and emblems of victory. Those who have killed a person with their own hands wear through their lower lip a small bone taken from the victim. They build two kinds of houses—some made of straw in the manner of huts or jacales, others of well-worked stone, painted on the outside with diverse hues and colors. The latter were built in a square like a fortress, each one with four or five apartments with their small plaza in the middle. They had loop-holes on the corners from which they might shoot their arrows at those who might want to do battle with them. The doors of these houses were so small that each one could be shut with a shield and thus each door was sufficiently guarded and defended by one Indian. They sustain themselves on maize, beans, squash, potatoes or camotes, zapotes, tunas, guayabas, and other fruits native to their land.<sup>51</sup> From maguey they make a dish like a jam which, in their language, they call "mexcale."<sup>52</sup> They gather much cotton and fibers which they

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49. See Acaxee Revolt, Note 4.

50. See Acaxee Revolt, Note 1.

51. Camotes are specifically sweet potatoes, but in colonial times the term was used generically to describe various edible tubers. Zapotes also refer to the fruit of various species of trees found throughout México. Tunas are the fruit of the prickly-pear cactus. Guayabas are the fruit of the guava tree.

52. Various plants of the genus *Agave* are called maguey, a valuable source of food, fiber, and beverage.

weave into rich and curious cloaks with which they cover themselves.<sup>53</sup> They breed many Castilian chickens and many beautiful birds called "guacamayas," and others of colorful plumage from which they make headdresses, decorate their shields, and trim their lances with tassels.<sup>54</sup> The shafts of their lances are the color of brazilwood. With these lances, shields, arrows, quivers, and clubs they would wage war against bordering nations with the sole purpose of killing and eating people, but this was always after harvesting the fruits of their fields.

To assure happy success in battle, they used this superstitious ceremony: they imprisoned a virgin, who had been carefully and vigilantly raised for the purpose, in a large cage. She fasted throughout the period of the fighting to assure victory and success, eating only once a day in the afternoon. And the meal was no more than ground maize mixed with a little water. When the Indians returned from a successful raid, they would hail the maiden upon arriving at the place where they had left her incarcerated and make a signal recognized among themselves by which she was made to understand. They brought her the skull of someone they had killed to be her husband. When they arrived the maiden would already be waiting in the company of all the other Indian men and women who had remained in the area and who had prepared much food. When the warriors returned from the battle, they would turn over the head or skull to the maiden, and she would adorn and treat it as if it were her husband. She would come, welcome it, begging it to eat and rest because it was dead from hunger and tired from the battle. To regale it more, she would fill its mouth with food and then dance with the rest of the Indian men and women, carrying the skull in her hands until all were tired. When the dance was finished they would eat the meat cooked from the bodies of the dead which they had brought from the battle. Thus did the demon mislead this barbarous and miserable people.

However, if the war had gone badly they performed none of this. They would reprimand and affront the maiden, telling her that because she had not fasted sufficiently or because she had known some man, victory had been lost to them. And from this, the maid would become so ashamed and abashed that she would not dare appear among her people again. Finally, they worshipped idols made of stone and other things. They recognized and acknowledged the immortality of the soul, declaring that after death one went to the other side of the South Sea, which was near their territory and is seen from certain high places. They are convinced that their ancestors tranquilly dwell there, awaiting them with various foods and gifts. But now with the help of the Lord we disillusion them of these and other lies and superstitions with which the demon has deceived them.

With this news that came from Topia of the uprising and rebellion of the Xiximes it was disclosed that two villages of the Acaxee Indians under our jurisdiction and located adjacent to the Xiximes wanted to rebel and make common cause

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53. Fabrics of cotton and ixtle (agave) fibers dating from pre-conquest times have been recovered from sites in Durango and Sinaloa.

54. Colored plumage was a valued commodity which was traded widely and exacted as tribute in pre-conquest times. The Yaquis offered valuable feathers to the Spaniards when the Indians finally capitulated in 1610. Guacamayas are parrots.

against the Spaniards. Three padres with an escort of soldiers left to check out the truth of this and found out what one of them wrote to me with these words:

“With the blessings of the Lord we all arrived safely within view of the first village. Perceiving us at a distance, the Indians who were there raised a shout and outcry so strange that it terrified and pained us and clarified any doubt we had entertained as to whether those villages had rebelled. Our Lord provided the captain of the soldiers who had gone with us such spirit that he broke with great valor and force through the middle of more than 200 painted warriors who had come out to meet us ready to do battle. He discovered that all were feigning battle and were truly peaceful and had made all that noise and preparation for war to show us the pleasure with which our arrival was received. With this we entered the village and found it filled with children and adults stricken with smallpox.<sup>55</sup> We confessed them all and treated them as best we could. One of the soldiers bled all those we found with a fever. By luck, through the medium of that false report, our Lord had sent us to cure the bodies and souls of those poor people. From these God His Majesty carried off a boy and a girl, which caused me complete confusion, because after hearing her penitence, I later found cause by which I was able to absolve her. Such was the concern He had for the purity of her soul. With this we returned contentedly, and those Indians, both Christians and catechumens, were satisfied that we sought nothing more than the well-being of their bodies and souls. Therefore, during the days we were there, they treated us with more love and familiarity than even before—not only the Christians but also the catechumens who were anxious to be baptized. I do not want to tire your reverence, and thus I finish by saying that with the desire of improving all these Indians, both adults and children, I have established a school for children in this village of San Gregorio in order to teach them reading and especially the Christian doctrine.<sup>56</sup> They attend conscientiously and absorb it eagerly. And the parents of the little children come to me each day to ask that I receive and teach their older children in my school, all of which I hope will be for the greater glory of Our Lord and the improvement of those children and adults.”

To here I have quoted the letter and from it and the rest that remains to be said, one will understand the work of our padres in these missions of Topia and Xixime. Even though they are troublesome on one hand, on the other they are of such service and glory to our Lord that it is well worth it. Two things remain to be stated briefly to your reverence concerning all these missions. The first is the point I have just made that, although our work in them is considerable, the fruit to be gathered is so copious and so permanent and without obstruction to anyone, that for me it is the most important harvest that our Society reaps in both the east and west Indies; only those feel it who see and hold it in their hands. The other point is that in all these missions the Indians and Spaniards who inhabit them hold such fiestas to the beatification of our lord Father Ignatius that they are an inspiration to all of us who see them, and have given those of us who have witnessed

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55. The term in the document was “viruelas.”

56. See Acaxee Revolt, Note 12.

them reasons for praising our Lord that even in such far corners of the world the great service of our father Saint Ignatius is honored.<sup>57</sup>

This is the harvest that the sons of your reverence, with divine grace, have reaped from their work this year in this province of New Spain. Some reports have not arrived in my hands yet and I am unable to give your reverence an account of them, but when they arrive, they will be kept for the annual letter of the following year, may it please our Lord. May He protect your reverence for us for many years for the good of the Society and all your sons who pray for you.

México, May 18, 1611

Rodrigo de Cabredo<sup>58</sup>

*Annual Report for 1610 from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, México 14, ff. 576–584.*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

1610

Para el presente asistente Nicolás de Almazán.

## MISIÓN DE LAS PARRAS

**T**res partidos hay en esta misión y en ellos habrá cuatro mil indios tan cultivados y adoctrinados de los nuestros que con ser de suyo belicosos y montaraces están tan pacíficos que no hay español ni indio extranjero que se recele de ellos, antes sirven y ayudan a los españoles con tanto amor y respeto como si fueran sus hermanos; y los que están la tierra adentro en los picachos y quebradas con deseo de gozar de la paz y buena policia, de que saben gozan sus connaturales, van desamparando sus ranchos y bajándose a vivir en estas poblaciones porque dicen tener en ellas seguras sus honras, vidas y haciendas, de todo lo cual carecian en sus serranías y montañas.

Muchos niños se han bautizado en estos partidos este año, y los más de ellos se ha llevado el Señor de Hacha, que de una recia voz que corrió por esta tierra. Y era cosa maravillosa y de no poca edificación el ver la conformidad que sus padres tenían con la voluntad de nuestro Señor cuando oían a los nuestros que sus hijos se iban al cielo derechos como unos angelitos por morir con el santo bautismo y sin pecados y como a tales los coronaban de flores y de rosas para llevarlos a la

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57. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, was beatified the same year as this document was written. Widespread celebrations were held throughout the Jesuit communities. Ignatius was canonized in 1622.

58. Rodrigo de Cabredo was born in 1560 in Nájera, Spain. He served for several years in Perú and in 1609 was reassigned from there as Jesuit visitor to Mexico. In that capacity he compiled this report the following year from letters written by priests in the mission field. In 1611 he was appointed Mexican Provincial and continued in that post until 1616. In 1612 he was also named censor of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in México. He died in 1618.

sepultura. A los que han quedado vivos y tienen suficiente edad, se les enseña la doctrina cristiana cada día y algunos están tan diestros en ella que causaban admiración a quien los oían. A estos mismos niños se les da, en el patio de la iglesia adonde aprenden la doctrina, una comida muy buena el día de los santos inocentes, para más acariciarlos. Y cada plato que los nuestros les sirven a la mesa tocan los músicos sus chirrionas trompetas para hacerles la salva como agradas.

De estos niños de la doctrina se va cebando el seminario de indios, que de dos años a esta parte se instituyó con la limosna que su majestad da para sustento de los seminaristas los cuales se ocupan en leer, escribir y cantar para el servicio de la iglesia, y ya comienzan a servirla oficiando las misas que se cantan.

De los indios adultos hay de ordinario enfermos, y así les es forzoso a los padres que de ellos tienen cargo salir casi cada día a confesarlos y a veces a puestos bien distantes. Y porque estos miserables carecen de todo regalo humano les lleva alguna carne o harina o maíz porque no mueran de hambre, y en esto gastan los nuestros al año, buena parte de la limosna que su majestad les da para ayuda a su sustento. Para la conquista de los xiximes de que poco habrá hice mención, salíó de esta misión, el señor gobernador, ciento veinte indios flecheros, por tener fama de gente fiel y valerosa en casos de guerra. Estos no se pudieron confesar al tiempo de su partida por la gran prisa que les dieron lo cual ellos sintieron mucho. Y para mitigar su pena pidieron cartas de recomendación a los nuestros que en esta misión residen, para que los que están en la misión de Tepehuanes, próximo a los xiximes, los confesasen antes de entrar en la guerra; y con estas cartas fueron consolados. Los viernes de cuaresma por las tardes salen en procesión los indios cantando la doctrina cristiana por las calles, y a la vuelta les hace uno de los nuestros una plática de la pasión, y al fin se les canta el miserere, y ellos entre tanto hacen disciplina seca, que la de sangre se reserva para el Jueves y Viernes Santo, a la cual acuden todos con grande afecto y devoción. Y después de curados les dan los nuestros algún regalo que ellos estiman y agradecen.

Se han traído de México este año algunos ornamentos, a costa de su majestad, de que estaban necesitadas las iglesias, y la más principal que es la de las Parras se ha reparado y pintado y colocado en ella una imagen de nuestra Señora con su preciosísimo hijo en brazos, que por ser la primera que estos nuevos cristianos dan de bulto les ha causado mucha admiración y devoción.

Para que usted alabe a Dios Nuestro Señor por los efectos admirables de su divina predestinación y providencia daré fin a esta misión con un caso notable y digno de memoria que sucedió a un padre de los nuestros, el cual preguntando en una ranchería de indios, adonde llegó a casa con su compañero, si había allí algún enfermo, le respondieron que no, porque uno que había, era ya muerto. Causole al padre esta respuesta gran dolor por no haber llegado un poco antes. Y para certificarse más inventó dos o tres veces de ir a ver, por vista de ojos, el difunto y tantas se los procuraron estorbarle los indios, diciéndole que no se cansase en balde, y que el tiempo que había de gastar en ir al rancho de aquel indio ya muerto, le gastase en provecho de los que allí estaban vivos. Cuanto más porfiaban los indios al padre que no fuese, tanto más movido se hallaba interiormente a ir a ver al que le tenían ya por muerto. Y en fin fue y halló a las espaldas de una casa tendido al sol, de espaldas en el suelo, a un indio muy viejo y tan flaco que parecía retrato vivo de la muerte por no tener más que la piel pegada a los huesos. Tenía los ojos ya medio quebrados y los dientes tan traspillados que apenas podía hablar palabra,

pero dándole algunas voces revivió el que ya parecía estar ya muerto. Preguntóle el padre si quería ser cristiano y recibir el sacramento del bautismo, y respondió que sí, medio entre dientes. Entonces le dio el padre un bocado con un trago de vino con que volvió en sí y cobró algún aliento, de suerte que levantó la cabeza y se asentó y el padre le catequizó e instruyó en los misterios de la fe precisamente necesarios, y exhortó a que tuviese gran dolor de sus pecados, y habiéndole traído a la memoria algunos en que generalmente suele caer aquella gente, respondió con grande paz y sinceridad estas palabras: "Padre yo, en toda mi vida he muerto, ni hecho, ni deseado mal a nadie, no he condeciado mujer ni hacienda ajena, ni he perdido por beber demasiado mi juicio." Y a este tono fue refiriendo su vida que era de esta manera. Admirado el padre mandó a cuatro indias que le llevasen a la iglesia tendido en una manta, adonde recibió el santo bautismo con notable reverencia y regocijo de su alma y del padre y de su compañero, y admiración de los demás indios cristianos y gentiles que allí estaban presentes. Luego que el padre vio a su enfermo bautizado dando gracias a Dios le preguntó, como había creído tan fácilmente los misterios de nuestra santa fe y mostrado tanto deseo del bautismo. "Mira padre," respondió el indio, "al principio de aquesta enfermedad vinieron a mí dos personajes venerables de grande autoridad y muy resplandecientes los cuales me llevaron por los aires a lo más alto del cielo, y entrando por aquellos palacios deleitosos poblados de moradores celestiales, ví un asiento vacío y sobremanera hermoso que me dio grande contento y más, cuando me dijeron que estaba diputado para mí. Yo respondí, que fuese muy enhorabuena y que desde luego me quería quedar allí. A esto me replicaron los que me habían llevado allí, que aún no era tiempo porque no era cristiano bautizado, más que volviese al mundo y esperase dos padres que a este lugar vendrán muy en breve los cuales me instruirían en la santa fe y me bautizarían, y que luego me volverían a gozar de aquella silla en compañía de aquella gente bienaventurada." Y como el buen viejo lo dijo, así se debió de cumplir todo, porque apenas hubo recibido el agua del bautismo y díchnos estas señales de su eterna predestinación cuando expiró y voló su alma al cielo, dejando al padre que le había bautizado con el consuelo y admiración que puede imaginarse en este caso.

#### MISIÓN DE TEPEHUANES

En esta misión hay un real de minas donde tienen su asiento algunos españoles; y a ellos y a sus hijos y criados han acudido los nuestros este año, de cuando en cuando, para predicarles y confesarles, en lo cual gastaban dos padres, las tres últimas semanas de cuaresma, con mucho fruto y provecho de las almas, particularmente de algunas que estaban entre si muy encontradas por cosas muy pesadas y de honra de lo cual se tenían con mucha probabilidad algunas muertes. Pero fue Nuestro Señor servido que se atajase con tiempo este daño por medio de los nuestros, haciendo que las partes y cabezas de los bandos se hablasen y que la parte que había agraviado pidiese perdón a la que había sido agraviada, esto es cuanto a los españoles.

Viniendo a los indios se han bautizado este año como ciento cuarenta adultos sin otros muchos párvulos, de los cuales se han ido algunos ya al cielo. En la serranía de Ocotlán habrá como trescientas ochenta personas grandes y pequeñas, setenta serán cristianos y los demás gentiles; y aunque los nuestros van algunas

veces a visitar a los cristianos, se procura que dejen aquella tierra tan fraguosa y se bajen a las poblaciones antiguas donde serán adoctrinados con más facilidad. Y ellos con el deseo que tienen de gozar de la comunicación y trato de los nuestros y del bien de sus almas y de las de sus hijos van desamparando poco a poco sus picachos y plantando sus casas donde los nuestros deseaban. Con los demás indios de esta misión se han hecho los ministros que siempre, y aquí con mayor trabajo y dificultad por ser la gente muy bárbara, a la cual van los nuestros domesticando cada día más para que reciban mejor la semilla del evangelio. Ahora van los buenos obreros, que aquí tiene la compañía, sembrándola en un valle que llaman de San Pablo de donde esperan coger mucho fruto en adelante, por la mucha gente que va bajando cada día de la sierra a este valle, después que se acabó de romper una acequia grande que se comenzó a abrir el año pasado para regar los maíces y sementeras que los indios se sustentan. Apenas se había acabado esta acequia y comenzado a asentar la población cuando envidioso el demonio del bien de tantas almas como se le iban escapando de las montañas y sierras donde él las poseía, persuadió a un indio viejo hechicero que viniese con diez indios bravos parientes suyos y matase como mató a otro indio principal y catecúmeno, pariente muy cercano del cacique de San Pablo y de otros indios principales, los cuales sintieron tanto la muerte del difunto, que se deshacían por ir en seguimiento de los matadores a vengarse, y sólo les detuvo el temor de que mientras iban en su busca por una parte, no viniesen por otra y matasen a los padres que les estaban adoctrinando. Pocos días después supieron estos indios de San Pablo que sus enemigos estaban tres leguas de allí en otra población de indios, y temiendo no se aliasen entre si y viniesen a dar sobre ellos de repente, persuadieron a los padres, aunque con harto dolor suyo y no sin lágrimas, que se saliesen de aquel valle a tierra de paz porque si los enemigos que eran muchos más que ellos volvían otra vez, ni se podían defender así ni a ellos. Y pareciendo bien a los nuestros este consejo, le siguieron y se fueron de allí a otra parte distante tres días de camino, con harto trabajo y pena de dejar solos a aquellos que tenían ya por hijos y esperaban reengendrarlos en Cristo y para Cristo muy en breve. Idos los padres se pusieron todos a punto de guerra por lo que sucediese y juntamente despacharon a un hijo del cacique de San Pablo con otros doce indios de los más principales y valientes para que viniesen a pedir al gobernador de aquellas provincias, que a la sazón estaba en Guadiana, mandase castigar la insolencia de aquel indio que había tres años enteros que los perseguía y estorbaba la quietud y paz que deseaban para poderse hacer cristianos. En este punto estaba el gobernador de partida para la conquista de los xiximes, y sabiendo el viejo hechicero que venía con grande acompañamiento de soldados temió por ventura venía en busca suya para castigarle; y ora por este medio, ora por haberle tocado Dios Nuestro Señor, se fue a uno de los nuestros y le pidió con instancia y muy de corazón el santo sacramento del bautismo, el cual le bautizó habiéndole primero catequizado y probado muy despacio. Después de bautizado se fue a ver y con el gobernador que estaba ya allí cerca, y llegándose a sus pies le dijo, como ya era cristiano y que le perdonase lo pasado porque él proponía la enmienda en adelante muy de veras. El gobernador le admitió y perdonó, condición que cumpliera su palabra, y hasta ahora la cumple muy bien. Y se espera que ha de ser gran parte para la conversión y pacificación de los indios que antes le seguían y perseguían en compañía suya a los indios de San Pablo los cuales quietos ya y sosegados con la paz de que ahora gozan, han vuelto a pedir con grandes ansias a los nuestros

tornen a instruírlos en la fé y bautizarlos; y por falta de sujetos no ha ido hasta ahora más que un padre, pero será necesario enviarles más. El señor se sirva de darnoslos, que aquella mies es muy grande, por la noticia que se tiene de muchas poblaciones por aquel valle arriba hacia el norte.

#### MISIÓN DE SINALOA

Por ser la villa de Nuestra Señora de Sinaloa la cabeza de toda esta provincia reside la mayor parte del año en ella el capitán que aquí tiene su majestad con un presidio de soldados; y fuera de ellos hay en la villa muchos españoles todos los cuales acuden a nuestra casa a confesar y a comulgar y a sermón con mucha devoción y frecuencia, particularmente en tiempo de jubileos, adviento y cuaresma y fiestas principales en las cuales se celebran los divinos oficios con mucha solemnidad y música de los indios del seminario que aquí tienen los nuestros, adonde vienen de toda la provincia para aprender a leer, escribir, tañer y cantar; y a vueltas de eso, la doctrina cristiana y toda buena policia con la cual vuelven a sus tierras muy diferentes de los que vinieron y son de mucha importancia para ayuda a la conversión de sus conaturales.

De esta casa salió la cuaresma un padre al valle de Culiacán, a ruego del beneficiado de aquel valle el cual tiene dieciseis pueblos de indios, por el consuelo de ellos y necesidad grande que tenían de doctrina y de quien los confesase muy despacio, quiso el padre visitarlos y andarlos todos, aunque con gran trabajo suyo. Recibíanle siempre con cruz alta cantando la doctrina, y con este recibimiento le llevaban a la iglesia adonde el padre les decía en breve el fin de su venida, y el modo que habían de tener en confesarse, y el día siguiente los comenzaba a confesar; y no se iba de aquel lugar a otro hasta haberlo oído y consolado a todos muy despacio. Hacíales cada día plática para explicarles las cosas de la religión cristiana. Y gustaban tanto los oyentes de estas pláticas que muchos de ellos se iban tras el padre de uno a otro pueblo llevados del hambre que tenían de oír el evangelio. De las confesiones se sirvió mucho Nuestro Señor porque se confesaron muchos que nunca se habían confesado después que eran cristianos; y otros que se habían confesado, había sido con tantos defectos que era necesario repetir confesiones de quince y veinte años. No se sirvió menos su majestad de los sermones o pláticas porque de ordinario reprendía el padre los vicios que más reinaban en aquella tierra y así se quitaron totalmente muchos abusos y supersticiones y bailes de hombres y mujeres de los cuales resultaban muy grandes pecados. Era de más grande consuelo el ver venir a muchos con sus dudas y el contento con que volvían con lo que el padre respondía, y la estima que los principales hacían de las imágenes, cuentas, agnus y rosarios que les daba. Admirábanse todos mucho de que el padre no quisiese admitir cosa de cuantas ellos le ofrecían en recompensa del trabajo que en venirles a predicar y a confesar tan de lejos habían tomado; y en lo que más repararon fue en la solicitud y diligencia con que el padre iba a confesar a los enfermos luego que le llamaban, aunque estuviesen muchas leguas de donde él estaba. Finalmente cuando se iba ya llegando la semana santa se hubo de volver el padre a Sinaloa, con harto sentimiento suyo, de los indios e indias y de todo el valle, dejando comulgados más de cuatrocientos.

Todos los indios que hasta ahora hay de paz en esta tierra están divididos en cuatro ríos principales, y otros ocho de menos cuenta y nombre; y todos están



poblados por las orillas de mucho número de gente, pero la de los dos ríos más principales solamente se adoctrinan, por falta de sujetos que no pueden extenderse a los demás, aunque piden bautismo muchos días a el uno del otro. Dos ríos se llama de Petatlán, y está en medio de otros dos menores. Casi toda la gente de estos ríos es ya cristiana y muy ladina y usa de vestidos a su modo, y nuestra religión cristiana está tan asentada entre ellos que no hay quien falta a misa las fiestas y domingos. Y no se contentan con confesar en la cuaresma, sino que acuden como si fueran cristianos de Europa a confesarse algunas veces entre año. Y no faltan algunos tan temerosos de nuestro Señor quien cometiendo el pecado vienen a confesarse luego, diciendo no pueden dormir de tristeza por haber ofendido a Dios, y de temor de que la muerte no los coja en su desgracia. Hacen sus disciplinas de sangre la semana santa como los españoles, y todas la semanas de cuaresma salen dos o tres veces en procesión de una hermite cantando la letanía a canto de órgano y en llegando a la iglesia se disciplinan todos mientras se canta el salmo de miserere. Y cuando les falta el riego del cielo para sus sementeras usan de ayunos y disciplinas de sangre generales con que aplacan a Dios y El les envía luego agua en abundancia. Los más provistos en los misterios de la fe comulgan a sus tiempos con grande preparación, y dan después gracias muy despacio; y con este pan celestial cobran sus almas contra el demonio tanta fuerza que por más laxos que les arme y más ocasiones de pecados que les traiga no hay caer en ellas, diciendo que donde entra Dios no es justo entre el demonio. Dos partidos hay en este río y visitando el padre que tiene a cargo, el uno a los indios serranos que hay en él, halló que solamente faltaban por bautizar sesenta los cuales no querían venir jamás con los cristianos a la iglesia. Entendió el padre que los detenía algun miedo o vergüenza, e hízolos traer a todos a la iglesia y díjoles no quería de ellos más de que le viniesen a oír por tres o cuatro días la doctrina y que si después quisiesen bautizarse fuese enhorabuena; y no que no se les hacía fuerza porque esto de ser cristianos para ir al cielo había de ser de muy de grado y sin género de apremio o violencia. Todos dijeron les placía de venir a oír la doctrina aquellos días y al cabo de ellos, tocados de la divina mano, pidieron el bautismo y se bautizaron con gran consuelo suyo y mayor del padre que con aquel bautismo dio fin a toda gentilidad de su partido. Colmose a queste gozo con la venida de una india la cual era cristiana y siendo niña se había entrado en tierra dentro y estado en la sierra muchos años, casada con un indio del cual tenía ya tres hijos y estimulada de su propia conciencia y llamada del Señor, rogó a su marido se viniese con ella y con sus hijos adonde el padre estaba el cual confesó a la india y bautizó al indio y lo casó (*in facie ecclesiae*) y luego bautizó a los hijuelos; y padres e hijos quedaron con mucho gusto y consuelo entre los demás cristianos de aquella sierra; los cuales aunque son visitados muy de tarde en tarde saben muy bien las ocasiones y acuden a la iglesia con cuidado y lo que más admira es que han dejado las borracheras de todo punto, con ser de suyo muy dados a este vicio.

El otro partido de este río es de gente más nueva en la fe, la cual se ha ido bajando este año poco a poco de sus picachos y espesuras y hecho asiento con un puesto muy acomodado para ser adoctrinados y enseñados. Este partido está a cargo del padre Pedro de Velasco, el cual dice en una carta suya estas palabras: "Antes que bajase la gente de la sierra a este pueblo me llamaron para una vieja enferma y aunque acudí luego, como el camino era áspero y largo, antes de llegar al pueblo me vinieron a decir como era muerta. Diome esta nueva mucha pena

aunque me fue de algún consuelo el haberla confesado algunas veces poco antes por causa de ser vieja y andar muy achacosa. Con todo proseguí mi camino por ver si había en aquella ranchería algún otro enfermo y hallé una doncellita recién bajada de la sierra, muy enferma, a la cual catequicé brevemente y bauticé a toda prisa, y acabada de bautizar se fue al cielo, efecto claro de la predestinación divina porque mi ida a ella había sido con harta pesadumbre y cansancio por haber bajado de noche una sierra bien áspera y fragosa, y tanto que fue necesario llevar candela por delante para pasar sin mucho peligro algunos malos pasos; y si yo no fuera no pudiera gozar la indiecita del bien inestimable del santo sacramento del bautismo, porque los demás gentiles estaban suficientemente catequizados para necesidades y tenían allá quien los bautizase; y ésta no tenía lo uno ni lo otro, efecto de la misma predestinación eterna. Fue lo cual me pasó con otro niño gentil en lavamiento adonde le desconocí entre los demás de la doctrina y examinándole hallé no estaba bautizado. Tenía entonces una calenturilla de poca monta y por catequizarlo más despacio me pareció traérmelo conmigo a Chicorato. Anduvo algunos días bueno y después le apretó la calenturilla de manera que le mató en breve, habiéndole yo primero catequizado y bautizado." Gasta aquí el padre de Velasco, y pues he hecho mención de aqueste padre, antes de pasar adelante me pareció trasladar aquí parte de otra carta suya que me escribió en respuesta de otra mía en que le enviaba a llamar para leer aquí en México un curso de artes por ser hombre de muchas letras y virtud, que esto sólo me movía, aunque es deudo del señor don Luis de Velasco, marqués de Salinas y virrey de esta Nueva España y de otros muy muchos caballeros de ella. Y es esto lo menos que en esta parte respaldece. Su carta es la que se sigue:

"La de vuestra reverencia del octubre pasado recibí por diciembre, y aunque como tan llena de tan paternal amor me fue de particular consuelo. No dejé de sentir mi corazón lo que algunas veces se me ofrecía y era que viendo por una parte la gran materia del servicio de Nuestro Señor, que en estas partes se ofrecen las grandes ocasiones de su mayor gloria, y dándome por otras mis faltas en rostro consideraba que si para éstas había de haber alguna pena y castigo sería quitarme el Señor, como a ruín, tan grande empleo y ponerme en otro, y pues veo cumplido este sentimiento. Mucha causa tendré de él creyendo está en la memoria del Señor la culpa, pues veo ejecutar la pena, yo mi parte me siento tierno y muy aficionado a estos pobrecitos muy consolado e inclinado a este ministerio. A verlo de mi parte al de los españoles lo cual aunque debiera tener poco lugar para no cumplir la santa obediencia, no obstante que fuese con grande desconsuelo mío, todavía lo represento a vuestra reverencia. Como a amoroso padre y como a superior se me ofrece proponer la mucha gloria de Nuestro Señor que por ventura se impedirá con mi mudanza, y puede echarse de ver y por lo que en estos tres años que por acá ha estado, se ha hecho pues, haber bautizado mil novecientas personas de las cuales habían muerto más de trecientas recién bautizadas o sacramentadas de lo cual me parece se habrá seguido más gloria de Nuestro Señor que si hubiera empleado este tiempo en leer artes. Pues ahora falta gran número que bautizar, y bajar de la sierra muchos huesos secos y desamparados por estos picachos y juntarlos y darles sepultura debida y esto más se hará sin voz ni lengua, pues los bautizados podemos decir que no tienen carne ni aún pies tampoco, sino que están en los puros huesos; y plegué al Señor que estén todavía vivos con el sagrado bautismo. Ahora es el enseñarlos a ser cristianos y vestir de piel y de carne aquestos huesos y arma-

dos lo cual parece había de ser por medio de la voz de algún profeta, y aunque yo no lo sea, en fin soy el primer padre de éstos y tal cual por ventura me habrán de menester algún día para su sosiego. Los pueblos son cuatro, las lenguas tres, (ominino diversas) y en estos tres años he hecho muy posible para salir bien con la una, moderadamente con la otra, y empezar la tercera, muy necesaria al presente, por haberse de bautizar los que la hablan. Fuera de esto me parece ser mayor gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor acudir a mil seiscientas almas bautizadas y recoger y bautizar otras muchas que faltan que ocupar tres años con treinta estudiantes. Y después por ventura desearon los superiores que apetecía yo a los indios, perdida ya la lengua, con cuya continuación se puede hacer mucho especialmente que ese puesto se puede con mucha más satisfacción por otros muchos que por allá sobran para ese ministerio y para este faltan. Renuévase también mi sentimiento pensando tengo de trocar el libro de Cristo y de sus apóstoles por un Aristóteles y esto por mis faltas y por no haber sabido leer con la debida disposición y reverencia el libro de los santos evangelios. Finalmente el ir entre parientes sólo puede servir de menos quietud, y el señor virrey como tan piadoso y prudente dio que gustará de que yo me quede por acá pues importa tanto mi quedada para el mayor servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y bien de aquestas gentes tan desamparadas. Y si alguna merced me quiere hacer sea enviar alguna buena limosna para los ornamentos de esta iglesia que ahora acabo de hacer como lo tengo escrito la cual está tan pobre que hasta el misal y sobrepelliz tengo prestado. Ahora le torno a escribir, no en razón de esto, sino de la mucha caridad y obra que vuestra reverencia me ha hecho para que la estime y agradezca como yo hago, y se de por contento de que yo quede en estas partes." Estas y otras razones de mucha edificación me trae el padre en su carta y al cabo las remata con mucha resignación e indiferencia como verdadero hijo de la compañía, pero viéndolo yo tan inclinado a quedarse en su ocupación y empleo apostólico me pareció no quitarle su gusto y consuelo sagrado, ni a aquellas almas un ministro evangélico y tal como le tienen. Y después acá ha dado fin y perfección a la iglesia que en su carta refiere, la cual aunque es muy capaz, se llena de gente las fiestas y domingos, aún antes que los llame la campana.

El segundo río de los cuatro en que dije estaba repartida la cristiandad de esta misión se llama Río de Sinaloa, y de él toma nombre toda esta provincia. La gente de este río de suyo muy fiera y belicosa y como tal se ha dado bien a tener a los soldados españoles, pero ya gloriados se ha domesticado y amanzado casi todas con la doctrina del evangelio la cual abrazan de tal suerte que parecen los bautizados cristianos muy antiguos por haber tomado como gente de honra y de valor natural muy a pechos y muy de veras las cosas de la religión cristiana. Habranse ya bautizado de cuatro partes las tres, y todos éstos acuden sin falta a misa las fiestas y domingos, y muchos de ellos acuden también entre semana, y a la doctrina pláticas y sermones ni más ni menos. La cuaresma confiesan con mucha verdad y claridad y gran dolor de sus pecados y muéstranlo bien en las disciplinas de sangre que hacen. La semana santa celebran las fiestas de los santos, sus patrones, con grande solemnidad y regocijo y el día de los finados es cosa muy de ver la piedad con que traen a la iglesia sus ofrendas por sus parientes y a difuntos que distribuían después. Los padres, entre los pobres en todas partes van fabricando sus iglesias y casas de adobes lo mejor que pueden, preciándose de no ser inferiores en ésta ni otra cosa alguna a los cristianos antiguos de estas partes. Los pocos que quedan por bautizar es gente muy dura y mal dispuesta por tener casi todos a dos o

a tres mujeres, pero con todo no cesan los padres que aquí están, de conquistarlos para Cristo, aunque con mucho trabajo, y no les sale su trabajo en balde, pues este año han convertido algunos, y hecho que con mucho gusto suyo se casen con la una mujer (in facie de ecclesia), dando de mano a las demás mujeres; todo lo cual admira a los que antes conocían la rebeldía y barbarie de esta gente, pero no a quien conoce la fuerza de la mano de Dios que sabe y puede trocar de una hora a otra los corazones de los hombres. No ha ayudado poco para la conversión y mudanza de toda aquesta gente el fuerte que llaman de Montesclaros a que se ha dado principio este año en medio de toda aquesta provincia, sobre lo alto de un cerro muy fuerte el cual viene por una parte el mismo río y por otra unas grandes llanadas donde se puede apacentar mucho ganado. Y cuando los enemigos ocupasen por algún tiempo aquestos llanos, dentro de las sierras o muros del mismo fuerte pueden estar muchos ganados y caballos por ser el sitio que han cercado (capacísimo). En las cuatro esquinas del fuerte están otros cuatro torreones fuertes que sirven no sólo de ornato y hermosura, sino de espanto a los indios los cuales están con esto enfrenados y los españoles más quietos y seguros de que han de gozar de más paz en adelante que hasta aquí han gozado; y los padres hacen con más seguridad sus ministerios.

Los otros dos ríos se llaman de Mayo y Yaqui, tan llenos de gentes bárbaras como los ríos de Petatlán y Sinaloa, aunque hasta ahora, como arriba dije, no han sido cultivados de los nuestros, así por la falta de gente como por las continuas guerras que con los españoles e indios cristianos han tenido. El año pasado se dio cuenta a vuestra reverencia de la guerra que el capitán de esta provincia fue a hacer con cosa de cuarenta españoles y cuatro mil indios amigos a los bárbaros que habitan las rieras del río Yaquimi, los cuales salieron en tanta abundancia de encontrarse en campo con los nuestros que pusieron grima y espanto a los indios amigos y de sólo verlos volvieron las espaldas, y lo que más es y más pena dio al capitán fue que se pusieron con ellos en ida la mitad de los soldados españoles, pero el capitán fue tan valeroso que con sólo veinte soldados que le quedaron mató gran número de los contrarios sin perder un solo soldado de los suyos, y alcanzó con el favor de Dios y su buena industria una victoria milagrosa aunque con pérdida de algunos caballos, bagaje y hacienda y con algunas heridas que él y los suyos sacaron de la guerra de las cuales sanaron todos muy en breve. Esta victoria puso tan grande admiración y espanto a los indios enemigos que dándose por vencidos decían a voces a los nuestros que ellos y su capitán debían de ser grandes hechiceros. Y poco después de haberse venido los nuestros a Sinaloa enviaron los enemigos a esta villa dos indias por embajadoras para pedir paces al capitán por no haberse atrevido varón alguno a venir con esta embajada adonde estaban los españoles. El capitán recibió y oyó muy bien a las indias y las despachó con seguro y promesas de las paces que deseaban. Concordaron que viniesen los caciques más principales de todo el río de Yaquimi a asentarlas y hacer las capitulaciones necesarias. Vinieron los caciques con esto muy contentos y dióse asiento a las paces el abril del año pasado de 1610, con solas dos condiciones, la primera que de ninguna manera habían de dar acogida en sus tierras de allí adelante a los cristianos fugitivos y facinerosos que a ellos se acogiesen. La segunda que habían de traer y entregar a los indios Juan Lautaro y Babilomo que eran las cabezas y capitanes de todos ellos y los principales autores de las guerras, traiciones y daños que los españoles e indios cristianos habían padecido de los yaquis por tiempo y espacio de

siete años; y que fuera de éstos habían ido a guarecer y defender entre ellos. Aceptaron con mucha voluntad los caciques estas condiciones y en señal de que las cumplirían y no tornarían jamás a violar las paces, presentaron al capitán mucha y muy rica plumería, las mulas, caballos, plata labrada y otras cosas que él y sus soldados habían perdido en la guerra, y lo que más fue, dejaron catorce niños en rehenes, sin pedírselos, de los cuales están cuatro en este seminario aprendiendo a leer, escribir y cantar y la doctrina cristiana en su lengua para que puedan ayudar a los padres en la conversión de los suyos, cuando Nuestro Señor sea servido que allá vayan, que entiendo será presto si tenemos gente, según la prisa que dan por los padres que los enseñen y bauticen.

Dentro de muy poco tiempo de como se fueron los embajadores trajeron a esta villa presos a Juan Lautaro y Babilomo y a los demás cristianos fugitivos y el capitán les sentenció, por sus delitos, a muerte. El Juan Lautaro por cristiano muy antiguo y como tal estaba muy ladino en los misterios de la fe, y alumbrado de Dios Nuestro Señor, que por este camino parece le tenía predestinado, confesó al pie de la horca no haber sido hasta entonces bautizado y pidió con grandes veras y mucho dolor de sus pecados le concediesen el sagrado bautismo antes que muriese. Lo mismo pidió su compañero Babilomo y ambos fueron bautizados juntos, con mucho gozo y alegría del padre que los bautizó. Y acabada de recibir el agua del bautismo los ajusticiaron dando todos a Dios infinitas gracias porque los había librado de tan crueles enemigos y de que hubiesen muerto bautizados. Los cristianos forajidos que se habían huido de Sinaloa viendo lo que pasaba, pidieron perdón al capitán por medio de uno de los nuestros y él los perdonó. Otros de los cristianos fugitivos que no se han podido a ver las manos hasta ahora, han solicitado a los yaquimies a que quiebren las paces y se rebelen contra los españoles prometiéndoles para ello su ayuda y la de otras naciones del río de Sinaloa, y ellos no sólo no dan oído a semejantes persuasiones, sino que prenden y aún matan a los que tratan de sembrar esta cizaña, lo cual agradece y premia el capitán con cosas de mucha estima entre ellos. Algunos indios más distantes en este mismo río de Yaqui no vinieron en estas paces bien y así se conjuraron contra los de su misma nación y les hicieron guerra incitados de los indios cristianos que del río de Sinaloa se habían huido y recogido entre ellos, pero viendo el mucho daño que con la guerra unos a otros se hacían acordaron de hacerse amigos entre sí y con los españoles. Y vinieron de nuevo caciques de una y otra parte a Sinaloa con ciento treinta hombres a los cuales recibió de paz el capitán con estas paces y con el fuerte de Montesclaros, cuya fama corre por toda esta provincia, quedan totalmente pacíficos estos dos ríos de Mayo y Yaqui y no solamente los moradores de ellos, sino otras ocho naciones, todas diferentes, que están más adelante. Han venido estos días a darse de paz a Sinaloa y a pedir al capitán con grande instancia pues, que los adoctrinen y bauticen, pero lástima es, que después de haber pedido pan (*non est qui frangat eis*), ni a otras muchas naciones de que está poblada toda esta gran provincia que corre hasta el Nuevo México y vuelve hasta la Florida y todas se irían entrando en la red del evangelio si hubiese quien se la extendiese. Y envié algunos padres, aunque bien pocos el año pasado, y fueron tan bien recibidos y con tanto consuelo suyo, como me significa uno de ellos en la carta que se sigue con que daré fin a esta misión.

Ya fue Nuestro Señor servido mi padre visitador, llegásemos a esta villa de Sinaloa quince días antes de la natividad del Señor, El me dé buena mano derecha en

todo, que cierto han sido los principios de tanto gusto y consuelo que a no haberlo experimentado, no creyera que la compañía tenía en estas misiones tantas letras con tan aventajada santidad. Visto he mi padre, a unos padres viejos muy deshechos de todo lo de este mundo y muy aficionados al trabajo, a una suma pobreza al padecer que le quebrará vuestra reverencia el corazón verlos tan rotos, tan descalzos y tan necesitados de todo como andan, gloria a Dios que sabe en medio de los desconsuelos y trabajos aumentar el gozo y el consuelo. He hallado mi padre muy buena ocasión para alcanzar en breve el camino de la perfección y no quería perder la buena ocasión presente por mi poca virtud, que por ser de la honra de Dios, espero en El me dará fuerzas. Dígolo porque los días pasados hubo nueva de que estos indios del partido de Sinaloa quisieron quitar la vida al padre Cristóbal de Villalta que me ha cabido por compañero en seis pueblos que tenemos a nuestro cargo veintidos leguas de la villa, todas llenas de gente feroz y belicosa. Ojalá fuese mi Dios servido de que no fuesen solas amenazas, sino que llegásemos a derramar la sangre por Jesucristo que con tan breve trabajo se me conseguiría una eternidad de gloria; vuestra reverencia se lo pida a Nuestro Señor que yo como imperfecto no me atrevo. Vimos mi padre, en conclusión en el discurso de nuestro viaje, las dos misiones de Topia y Tepehuanes y aunque había falta de regalos del cuerpo, hubo sobra de consuelos del alma y mucho contento de ambas partes, porque fue muy extraordinario el de los padres de todas aquellas misiones, empleados en la mayor barbarie de todo este reino, más consuela Dios y muy mucho aún entre bárbaros que al fin aunque no todo, se les pega mucho de la cristiandad y a su modo y según su capacidad nos festejaron saliendo todos los pueblos en nuestra venida con una cruz alta por delante y siguiéndose con buen orden dos hileras, la una de hombres, y niños y la otra de niñas y mujeres, cantando la doctrina cristiana hasta la iglesia en la cual les decía después el padre el fin de nuestra venida, y ellos lo oían con muestras de muy grande consuelo y alegría, y nosotros lo teníamos de verlos y oírlos de manera que no nos era posible detener las lágrimas que el corazón resollaba por los ojos. Y de esta suerte llegamos a este punto de Sinaloa adonde quedamos buenos y contentos y con deseo de trabajar incansablemente en el bien de aquestas almas, por amor del Señor y creador de ellas, El cual guarde a vuestra reverencia en cuyas oraciones y santos sacrificios me encomiendo. Sinaloa, 26 de enero de 1610.

Por esta carta se verá consuelos que nuestro Señor dá a los que se emplean en obras de tanta gloria suya.

#### MISIÓN DE TOPIA

De propósito he dejado esta misión a lo último porque no creo podré ser tan breve en ella como lo he sido en las demás. Respecto de serme fuerza dar cuenta a usted padre de la jornada que el señor Francisco de Urdiñola, gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya, hizo el año pasado de 1610 contra los indios xiximes llevando en su compañía a dos sacerdotes de los nuestros de quienes haré mención adelante, y referiré una carta de uno de ellos que entiendo hará sabrosa a vuestra reverencia toda esta relación por larga que sea. Estos indios xiximes son de los más belicosos de cuantos hasta hoy se han descubierto en este reino de la Nueva España, y siempre han tenido sus casas y poblaciones en el corazón de esta provincia sin haber podido jamás ser conquistados de los españoles ni de los indios cristianos que viven al-

rededor de ellos; y esto así, por la fiereza y bravidad de ellos como por la fragosidad y aspereza de las sierras, y profundidad de las quebradas en que habitan, y la espesura de los montes de que están fortalecidos y guardados; todo lo cual los ha hecho hasta ahora tan insolentes y tan enexpugnables que no ha habido quien se les haya atrevido a hacer guerra de propósito; y si alguna vez han intentado hacérsela indios cristianos o españoles, ellos les han salido luego al encuentro y hécholes volver las espaldas presto, con harta pérdida no sólo de honra, sino también de gente. Con estas victorias quedaban tan orgullosos y tan atrevidos que hacían cada día mil asaltos y tan ser en los indios comarcanos sin dejar piante ni mamante de cuantos les venían a las manos que no les matasen y comiesen, llevando los huesos y calaveras para triunfar con ellas en sus bailes y colgarlas por insigne trofeo de sus victorias a sus puertas.

A quien más daño hacían estos bárbaros eran los indios acaxeos con quien confinan por la banda del norte y viéndose tan apurados y perseguidos de los xiximes y que poco a poco los iban acabando, enviaron a pedir tres o cuatro años al gobernador de aquella Nueva Vizcaya que los favoreciese y defendiese de tan crueles enemigos como a cristianos que eran y vasallos de su majestad, y lo mismo pidieron los nuestros que tienen a cargo el adoctrinarlos. Parecióle al gobernador pedían razón y justicia los padres y los indios, y dio traza como le trajesen preso a algún o alguno de los xiximes que salían ha hacer de sus suertes y lances en los acaxeos. Prendiéronse dos, el uno murió poco después de preso de una herida al tiempo de prenderle, y el otro vino sano y bueno a manos del gobernador el cual le regaló y acarició mucho a este indio, y pasados algunos días le vistió y envió libre y sano a los suyos para que les dijese cesasen ya de tantas muertes y asaltos como hasta entonces habían hecho a españoles y a indios amigos y cristianos, y que se diesen de paz y rindiesen la obediencia al rey nuestro señor porque donde no iría en persona con un poderoso ejército a sus mismas tierras a hacer en ellos un gran castigo. Con esta embajada se fue este indio muy contento en compañía de uno de los nuestros que adoctrinaba a los indios acaxeos hasta un presidio llamado San Hipólito que está en la frontera de los xiximes; y al capitán de este presidio ordenó el gobernador recibiese, en nombre de su majestad, la obediencia de aquellos bárbaros si ellos viniesen a darla y que les perdonase las muertes e insultos que hasta allí habían hecho. El capitán despachó del presidio al indio, el cual fue muy bien recibido y oído por los suyos y luego vinieron las cabezas y principales de todos los pueblos de los xiximes al presidio de San Hipólito y se dieron de paz y rindieron la obediencia a su majestad en manos del dicho capitán. Esta obediencia y paces parece fueron hechas con ánimo fingido de parte de los xiximes, porque al cabo de tres años que ellos habían comunicado con los indios cristianos acaxeos y con los españoles que por allí había en algunos reales de minas sin hacer daño a alguno pareciéndoles que ya estaban hechos señores de la tierra y de cuanto había en ella quebraron estas paces, y sin haberles dado ocasión alguna para ello se rebelaron y comenzaron de nuevo con grande furia a matar indios cristianos circunvecinos, por cuatro o cinco partes diferentes a un mismo tiempo. Visto esto los indios comarcanos pidieron al gobernador de nuevo que, o los defendiese con veras de sus enemigos o les diese licencia para desamparar sus casas y tierras, e irse a poblar a otras partes, porque donde no, los xiximes los habían de acabar muy en breve si no se hacían con ellos a una contra los españoles y sus aliados, como se los habían estimado varias veces. Y para prueba de esto enviaron al gobernador un indio preso que les acababa de traer esta embajada de parte de los xiximes.

El gobernador mandó al capitán de San Hipólito que requiriese de nuevo con la paz a los xiximes prometiéndoles otra vez por donde lo hecho con tal que se enmendasen, donde no, que iría a castigarlos como su alevosía merecía, y el capitán lo hizo así varias veces por medio de un cacique xixime que desde que oyó las cosas de nuestra santa fe a los nuestros se apartó de los suyos y se vino a poblar cerca de los acaxeos cristianos con veinte indios y otras tantas indias, los cuales se recogían en una iglesia que habían hecho al pie de una áspera y alta sierra que los dividía de los otros xiximes que se llama Santo Tomé. Varias veces estuvieron en este tiempo los xiximes determinados de matar a este cacique y a su gente por verlos tan amigos de los españoles; y fue mucho que no pusiesen por obra sus intentos esta vez que el cacique les llevó de nuevo esta embajada de parte del capitán de San Hipólito, a la cual respondieron con grande libertad y desvergüenza que se fuese y dijese al capitán y a sus soldados, que no querían paz con españoles sin guerra y que viniesen luego a pelear con ellos y si no que ellos irían presto a buscarlos a sus tierras y los matarían y se los comerían porque les sabía bien la carne de los españoles. Y diciendo y haciendo juntaron un buen escuadrón de gente y marcharon hacia un real de minas llamado Las Vírgenes para destruirlo y matar a aquellos españoles que en él había, y una legua antes de llegar al real se encontraron con un pobre hombre vecino de aquellas minas que se había ido allí a una huerta que tenía con un hijuelo suyo y otros cinco indios e indias y a todos les mataron, sino fue a un solo indio que se les escapó y dio en el real, aviso de lo que pasaba y como los xiximes se habían llevado los cuerpos de los difuntos a su tierra, exceptas las entrañas que allí habían dejado por testigo de lo que habían hecho. Con esta nueva se atemorizó y alborotó toda la tierra y el gobernador con deseo de que no hubiese algún alzamiento general y de que se remediasen de una vez tan grandes desafueros, consultó con el señor marqués de Salinas, virrey y capitán general de esta Nueva España, de lo que había de hacer en este caso y su excelencia con parecer y acuerdo de sus oidores y de los otros letrados juristas y teólogos, así religiosos como seculares, determinó y mandó que el mismo gobernador en persona fuese con la más gente de guerra que juntar pudiese, a castigar aquellos delitos y a enfrenar aquellas gentes; y así lo hizo, llevando consigo como doscientos soldados españoles y mil cien indios cristianos amigo y flecheros. Puesto todo este campo en el fuerte de San Hipólito entresacó el gobernador veinte soldados españoles y dejolos en guarda de los acaxeos y de los padres que tenían cargo de ellos, y con la demás gente se fue para los xiximes llevando consigo a dos sacerdotes de los nuestros, uno de los cuales que fue el padre Alonso Gómez me escribió todo el suceso de la guerra, muy a la larga, en una carta en que después de algunas razones dice de esta suerte.

Estaban los indios xiximes divididos con dos puestos, el uno llamado Xocotilma y el otro Guapisuxe y por evitar algunos inconvenientes no quiso el gobernador que se dividiese el campo, sino que todos juntos fuesen a dar a Xocotilma, adonde se decía estaba la mayor parte de los enemigos. Mucho se padeció en el camino porque fue necesario hacerle todo a mano y andarle a pie, bajando quebradas profundísimas, escalando montes y espesuras a poder de hierro y fuego y sangrando ríos caudalosos; pero al fin, con el favor de Dios, llegamos todos aunque muy trabajados y cansados a la tierra de los xiximes ganándoles primero algunos peñoles y picachos de importancia, porque luego comenzaron a temer y se fueron dando avisos unos a otros, como venía sobre ellos gran número de españoles y de indios cristianos. En esto vinieron algunos de los xiximes a verse con el señor



gobernador y su señoría los recibió amorosamente y los acarició y regaló asegurándolos de que no les venía a hacer mal, sino a castigar algunos delincuentes y reboltosos que había entre ellos y a asentar de nuevo las paces que habían quebrantado. Mandoles diesen aviso a sus compañeros y que para otro día después de San Lucas [que fue el que entramos en Xocotilma] se hallasen todos juntos en su pueblo, adonde quería hablarles y darles, más en particular, razón de su venida. Con esto se fueron aquellos indios a dar aviso a los de lo que el general mandaba. Y el día de San Lucas llegamos a vista de Xocotilma que fue la mejor y más alegre que habíamos tenido en el camino, así por haber llegado a aquel paraje que tanto trabajo nos había costado, como por ver la tierra que era tan linda y tan fresca que parecía una albahaca. Entonces se armaron los soldados y se puso a guisa de pelear todo el ejército, y bajando todos poco a poco venimos a dar con ciento cincuenta indios bravos y puestos en hilera a punto de guerra, unos con sus lanzas y adargas; y otros con arcos y aljabas, con suficiente munición de flechas; y otros finalmente con sus macanas, hachuelas y cuchillos. Y todos traían el cabello largo aunque bien trenzados con cintas de colores varios y algunos venían los rostros embijados. Y de esta suerte fueron llegando de uno en otro a ver y al señor gobernador, el cual los recibió amigablemente y dijo que por la multitud de gente que él sabía estar en Xocotilma y sus rancherías, era muy poca la que allí veía presente y que por lo tanto no les pensaba decir por entonces a lo que venía hasta en tanto que se juntasen todos, para lo cual les daba otros dos días más de término. Pasados éstos, vino el de los Once Mil Vírgenes y en él comenzaron a bajar muchos indios e indias, y debieron juntar por todos como doscientas personas, sin otra gran chusma de muchachos; y antes que llegasen a vista del señor gobernador les hizo el capitán de San Hipólito dejar a todos, las armas que traían manifiestas. Llegados de esta suerte, mandó el gobernador que se sentasen y luego se hicieron una muela los soldados cogiéndolos en medio. Estando de esta suerte les dijo el mismo gobernador que su venida sólo había sido para bien suyo de ellos y paz y quietud de su tierra, y que no obstante las muertes y quebrantamientos de las paces que habían hecho, quería asentarlas de nuevo otra vez, pero que era necesario llamasen y trajesen primero a los muchos que allí faltaban de ellos; y que para obligarlos a que los trajesen, se quería quedar con tres o cuatro de los que allí estaban como en rehenes, y que les rogaba no se alborotasen ni inquietasen por esto, porque entresacados estos tres o cuatro podían irse libremente los demás a buscar sus compañeros. El primero que nombró y mandó entresacar y maniatar su señoría, fue un indio facineroso que tenía muchas muertes; y maniatando éste con paz, nombró el segundo, el cual resistió a los soldados que querían maniatarle; y luego se inquietaron y alborotaron los demás animados de un indio viejo que se levantó entre los demás y les exortó a voces que antes se dejasen matar que maniatar; y al punto, intentaron de romper el círculo y muela de españoles e indios de que estaban cercados para ponerse en huida, sin reparar entrarse por las puntas de las espadas con que los amenazaban y detenían los soldados, de los cuales pensaron defenderse con las hachuelas y cuchillos que tenían escondidos. Viendo los españoles que no podían detenerlos embistieron en los que más hacían por huirse y los detuvieron por fuerza, en que hubo algunas muertes y quedaron los demás presos. Y de los muertos, algunos que no murieron luego, se bautizaron disponiéndolos y catequizándolos nosotros. Ordenó después el gobernador que el campo todo se pasase a otro donde hizo información de los que habían sido más culpados en la muerte

que los xiximes habían dado a un español pocos días antes y vino a hallar once de los que estaban presos los cuales confesaron luego su delito. Y juntamente declararon que ellos y los demás xiximes que habían recibido a los españoles de paz con ánimo de matar a su señoría y después flechar a todos sus soldados cuando saliesen al pasar por los pasos más estrechos y dificultosos por donde los habían dejado entrar de propósito a la venida. Con esto los condenó el señor gobernador a muerte a todos once y ellos admitieron de muy buena gana la sentencia en pena de sus pecados. Y habiéndolos persuadido con la ayuda de Nuestro Señor a que se hiciesen cristianos antes de morir e irían a gozar de Dios al cielo, los catequizamos y dispusimos todo lo que nos dio lugar el tiempo, y habiéndolos bautizado al pie de los árboles donde los ahorcaban, murieron los nueve de ellos como muy buenos cristianos, dejándonos muy ciertas prendas de su predestinación y salvación eterna. El décimo que murió fue el viejo que los amotinó cuando el gobernador quiso quedarse con aquellos tres or cuatro en rehenes. Y por ventura permitió Nuestro Señor que por haber sido este mal viejo causa aquel suceso, muriese como murió desesperado sin haber habido remedio, por más medios y diligencias que con él hicimos que recibiese el agua del bautismo y así como lucharon de la horca abajo le flecharon los indios amigos de manera que parecía un erizo salido del infierno. El undécimo de estos condenados quedó con la vida a ruego del padre Francisco de Vera que intercedió por él, así por ser muchacho de poca edad, como por no haberse averiguado contra él más que haber andado en compañía de los matadores. Aquel indio cacique y gente amigo nuestro, aunque xixime, que por la afición que había cobrado a las cosas de nuestra santa fe desde la primera vez que había oído a los nuestros y conocido a los españoles, se había salido de entre los xixime, como arriba dije, con veinte pares de los suyos y venídose a vivir entre los acaxees cristianos junto al presidio de San Hipólito, donde tenía hecha una iglesia de Santo Tomé para juntarse él y los suyos a aprender las oraciones. Con deseo de ser cristiano había venido con su mujer a ver hacer justicia de estos delincuentes, y a reñir a los que estaban presos por el mal que habían hecho en quererse huir después de haber quebrado las paces y hecho tantas muertes, sin haber querido jamás dar oído a sus consejos por lo cual serían, y con razón, unos muertos y otros en miserable y perpetuo cautiverio. Digo pues, que este buen indio sabiendo que nos queríamos ir de Xocotilma a Guapisuxe en demanda de los demás indios xiximes que allá estaban nos pidió con instancia le bautizásemos a él y a su mujer, y los casásemos atento a que ellos sabían ya las oraciones y principales misterios de nuestra santa fe. Y quedaban en manifiesto peligro de que los indios que se habían huido y retirado a los peñoles y quebradas de Xocotilma diesen sobre ellos de repente y los matasen sin ser cristianos, por ser amigo de los españoles y haber dado paso y entrada libre en sus tierras. Pareciónos pedía razón el indio, y habiéndole hecho a él y a su mujer algunas preguntas de la doctrina cristiana y de las cuatro oraciones en que ellos estaban bien, los bautizó y casó el padre Francisco de Vera, honrándoles el gobernador con ser su padrino y hacerle poner a él su nombre de Francisco; y así se llamó don Francisco y su mujer doña María. Al tiempo de decir la forma del bautismo, hicieron salva de arcabucería los soldados, y los indios amigos tocaron sus atambores, trompetas y clarines con que se celebró por entonces, lo mejor que se pudo, el bautismo y matrimonio de don Francisco y su mujer doña María, dándoles el gobernador palabra de que al tiempo de crismarlos en el fuerte de San Hipólito, celebrarían más de propósito esta fiesta; de todo lo

cual se admiraron grandemente los indios que estaban presos. Finalmente dio el gobernador al cacique don Francisco un mandamiento o provisión en que perdonaba y daba por libres a cualesquier indios xiximes que quisiesen ir a vivir de paz con él, aunque hubiesen sido culpados y comprendidos en muertes y robos o levantamientos.

Con esto se fue el indio a su casa muy contento y nosotros tratamos de ir a buscar los xiximes de Guapisuxe, pero antes de levantar el real quemaron y asolaron los soldados el pueblo y rancherías y casas de Xocotilma para que no tuviesen más acogida allí los rebeldes; en las cuales hallamos colgadas más de mil calaveras de hombres que se habían comido aquellos inhumanos bárbaros, con otras muchas presas propias de los españoles como arcabuces, espadas reales. Hecho esto comenzamos a caminar a Guapisuxe, venciendo las mismas dificultades que habíamos tenido caminando a Xocotilma, y en descubriendo las primeras rancherías de Guapisuxe, envió el gobernador un indio de los que venían presos con la misma embajada que habían enviado a los de Xocotilma, el cual fue muy mal recibido y despedido con algunos flechazos que le tiraron, en sabiendo a lo que iba. Volvióse el indio a guarecer de los españoles los cuales fueron luego ganando algunos puestos que les podían impedir el paso, y con algunos arcabuceros ahuyentaron a los indios de aquella primera ranchería en medio de la cual hallaron un espectáculo que nos dio harto horror y pena a todos, y fue unas ollas de carne humana al fuego y un corazón de un hombre en un asadorsillo, y los ojos sobre una hoja de maíz, y la calavera monda con la demás osamenta colgada de un palo que para este efecto habían fijado en medio de la plaza. Aquí sacó el gobernador a otro indio de los presos y con él envió a rogar a un reyezuelo de Guapisuxe, a quien los indios tenían por Dios, y como a tal le temían y reverenciaban por los embustes que le veían hacer por arte del demonio, que se viniese a ver con él de paz y con seguro de que no recibiría daño ni detrimento alguno su persona ni gentes con él viniesen. Esta embajada fue muy importante porque halló el embajador al reyezuelo en consejo de guerra con los suyos, sobre si acometería o no a los españoles. Y así como oyó el recado del gobernador despidió a sus consejeros y se vino luego a ver y con él. El gobernador le recibió muy bien y le acarició y regaló a él y a su gente todo lo posible y habiéndole preguntado si venía de paz y si quería rehacer las paces pasadas que él y los suyos habían quebrantado, respondió, que él y diecisiete rancherías que tenía debajo de su mando estaban de paz y que nunca habían quebrado ellos las paces, pero que al presente estaban todos muy temerosos por ver lo que había pasado en Xocotilma, y enseñó unos peñoles donde los indios estaban huidos y empeñolados por ver tanta gente española y tantos indios amigos nuestros y enemigos suyos en su tierra. Fueron allá luego los soldados aunque con muy grande trabajo y hallaron las casas y rancherías desamparadas y robadas y a los indios enhambронados por aquellos peñoles y picachos. En esto apareció un indio xixime por un cerro muy alto pidiendo a grandes voces que fuese alguien adonde él estaba; avisado el gobernador de aquesto, mandó fuesen a verse con el indio dos soldados acompañados de otros dos indios vasallos del reyezuelo, estos subieron adonde el indio estaba, el cual salió a conocer con harto miedo, y dijo quería venir a hablar con el señor gobernador. Vino y habiendo sido muy bien recibido, confirmó lo que el reyezuelo había dicho, y que si le quería perdonar lo pasado, irían bajando de paz todos poco a poco. El gobernador prometió de perdonar a todos cuantos viniesen, y que si tanto temían el bajar todos juntos, que

bajasen las cabezas de los pueblos y rancherías con uno o dos acompañados para asentar las paces con ellos en nombre de todos, y que con eso se daba por contento. Con esto fueron bajando poco a poco y asegurándose cada día más, de suerte que ya piden hachas para hacer sus iglesias, y quien se las enseñe a hacer y padres que los adoctrinen y bauticen. Y para que entendiésemos hablaban de veras, hicieron luego dos enramadas a manera de iglesia en dos partes diferentes y pusieron en ellas sus altares con unas cruces y en una enramada de estas dijimos misa el padre Vera y yo algunas veces. Tuvieron noticia de esto los xiximes de Xocotilma y enviaron veinte de ellos a pedir al gobernador los perdonase y admitiese de paz porque querían poblar y ser cristianos donde su señoría más fuese servido, pero que atento eran muy pocos los que allá habían quedado, les hiciese merced de dar libertad a los presos y enviarles padres que los enseñasen y bautizasen. El padre y yo pedimos instantemente al gobernador aquesto mismo, y yo me ofrecí de ir a cristianarlos. Y su señoría dio luego libertad a todos los presos con gran liberalidad y pecho muy despacio, diciéndoles nos agradeciesen a nosotros aquesta libertad que concedía a sus hijos y parientes, a la cual no concediera sino fuera por pedírsela nosotros; y que así nos amasen mucho y obedeciesen en todo y por todo cuando volviésemos a enseñarles los santos de su pueblo y a edificarles sus iglesias. Ellos respondieron de que así lo harían y diciendo y haciendo llegaron todos a besarnos las manos y abrazarnos mucho. Debió de sentir el demonio esto porque con ocasión de estos pocos indios que se libraron de la servidumbre del cuerpo, se libraron de su duro cautiverio muchas almas; y esperamos en la dicha bondad y misericordia se libraron otros innumerables. Respecto de haberse ya dado de paz toda la tierra de los xiximes los cuales estaban derramados y esparcidos en más de sesenta cinco pueblezuelos, sin otros ranchos y casillas que tenían edificadas en varios cerros y quebradas y ahora quedan juntos y congregados en cinco pueblos buenos donde habrá de cinco a seis mil indios, a todos los cuales nos cometió el señor gobernador para que los catequiásemos y bautizásemos y ahora les quedamos haciendo sus iglesias para poderles predicar y administrar de propósito los santos sacramentos.

Hasta aquí el padre Alonso Gómez al cual y al padre Hernández de Santarén, que me pidió el gobernador como a persona tan antigua en estas misiones y de tanta experiencia para estas nuevas conversiones, señale para cultivar y ganar para Cristo Nuestro Señor aquellas almas. Y pareciéndome que no podía bien un superior en las sierras de Topia y las de los xiximes, por estar muy distantes para poderlas gobernar un superior inmediato, y hacer en ellos miel suficiente para los obreros de dos misiones; me pareció conveniente, con parecer de todos los padres que junté en Guadiana, dividir aquella en dos, dando a la una las serranías y quebrada de Topia y a otra la de San Andrés en que entran también los xiximes, poniendo en cada una un superior y los padres necesarios para cada misión. De lo dicho hasta aquí colegirá vuestra reverencia cuan áspera fragosa y montuosa es toda la tierra de estos xiximes de la cual dicen las relaciones que de ella vienen, así de los de fuera como los de nuestros, que está toda llena de ricos minerales de plata, pero más ricas son las almas que se van ganando de aquellas gentes bárbaras y se espera se irán ganando para el Señor, que es sólo lo que busca la compañía. Y adviértese de estos xiximes el gobernador, en una carta que me escribió, ser gente animosa y notablemente aplicada al trabajo, que es cosa rara y de mucha estima entre indios. Tienen muy buena estatura y buenos rostros; viveza de ojos y de ingenio,

aunque les falta el arte y la industria; son enjutos de carne y andan cubiertos todo el cuerpo en tiempo de frío, y en tiempo de calor de la cintura abajo, así hombres como mujeres; usan de cabello largo, y traénlo muy bien trenzado con cintas que las mujeres tejen de varios colores. Comían hasta ahora carne humana; y así hallaron los españoles cuando entraron en sus pueblos y casas, como arriba se tocó, colgadas mil setecientas veinticuatro calaveras, sin otros huesos innumerables que hallaron de hombres que habían muerto en las guerras, y después de comida la carne los colgaban en las paredes y puertas de sus casas por insignias de sus trofeos y victorias; y los que habían muerto algún hombre con sus propias manos traían en el labio de abajo atravesado un huesesito de aquel que habían muerto. Sus casas eran en dos maneras, unas hechas de paja a manera de chozas o jacales y otras de piedra muy bien labradas y pintadas pues de fuera con diversos matices y colores, y éstas estaban edificadas en cuadro a modo de fortaleza y así tenía cada una cuatro o cinco viviendas con su placita en medio y por las esquinas tenían sus troneras para flechar desde adentro, a su salvo, a los que quisiesen venirles a hacer guerra. Las puertas de estas casas eran tan pequeñas que cada una se podía tapar con una adarga y así cada puerta estaba bastantemente guardada y defendida con un indio. Susténtase de maíz, frijoles, calabazas, patatas, o camotes, zapotes, tunas, guayabas y otras frutas propias de aquella tierra. Del maguey hacen una comida a modo de conserva a la cual llaman en su lengua, mexcale. Cogen mucho algodón y mucha pita de que hacen mantas muy ricas y curiosas con que se cubren. Crian muchas gallinas de castilla, y muchos pájaros hermosos que llaman guacamayas y otros de plumas muy vistosas de las cuales hacen plumajes, y labran sus adargas y llenan de borlas sus lanzas cuyos astiles son de palo colorado como el del Brasil; y con estas lanzas y adargas y sus arcos aljabas y macanas salían a hacer guerra a las naciones comarcanas por sólo matar y comer gente, pero esto era después de haber cogido las frutas de sus sementeras. Y para tener feliz suceso en la guerra usaban de esta superstición y ceremonia: dejaban encerrada dentro de una grande cueva a una doncella de las que para este efecto tenían criadas con muy grande recato y vigilancia, y ésta ayunaba todo el tiempo que duraba la guerra por la victoria y buen suceso de ella, sin comer más que una vez al día por la tarde, y la comida no será más de un poco de maíz molido y revuelto con una poquita de agua, y cuando los indios volvían de la guerra si les había sucedido bien saludaban a la doncella, en llegando a descubrir el puesto donde había quedado encerrada, y le hacían una señal conocida entre ellos con que le daban a entender como le traían allí a su marido que era la calavera de alguno de los que habían muerto, y para cuando llegaban estaba ya esperando la doncella acompañada de todas las demás indias e indios que habían quedado en la comarca los cuales tenían mucha comida aparejada y en llegando los de la guerra entregaban la cabeza o calavera a la doncella, y ella la adornaba y componía regalándole que comiese y descansase porque venía muerto de hambre y cansado de la guerra, y para más regalarlo le llenaba la boca de comida y luego bailaba con los demás indios e indias trayendo la calavera en las manos hasta que todos se cansaban; y acabado el baile comían la carne cocida de los cuerpos muertos que traían de la guerra, que así engañaba el demonio a esta bárbara y mísera gente. Pero si les había sucedido mal la guerra no hacían nada de esto, antes reprendían y afrentaban a la doncella diciéndole que por no haber ella ayunado bien, o por haber conocido algún varón habían perdido ellos la victoria, y de esto quedaba tan corrida y avergonzada la doncella que no se

atreví a aparecer más entre gente, su gente. Finalmente adoraban ídolos hechos de piedra y de otras cosas, reconocían y confesaban la inmortalidad del alma diciendo que después de muertos se iban a la otra banda del mar del sur que estaba cerca de su tierra y la ven desde algunos puestos altos adonde afirmaban que estaban sus parientes con gran descanso aguardándolos con varias comidas y regalos. Pero ahora con la ayuda del Señor los desengañaron los nuestros de éstas y otras tantas mentiras y supersticiones con que los traía engañados el demonio.

Con esta nueva que vino de Topia del alzamiento y rebeldía de los xiximes se divulgó entre los indios acaxeos que, dos pueblos sujetos a los nuestros e inmediatos a los xiximes se querían rebelar y hacer a una con ellos contra los españoles. Fueron luego tres padres con una escolta de soldados a ver y entender la verdad que había en esto y hallaron lo que me escribe por estas palabras uno de ellos:

“Quiso Nuestro Señor llegásemos todos con salud a vista del primer pueblo y encolumbrándonos los indios, que en él estaban, levantaron una algazara vocería tan extraña que nos causó harto temor y pena teniendo por cierta la duda que llevábamos de si se habían alzado aquellos pueblos. Más proveyó nuestro Señor de que el capitán de los soldados que iban con nosotros fuese tan animoso, que rompió con gran valor y esfuerzo por medio de más de docientos indios embijados que salieron a recibirnos a guisa de pelear y halló que todos estaban de fingida guerra y verdadera paz y que habían hecho todo aquel ruido y aparato de guerra para mostrar el gozo que con nuestra venida habían recibido. Con esto entramos en el pueblo y hallámoslo todo lleno de niños y adultos enfermos de viruelas, y confesámoslos a todos y regalámoslos lo que pudimos. Y uno de los soldados sangró a todos los que halló con calentura, de suerte que por medio de aquella nueva falsa quiso Nuestro Señor que fuésemos a remediar a los cuerpos y almas de aquellos pobrecitos de los cuales llevó su majestad un niño y a una niña que me dio materia de harta confusión porque después de haberla oído de penitencia, apenas hallé materia de que poder absolverla; tanto era el cuidado que tenía de la pureza de su alma. Con esto nos volvimos muy contentos y aquellos indios así cristianos como catecúmenos quedaron satisfechos de que no pretendíamos más que el mayor bien de sus cuerpos y almas, y así nos trataron los días que allí estuvimos con más amor y familiaridad que nunca; no sólo los cristianos, sino también los catecúmenos que no poco desean ya verse bautizados. No pretendo cansar a vuestra reverencia y así acabo de decir que deseando aprovechar a todos estos indios grandes y pequeños, he puesto asentado en este pueblo de San Gregorio una escuela de niños para enseñarles a leer y la doctrina cristiana, de propósito; y ellos acuden muy de veras y lo toman con afición. Y los padres de los chiquillos me vienen a rogar cada día, reciba y enseñe a sus hijuelos en mi escuela la cual espero ha de ser de mucha gloria de Nuestro Señor y provecho de aquestos párvulos y adultos.” Hasta aquí dice la carta, y por ella y por lo demás que queda dicho se varán los empleos que tienen parte nuestros padres en estas misiones de Topia y xiximes que aunque por una parte son trabajosos, por otra son de tanto servicio y gloria de nuestro Señor que todo lo allana. Dos cosas me restan de decir brevemente a vuestra reverencia de todas estas misiones, la una es la que ahora apuntaba, que aunque los trabajos que pasan los nuestros en ellas son grandes, es tan copioso el fruto que cogen y tan asentado y tan sin estorbos de nadie que tengo para mí. Es de los más importantes y gloriosos empleos y de los de mayor fruto que nuestra compañía tiene en las indias, así orientales como occidentales, y sólo lo sienten los

que lo ven y lo tocan con la mano. La otra cosa es que en todas estas misiones hicieron los indios y los españoles, que por ellas andan, tales y tantas fiestas a la beatificación de nuestro señor, padre Ignacio que dieron muy gran motivo a todos los nuestros que las vieron y nos la han dado a los que hemos visto las relaciones para alabar a Nuestro Señor, que aún en aquellos extremos rincones del mundo honra tanto a su gran siervo y padre nuestro San Ignacio.

Estos son los frutos que los hijos de vuestra reverencia han cogido de sus trabajos de este año con la divina gracia en esta provincia de la Nueva España. Algunos no han podido llegar hasta ahora a mis manos y no puedo dar a vuestra reverencia en esta, cuenta de ellos pero en llegando se guardarán para la carta anual que el año siguiente se hará, con el favor de Nuestro Señor que nos guarde a vuestra reverencia muy largos años como la compañía ha menester y todos estos hijos de vuestra reverencia suplicamos.

México, 18 de mayo de 1611 años.

Rodrigo de Cabredo.

## The Tepehuan Rebellion Is Ended

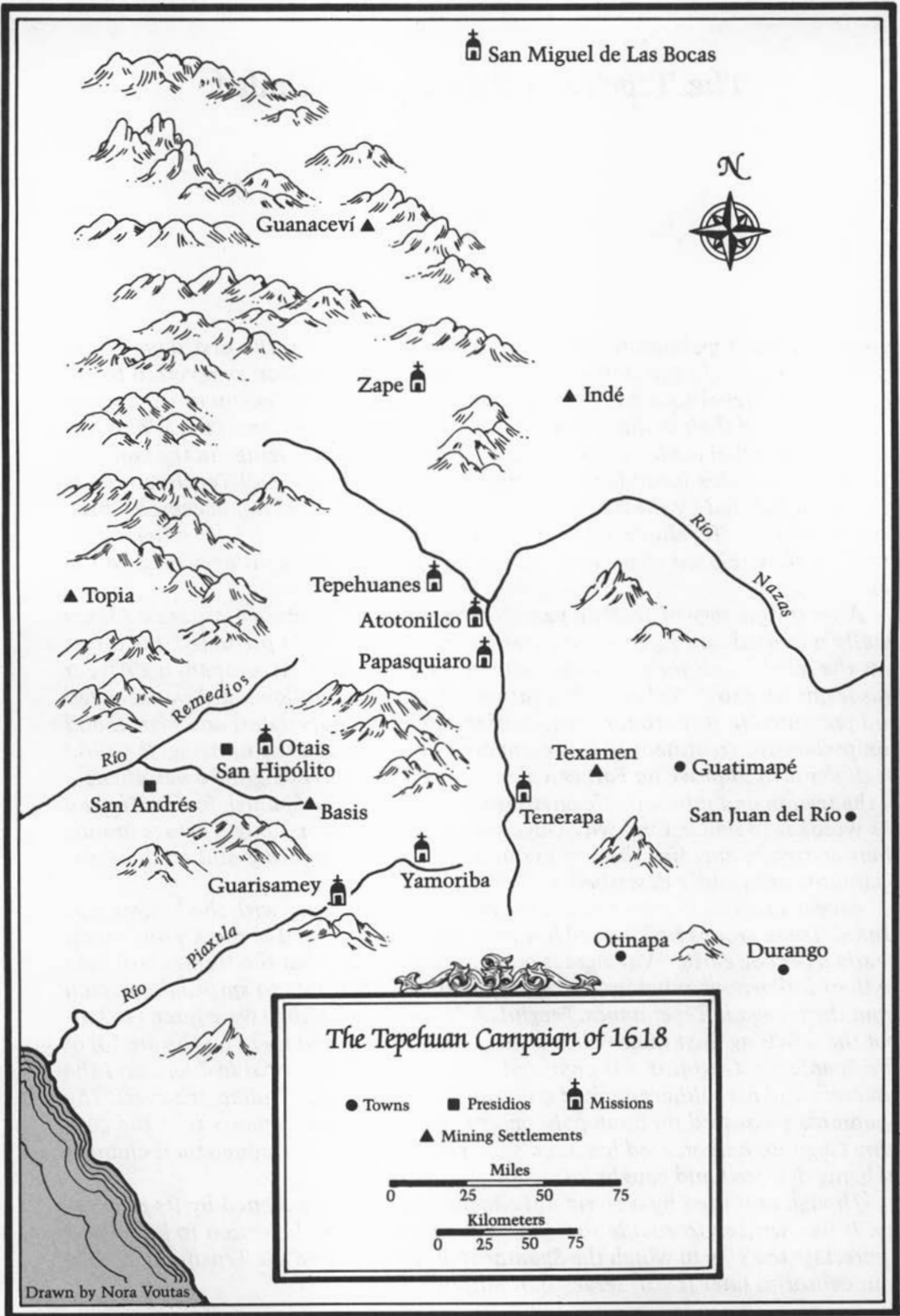
*Interest in the Tepehuan revolt has primarily centered on the first days of the uprising, when eight missionaries were martyred and large areas reverted to the control of the rebellious natives. For more than a year the Tepehuan were again total masters of their domain. Knowing to expect retribution from the Spaniards, the principal rebel leader, Gogojito, and his followers took refuge in the canyons draining west. This formidable country lay outside traditional Tepehuan lands and was inhabited by the Xixime and Hume. The latter had not accepted Christianity, and the Tepehuan rebels threatened them with nativistic religious reprisals if they refused to provide sanctuary in their remote villages deep in the canyons.*

*After the passage of nearly a year, Nueva Vizcaya Governor Gaspar de Alvear finally mounted an effective campaign to end the revolt. As predicted, his target was the rebel bands hidden in the canyons of the Humes. Accompanying Alvear was Jesuit Alonso de Valencia. His rather lengthy report follows and was selected and presented in its entirety because of the richness of its detail and logical and comprehensive treatment of this campaign, which ended the uprising. It would be difficult to improve on Father Valencia's skill in conveying the awesomeness of the terrain and inhospitable environment faced by the Spanish forces. To read his words is to understand why Gogojito and his followers sought refuge among their erstwhile enemies the Xixime and Hume. The suffering and trials of the Spaniards are vividly described.*

*Alvear's tactics involved first a restoration of friendship with the Xixime and Hume. These groups had caused few problems since the end of the Xixime revolt nearly a decade earlier. Valencia is at pains to point out that the Humes still held to their indigenous religion and were therefore vulnerable to spiritual coercion from the renegade Tepehuanes. Fearful of divine revenge, they were forced to harbor the rebels against their will, but they readily betrayed them on the arrival of the Spaniards. Gogojito was captured and executed in typical fashion, and the governor and his soldiers applied gruesome torture to other Indian prisoners. The Spaniards possessed no monopoly on cruelty, as Valencia reports that the cunning Gogojito had ordered his band's own infants killed to reduce their chances of being detected and caught.*

*Though authored by a cleric, this document is not weakened by its religiosity. It was written to enable someone far removed from the action to know and appreciate the way in which the Spaniards finally defeated the Tepehuan. Nearly four centuries later it still serves that purpose.*





**I** have longed for this opportunity to tell your reverence<sup>1</sup> of the trip which, by your order, I made to Guarisamey, Cocorotame, Humase,<sup>2</sup> and other villages in the company of the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya.<sup>3</sup>

These villages are now at peace, something this hapless republic had hoped for before. Thanks be to God, and may He continue His good works. With His aid we will have peace rather than war, and we shall witness the swift punishment of these treacherous Tepehuanes who have raged unbridled, committing all manner of misdeeds.

We left Guadiana<sup>4</sup> on Sunday, February 25,<sup>5</sup> with 60 Spaniards and 200 Indian auxiliaries. We halted in a clearing four leagues from the city and waited there all day Monday. This allowed the scouts the governor sent out to get ahead of us, and it also gave time for the entire company to assemble. Twelve Spanish soldiers and forty Indian auxiliaries—Laguneros, Xiximes, and Acaxees<sup>6</sup>—served as scouts. They were all under the command of Alférez Gonzalo de Uría, a trustworthy man who knows this land. The scouts' orders were to travel at night and hide themselves during the day. They executed their orders well and had the good fortune to capture an Indian, whom they sent to us on the third day of the expedition. This old Indian, named Antonio, had served under Capitan Mateo de Barraza<sup>7</sup> and was traveling with Francisco, a native of Bocas,<sup>8</sup> when captured.

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1. Either his provincial, Nicolás de Arnaya, or his superior, Juan Acacio.

2. These were Hume pueblos (Xixime-speaking) in the Piaxtla gorge where Xixime apostates fled following the quelling of the latter tribe's revolt. Jesuits first entered the area sometime after 1610, when Provincial Rodrigo de Cabredo ordered Juan del Valle and Bernardo de Cisneros to work among the recently pacified Xiximes there. Missionaries were not permanently established among the Humes until 1634, although San Pedro de Guarisamey and San Bartolomé de Humase were visitas of the mission at San Andrés.

3. The governor at the time was Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar, a native of Santander, Spain, and Knight of the Order of Santiago. He held the position of secretary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition prior to becoming governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya from 1613 to 1618. After quelling the rebellious Tepehuan, he helped with the conquest of Nayarit by sending troops there. Following his term as governor, he retired to his hacienda and vineyards at Parras.

4. The city of Durango.

5. Some sources give the date as February 21, 1617.

6. Also known as Irritilas, the Laguneros lived in the Bolsón de Mapimí area, north and east of Tepehuan territory. Jesuit missionary activity began among the Indians clustered around the lagoons in 1595, and a permanent mission community, Santa María de las Parras, was founded in 1598. During the Tepehuan rebellion, the Laguneros remained loyal to the Spaniards and served them as allies throughout the military campaigns against the rebels. The Xiximes and Acaxees inhabited the mountains and canyons of northwestern Durango and adjacent areas of Sinaloa. The Tepehuanes were only moderately successful in persuading these tribes to join the revolt; most remained loyal to the Spaniards.

7. Barraza was one of the original founders of Saltillo and in 1578 was given a grant of land at Parras.

8. This is probably the place that later became San Miguel de las Bocas on the Río Florido in extreme northern Durango.

As we learned later, Gogojito<sup>9</sup> had sent the two out as scouts. Our Lord was served when they came down from the heights of the sierra, from whence they commanded a good view, and fell into our scouts' ambush set up along the trail. Francisco was killed because he valiantly resisted capture. The scouts seized Antonio and sent him back to the governor—two marches behind—who asked the old Indian the reason for his visit. The ranchería of Gogojito is the customary gathering place of the Tepehuanes. When his lordship saw that Antonio was lying, he had the Indian submitted to the most rigorous torture. Blood ran from the Indian's fingertips and his legs were covered with blisters left by the hot coals applied to his feet. Yet he lay so still and silent that he could have been made of stone. Antonio claimed that he had come to greet the governor and to guide us to the Tepehuan rancherías at Sariama,<sup>10</sup> which lies in the territory of the rebellious Xiximes and is near Yamoriba<sup>11</sup> and Zapiuris.<sup>12</sup> He said that Gogojito had long since left these parts, for, driven by hunger, he had taken his squadron across the plains of Texamén and Guatimapé<sup>13</sup> with the idea of settling and planting fields in the serranía de Maxitome.<sup>14</sup> Frightened by our last attack, Gogojito wished to live far from the Spaniards. Antonio swore the Tepehuanes from Tenerapa<sup>15</sup> and Santa Catalina<sup>16</sup> were all in Sariama, and he promised to deliver them into our hands, offering to pay with his head as a liar if they were not.

Antonio's plan was to divert us from our path to Guarisamey by making us believe Gogojito was gone and that the Tepehuanes were in Sariama. The governor finally believed the old Indian and decided to attack Sariama instead of going on

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9. Gogojito was one of the principal military leaders of the Tepehuan rebellion and the last to be caught. He was particularly odious to the Spaniards for his role in the destruction of Santiago Papasquiario and the desecration of churches.

10. This document states later that the rancherías were located among tall peaks known as Sariama and were two days' travel from Yamoriba by trail.

11. Yamoriba was an Indian settlement up the main stream of the Río Piaxtla from Guarisamey. The Jesuit Santarén began work there in 1614, naming it Santa Cruz de Yamoriba.

12. Zapiuris was a Xixime settlement in the vicinity of Yamoriba. It was visited by Father Santarén in 1614. Father Pedro Gravina, from his Acaxee mission of Santa María de Otaiz, worked among the Xiximes until they expelled him and lapsed into paganism. The Xiximes there requested the return of Gravina when Alvear restored peace in 1618.

13. These were the names given a large upland plain on the eastern side of the sierra some 90 kilometers north-northwest of the city of Durango. The basin today contains the Laguna de Santiaguillo.

14. This is most probably Mojitomé, where there is a promontory overlooking the confluence of the Río de Ramos and Río Sextín in north-central Durango.

15. Tenerapa, located 30 kilometers south of Papasquiario on the Río Santiago, was the center of the Tepehuan rebellion. It was founded by Hernando de Santarén as a mission visita.

16. Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes was a Tepehuan pueblo 50 kilometers northwest of Santiago Papasquiario. In 1594 the small Spanish settlement there was made a *villa*, and Father Gerónimo Ramírez arrived to take charge of the mission. It was here that the Tepehuan revolt began and where the first of eight Jesuit priests (Hernando de Tovar) was martyred during this rebellion. The mission was rebuilt after the revolt, and a presidio was also established there.

to Guarisamey. Antonio had told us the Tepehuanes at Sariama were unprotected. On Sunday we reached the place where the road forks, and his lordship ordered us to halt for the night. He was on the verge of ordering the scouts, who were a day's march ahead of us on the road to Guarisamey, to proceed to Sariama when two Indians arrived with word from Alférez Gonzalo de Uría, head of the scouts. The Indians said that their group had reached the foothills of the Guarisamey mountains and had set up an ambush at a crossroads frequented by the Indians. They said Guarisamey lay only eight leagues from the ambush, and they wished to know if the scouts should wait for us or proceed. We were all prepared to order the scouts to return, as was the governor. But as God said through His prophet: *Oculis tuis considerabis et retributionem peccatorum videbis*.<sup>17</sup> Because God controls the destiny of princes, the governor suddenly changed his mind and decided that the entire camp should proceed to punish the evil Gogojito. His lordship accordingly sent the two Indians back to their leader with a letter ordering him to remain at the ambush until we should arrive. When Antonio heard of our new plan, he, like another Xenon,<sup>18</sup> tried to make us change our minds so that we might embroil ourselves at Sariama. He earnestly told the governor that the route we had chosen was so difficult that our beasts of burden could never traverse the many steep hills and canyons. He also added that even Indians on foot could not reach Sariama from where the scouts had set up their ambush because the sierra was so wild.

Although the old man told the truth about how rugged the mountains were, his objective was to trick us and lead us away from Gogojito. We all appealed to the governor to pay heed to Antonio, for we could see with our own eyes how difficult the mountains were. But the governor would not change his mind, and so the two Indians returned to the scouts with their orders.

Monday morning, the 5th of March, we set out for Guarisamey. We soon encountered all the difficulties Antonio had warned us of, plus additional ones. We even lost the trail of our scouts and followed one which crossed it, all an artifice of the devil to lead us from God's path. However, the devil's efforts were wasted, for the governor, seeing our error, headed in another direction and we soon found our scouts' trail. We followed it until four in the afternoon, at which time we encountered them. The troops were making camp and all were melancholy at the sight of the inaccessible mountains which rendered it impossible to reach Sariama. Suddenly, Gogojito, with thirty or forty warriors of his squadron, appeared. He was coming from the direction of Guarisamey, climbing a slope where our scouts were in ambush and whose crest we controlled. Gogojito was in the vanguard of his troops, accompanied by four captains on handsome mules. Oblivious to the danger, he spoke with them as they marched along. But, being an astute and crafty man, he kept his eyes on the trail and saw the tracks of a Laguna Indian who had passed by there shortly before. As soon as he recognized the tracks, he ordered his men to retreat. He himself turned to flee at full speed.

Our scouts had hoped that the Tepehuanes could be surrounded and had therefore allowed them to move up the slope. But seeing them all escaping, Don Fran-

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17. "You will consider and you will see with your eyes the retribution for your sins."

18. Zeno of Citium (ca. 335 B.C.—ca. 263 B.C.) was the founder of Stoic philosophy.

cisco de Amaya, an Indian captain from La Laguna,<sup>19</sup> shot Gogojito. The arrow entered Gogojito's throat, passed through his chest, and came out his right side. Gogojito threw himself from his mule in order to land on the top of a hill which fell sharply away to the left. Then another arrow, shot by another Lagunero named Francisco, pierced Gogojito's shoulder and came out his throat. Nonetheless, the wretched Gogojito managed to reach the top of the hill, but a Xixime, also named Francisco, caught up with him and shot him again. Thus Our Lord chose three Franciscos to punish the evil Francisco Gogojito. At this point the Spanish soldiers arrived. They had not fired for fear of hitting our allies, but they now stabbed Gogojito to death with his own lance. Four other Indians were killed, the most notable among them Agustinillo, son of Juan Soldado. A native of Saucedo,<sup>20</sup> he was a very bellicose Indian. The rest of Gogojito's men managed to get away because of a deep arroyo which separated them from our soldiers, who, even though they pursued the Indians valiantly, were unable to give battle. Our soldiers seized the mules and horses and cut off the heads of the dead to bring back to camp. I took Gogojito's head, which was still warm, in my hands and kneeled to say the *Te Deum Laudamus*,<sup>21</sup> while the entire camp accompanied me.

The governor selected 30 Spaniards and 100 Indian auxiliaries to pursue the enemy, leaving the rest in the camp. With the greatest haste, the force headed for Guarisamey in order to surprise those Tepehuanes who had remained in Gogojito's ranchería as well as other nearby rancherías. I could never exaggerate, your reverence, the labors we suffered that night amongst the cliffs, mountains, canyons, and precipices. We finally did travel the eight leagues to Guarisamey, and I can only say that I never thought eight leagues could be so rugged and difficult. We reached Guarisamey at about three in the morning. The first three rancherías we came to we found as deserted as a harvested vineyard. The army hastened toward the fourth. Before reaching it, however, we saw a Tepehuan cursing the Spaniards from a high place. This Indian was crying to the heavens for vengeance, screaming loudly at the Spaniards and throwing ashes in the air, but when he saw our men rushing toward him, he ran down the hill faster than the wind. Later, when we reached the ranchería, the army halted again and tried to get some much-needed rest. While your reverence rests and gives thanks to God for Gogojito's death, I will describe this gorge, the rugged location of its rancherías, and finally the clever defenses of Gogojito's own ranchería.

This gorge, lying forty leagues from Guadiana, runs from north to south.<sup>22</sup> It is coterminous with Cocorotame, a village of gentile Tepehuanes, and Humase,

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19. The shallow lake in the Bolsón de Mapimí and the adjacent region.

20. Jesuit Geronímo de Ramírez went originally to Saucedo, 65 kilometers north of Durango, in 1596 to minister to the Tarascan and Mexican Indian mine laborers there. Soon local Tepehuanes were attracted to his teachings, and many conversions were made. Saucedo was resettled after the revolt.

21. Literally, "We praise Thee, O God," this phrase is the opening line of a hymn probably written in the early fifth century and often associated with masses of thanksgiving following a victory.

22. The actual course of the river is southwest.

Yamoriba, and Zapiuris, villages of the rebellious Xiximes, some of whom are gentiles, some Christians. A placid river runs through the gorge until it throws itself through the canyons and flows into the province of Piaxtla,<sup>23</sup> where it is known as the Río de la Sal.<sup>24</sup> West of Guarisamey is the Rincón de Zamora.<sup>25</sup> It lies in such an inaccessible gorge that it can only be entered by climbing down rope ladders. Last year the governor went down into this gorge and made peace with its inhabitants, much to the surprise of the surrounding nations. They did not believe that Spaniards would have the nerve to go into such a deep and dangerous place where even they refuse to descend. It is a long and dangerous three leagues from the top to the bottom. There are nine pueblos in the gorge, and each pueblo is composed of four or five rancherías. Each ranchería consists of six or seven married couples. The principal village, which controls the entire gorge, is Guarisamey. The other eight villages are Toministame, Queibos,<sup>26</sup> Yazaboytia, Acuz, Yomocoa, Tomisitua, Zipamoytia, and Mosas.

The people who live in the gorge are called Humes, and although they are not Xiximes, they speak the same language. They are law-abiding people with one governor, who has his cacique in each village. The Humes are a hard-working people, and I greatly admired their fields planted on the steep hillsides. Maize grows exceptionally well there, and we were all amazed at the size and fullness of the ears. These Indians also grow beans, chiles, squash, chia,<sup>27</sup> and other seeds of the same sort. They also have sugarcane, zapotes,<sup>28</sup> guayabas,<sup>29</sup> and other lowland fruits. The gorge is so deep that these fruits grow in its depths, even though the highlands are cold and intemperate. In fact, we almost froze because of the snow which fell on the highlands. These Indians clothe themselves from the waist up with woolen mantles of delightful and variegated colors. They crown their heads with headdresses made of parrot and macaw feathers as well as leaves of beaten silver. Their arrow shafts are made of brazilwood,<sup>30</sup> as are their lances. They have iron hatchets rather than wooden clubs. They wear the tails of various animals with rattles attached. From birth they also own small mirrors which they obtain from Indians who go out into peaceful lands to trade. The Humes are an intelligent and articulate people. They live in flat-roofed adobe houses, plastered, beamed, and painted after our own fashion. There are five or six of these houses in each ranchería, arranged around a small plaza which is kept very smooth and

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23. This was the territory bordering the Río Piaxtla on the western slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental, in the state of Sinaloa, and which reached to the Pacific.

24. This was the name given the Río Piaxtla in the sixteenth century.

25. This appears to be another name for the Diablo Gorge within the Piaxtla drainage.

26. Queibos was a Xixime settlement in the Río Verde branch of the Río Piaxtla. The native Hinas name for the ranchería was Quilitlán.

27. A species of sage producing tiny, oil-rich seeds used for food.

28. One of several tropical trees with edible, fleshy fruit, such as *Achras zapota*.

29. Any of several tropical trees, *Psidium spp.*, bearing edible, yellow, and often acidic fruit.

30. Any of various tropical trees, most famous as dyewoods.

clean. Between the houses they leave narrow passageways to facilitate defense by a few against many. Also for purposes of defense their houses have extremely small doors which really look more like windows. These doorways are high above the ground and can only be entered in the following way. First one puts in his head, and then his arms to support the body. He then lets go so that the rest of his body may pass through. Although an inconvenient form of entry, it allows the Indians to protect their women and children during their frequent battles with the Tepehuanes, Xiximes, and Hinas. For their own reasons, these people are perpetually at war. Their rancherías are ingeniously located in this rugged gorge. Although they may be so close that the people can speak and communicate with one another, the rancherías are separated by such deep canyons and steep slopes that it is a sweaty task indeed to get from one to another. These Indians seem to get about with the ease of falcons, but even if we hurry, it takes us three or four hours to get from one place to another, and on our hands and knees at that.

Your reverence will understand that it would be impossible to capture these people in a surprise attack, or in any other way, for that matter. No sooner would we reach one ranchería than the other would flee. Even with a force of 10,000 men we could not lay siege to these peaks and gorges.

The crafty Gogojito had taken the remnants of his evil Tepehuanes to this *tunquam ad acrem anchorarum*.<sup>31</sup> But even in this refuge they could not escape our valiant and intrepid governor. I assure your reverence that his lordship is both zealous and determined to triumph over the greatest obstacles. He strikes fear in the hearts of our enemies, but he himself has no fear of mountains, hills, canyons, snow, ice, hunger, or exhaustion. He is always the first to scale a peak, and he throws himself into situations with a small force even when it looks like a multitude would be in danger. And Gogojito did not depend solely upon the existing natural defenses; we were forced to admire the fortifications, defenses, and means of protection he had developed.

Gogojito had fortified the first village, Guarisamey, so that he would be close to the road and could therefore easily go out to forage and raid. Three rancherías of the Humes, natives of this gorge, protected him from the front, because the one and only narrow path heading into the gorge passes through these settlements, surrounded on all sides by inaccessible peaks. After passing through these three rancherías, which can be done only with great effort, another Tepehuan ranchería was reached after a half-day of traveling. It was located on a hillside and inhabited by forty or fifty Tepehuanes under the leadership of Captain Hernandillo de Valenzuela,<sup>32</sup> a valiant Indian. The brush huts of the Indians were scattered around the jacal where the captain slept. Between this ranchería and Gogojito's there are both a deep canyon and two mountains which take a good two hours to climb. Gogojito's ranchería was located on a somewhat flat hilltop. His jacal was open on all sides to allow for a quick escape, and it was surrounded by his people's ranchos and rama-

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31. "As though to a lofty refuge."

32. A Tepehuan cacique and hechicero who organized rebel resistance in the Río Piaxtla region.

das. About four or six paces from his jacal was a small corral in which six mares were always kept ready. In case he had to escape, Gogojito had chosen a hilltop level enough that he had at least a league of ground flat enough that his mount would not throw him. Scattered clumps of brush dotted the hillside, but this was cleared of pines and other trees. Gogojito had another three rancherías as a rear-guard; they also belonged to the Humes, natives of the gorge. To the right, his ranchería was protected by several more Hume rancherías, and to the left, the deep river canyon served as a moat. This canyon is at least a league deep. In short, all the power of the king could not have captured this man in a surprise attack. Furthermore, 100,000 men could not have taken him either, because of the many surrounding inaccessible peaks.

I have given your reverence this description so that you may appreciate and glorify God's profound judgment: *mea est ultio et ego retribuam in tempore*.<sup>33</sup> Just when Gogojito thought he was so safe and protected, God's just vengeance made him pay for his evil deeds. To my mind, he deserved punishment for all his crimes. However, his worst offense, aside from idolatry, was a cruelty so terrible it sealed his fate and led to his punishment. He ordered newborn babies buried alive so that they would not hinder or disturb the movements of his squadron so it could move from place to place, doing harm but not receiving it. The means by which Our Lord drew Gogojito out of this stronghold was by afflicting him with hunger. Although Gogojito had brought a great many animals from the plains of Texamen and Guatimapé—nearly 300 head according to the tracks we saw and the skulls we found on his slaughtering grounds—half the animals had fallen into the canyon because of the ruggedness of the surrounding mountains. The rest had been eaten or stolen or purchased by the Humes. In this manner Gogojito's livestock was consumed and his people suffered great hunger. He was forced to send some of his women, children, and other non-warriors to Sariama, and others to Cocorotame, places even more rugged and inaccessible than Guarisamey. He had then set out with his squadron to raid the herds of Texamen under the light of the full moon. He had planned to steal from the few Spaniards who were grazing their livestock and mares there. He then planned to return, but not, as we learned, to Guarisamey. He had planned to move to another even more isolated gorge; and he had therefore sent out the two old men—whom with good reason he trusted—to find an unfrequented route. However, Our Lord made Gogojito pay for his sins, and He gave us our revenge. Our eyes had only hoped to see the death of such a savage enemy. Glory be to God: *qui magna fecit in Israel et victoriam dedu nobis Dominus Deus noster*.<sup>34</sup>

We found no Tepehuanes in Guarisamey. The native Humes, when they heard of our arrival and the routing of Gogojito's forces, fled to the roughest reaches of the mountains. We did not see a soul until, as a line of troops was reconnoitering the land, a Hume Indian appeared on the top of a steep hill. In a loud voice he said

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33. "Revenge is mine and I will repay in due time." Deuteronomy 32:35.

34. "Our Lord God, who has done great things in Israel, and given us the victory." 2 Machabees 10:38.



that his people begged the governor not to include them in the punishment of the Tepehuanes, for they in no way deserved it. He said that if his lordship would guarantee safe passage and promise to do them no harm, the Humes would come forth in their innocence to make their excuses. The governor responded that they should come forward with the assurance that they would not be harmed, but rather heard and pardoned. The Humes replied that two or three of them would go to a ranchería two leagues from where we were to meet with one Spaniard alone and Bautistilla, a Xixime and the only interpreter for such a *tlatole*.<sup>35</sup> The governor agreed to these conditions and accordingly sent Captain Tomás García, a man of singular valor and spirit, to accompany Bautistilla. However, a dozen Spaniards disguised themselves with plumes, feathers, and white loincloths and, along with several Indian auxiliaries, went along as an escort. This escort remained on a hill two rifle shots from the Hume village, because the Humes refused to come forth if the escort came any closer. The captain went forward, accompanied only by the interpreter. When he neared the Humes, they told him to lay down his rifle, which he did. Unarmed, the captain went a little farther forward, and the Humes came forward also. Finally there was only a deep ravine between them. The Humes were still armed with bows and arrows. The Humes then spoke to the captain, saying he should not be alarmed by the fear and caution with which they approached the Spaniards. They said that being natives of the gorge, where they had always lived happily, they had never seen Spaniards before. Furthermore, they had heard from the Tepehuanes that the Spaniards were a cruel, fierce, and carnivorous people akin to lions who destroyed and tore to bits everything they came across. They believed these stories because they knew how his lordship had slaughtered their neighbors, the Xiximes, in Jocotilma<sup>36</sup> a few years before. Now that his lordship was in the gorge, they feared to come before him.

The captain assured the Humes that his lordship had not come to do them harm; rather, he had come in search of our rebellious enemies, the Tepehuanes. The Humes responded that they realized they had angered the Spaniards by harboring the Tepehuanes. But, they added, if the governor assured them of his pledge of peace, they earnestly wished to appear before him, give him their excuses and make friends with the Spaniards. As a sign that they spoke truly and without trickery, they gave the captain two arrows, which, they said, was their inviolable oath. They asked that his lordship send them some token of friendship, and that he come to hear them explain the reasons for their actions, in which case he would find them worthy of pardon. The captain responded that the governor would certainly send them something but added that it would be more fitting if they went to the governor. The Humes said they agreed, but added that their fear was so great and they were so faint-hearted that they could not go alone amongst Spaniards. They concluded by saying they greatly admired the captain for coming alone and unarmed; from his actions, they could imagine the bravery of the Spaniards. With these and other courtesies, the captain bade them farewell and returned to us, bringing the governor the two arrows. In return, the governor sent

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35. A conference.

36. Xixime pueblo which had been the scene of earlier Indian troubles in 1610.

the Humes his robe of the Order of Santiago<sup>37</sup> as a token of friendship. The captain delivered it to the Hume chief, who kissed it as a sign of high esteem. The captain asked him again to come before his lordship, but the Hume made the same excuses as before. He added that he had heard there was a priest accompanying the governor, and he pleaded that his lordship, along with the priest, come and visit the Humes.

Once the governor knew of the Humes' determination, he decided to go see them with a few soldiers in disguise. When our party reached the rancherías, Bautistilla, our interpreter, announced our arrival. The Humes replied that only the governor, Captain Tomás García, and the priest (myself) could descend, insisting that we come without rifles. They said they were too afraid of us to let us carry weapons. We went to the accustomed place, and they went to theirs. The deep ravine lay between us. The Humes paid obeisance to the governor in their customary manner, after which he asked them to come over to our side of the ravine. They answered that they would not do so unless I went alone to the bottom of the ravine. I accordingly went down with the interpreter. When they arrived, I embraced them affectionately and they showed every sign of appreciation. I asked them their names, but they said because they were not Christians, unlike their neighbors the Xiximes, their names would mean nothing to me. I asked them why they were not Christians. They responded that they had no padre, nor did they deserve one, as did the Xiximes. I told them that if they so wished, the king would send a padre to instruct them. However, they said that now they only desired the friendship of the Spaniards, and they hoped I would serve as an arbiter. Promising to help them, I thereupon took them to the governor. The Hume chief, accompanied by two caciques, embraced his lordship, and the caciques paid obeisance after their fashion. Seeing the Indians so fearful, the governor could barely contain his own joy. The Hume governor addressed his lordship, saying what great satisfaction it gave him to see his lordship in this land. The Indian chieftain said he had always wanted to meet the Spaniards and make friends with them. He asked his lordship to forgive him for having harbored the Tepehuanes. Like an inexperienced youth, he had believed them when they had told him of a new god more powerful than ours who would come down from heaven and help the Tepehuanes and their allies to kill all the Spaniards and lay waste to Guadiana. The Tepehuanes had also told him that if his people refused their friendship, their prophet, Tlamatini, would ascend to heaven and destroy them with one blow. Thus, said the Hume chief, he had been so stricken with fear by the Tepehuanes' lies that he could not stop them from entering his lands. Over time, however, the Humes saw through the Tepehuanes' lies and tired of their nearby presence. The Tepehuanes' continual theft, treachery, and abuses also offended the Humes. The Hume chief lamented his lack of experience, saying his father and brother, both brave governors, had died a few years before. Had they been alive, he said, the

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37. A Catholic religious-military organization founded in the twelfth century in Spain. The order was originally established to fight the Moors and to provide protection for pilgrims en route to the shrine of Santiago de Compostella. Isabella and Ferdinand gained the right of making appointments to the order in 1493. A cape-like robe was part of the order's insignia.

Tepehuanes would never have dared enter the gorge. He added, however, that the Humes had finally taken up arms against the Tepehuanes. The Tepehuanes, fearful of the Humes and apprehensive of the Spaniards, had retreated to Sariama and Yamoriba. The Hume leader begged his lordship for forgiveness, saying he had heard of the governor's noble nature from the people of Rincón de Zamora, which the Humes in their own language call "Lengate Nabuco." The Hume chief said that because of his youth, he had erred out of ignorance rather than malice. He showed evident signs of happiness over the death of Gogojito.

The governor, through the interpreter, told the Humes that he would pardon their transgressions in the name of the king under two conditions. The first was that they should never again let the Tepehuanes enter the gorge as enemies of the Spaniards. The second was that as many of them as possible should join us to show us the way across the sierra and to participate in the attack on Sariama. The Humes thanked his lordship for his mercy and promised to comply perfectly with the two conditions in order to merit the kindness shown by him. They asked his lordship to disregard any rumors he might hear in Guadiana and to send someone to the gorge to find out if the Humes were living up to their word instead. They said that if they ever again aided or harbored the Tepehuanes, then the Spanish should take the gorge with fire and blood. The Hume chief asked his lordship for a few days in which to send word of the agreement to the nine villages in the gorge. He apologized for having no gifts or supplies to give us, certifying that they were suffering from want because the Tepehuanes had eaten their entire harvest. In fact, the Tepehuanes had left no seed to plant the next year and had eaten the ears of corn growing in the milpas. Nonetheless, they told us of a *ranchería* where we might find some maize and beans. With this, the governor gave the Humes permission to leave. As they were leaving, one approached Bautistilla, our interpreter, and in a flattering manner asked him to come to their *ranchería*. Bautistilla tried to refuse, but the Hume smiled and said, ironically, "Come without fear and tell Tlatoani to be here with his people so that he may help you when we kill you." Bautistilla went with the Humes, and many of them who had remained hidden in the gorges and canyons came forth to meet him. After receiving some small gifts, he returned to the *ranchería* where we were staying. We remained there eight more days, making a total of ten days we spent in those parts. Many great misfortunes beset us there. Both snow and rain fell in abundance, and we suffered from cold and hunger. Because we had left the main camp with the intention of attacking the Tepehuanes the next morning, we had brought supplies for only one day. The maize and beans the Humes gave us lasted only two or three days; because we were away so long, the soldiers were obliged to kill horses for meat in order not to perish. I greatly admired the governor's patience and spirit. He was always cheerful despite the fact that he slept upon the rocks with no other protection against the ice and rain than his cape. He lived off the parched corn, and not very much of it at that. Because of his example, the soldiers did not complain and they performed their tasks with gusto.

After the eight days, the Indians notified us that they had spread word of the new peace throughout the gorge. As before, we went to their *ranchería*. Their leader, an Indian about twenty-two years old, came to greet us. He was a good-looking man, fine-featured and intelligent, whose name was Mehigua. Mehigua paid obeisance to the governor and embraced me. He also embraced Captain Don

Antonio de Gama (a man of Christ and a Portuguese gentleman of great bravery and good deeds), Captain Tomás García, and Juan de Vargas, the secretary. Through the interpreter, Mehigua thanked his lordship for his kindness in helping the people of the gorge. He assured the governor that all their surrounding enemies would now fear the Humes and no longer dare to attack them because of the friendship bestowed upon them by his lordship. The people of the gorge unanimously thanked his lordship for the mercy shown them and promised to die, if necessary, in the service of the Spaniards. They swore to resist by force of arms any Tepehuan intrusion into the gorge. Time will be their witness.

In order that his lordship's campaign to destroy the Tepehuanes of Sariama, Yamoriba, and Zapiuris would meet with success, the Humes proposed a plan. They suggested that the governor and his entire force proceed to Zapiuris, a place from which the Tepehuanes would certainly flee. The same day, the Humes proposed to hide themselves in the heights and narrow passes near Guarisamey and Sariama. Routed from Zapiuris, the Tepehuanes would have to escape to those locations, where the Humes would kill or capture them. The Humes promised to deliver to the governor the live prisoners or the heads of the dead ones. To carry out the plan, the Humes made two requests. The first was for a flag they could carry so that during the attack our people would not confuse them with the Tepehuanes and do them harm. His lordship immediately gave them a flag, which they received with great pleasure and excitement. Their second request was that we calculate how many days we would spend in getting to Zapiuris so that our attacks would be synchronized. We figured it would take us twelve days, so the Humes asked us for the same number of sticks. Each day they would throw away a stick until there were six sticks, or six days, left for them to reach Yamoriba. However, when they counted the twelve sticks, they asked for three more. They said we should allow more time because our mules would tire from the cold and difficult travel. The governor admired the Humes' foresight and planning and promised to give them in the name of his majesty four hatchets, four knives, four hoes and machetes, and an outfit of coarse cloth for each Tepehuan head. The Humes became extraordinarily excited at this news because they highly valued such goods. His lordship gave the Hume leader and another young man, the leader's relative and companion, two cloaks of fine cloth, knives, kerchiefs, and other things. Some of the Humes bartered drugs with our Indian auxiliaries. These sales and exchanges are an inviolable sign of firm peace amongst these barbarians. The Spaniards fired their arquebuses as a sign of pleasure, and the Indians raised a great cry which echoed through the cliffs. Bidding them farewell, we left them in their rancherías and returned to our camp pleased and satisfied.

I cannot fail to describe something which happened to us that day, for it shows the anger and anguish with which the devil conceives his evil work. Between the two rancherías there stood a jacal where Tlamatini, the prophet of the Indians, had lived with the devil. I asked his lordship to burn this jacal because it had been the devil's abode. The governor granted my request and the jacal was burned, much to everyone's satisfaction. We proceeded to our ranchería and were eating when suddenly one of the houses caught fire. We neither knew how or where the blaze began. Despite the efforts of the entire camp, the flames could not be extinguished. When the blaze was at its height, a whirlwind sprang up and spread the fire to other houses. Although we tried to beat the flames down with hides,

our efforts were to no avail. The governor was obliged to send the interpreter back to the ranchería of our new-found friends to explain what had happened. The interpreter assured them that the fire had not been intentional, and offered to pay the owner of the house in the governor's name. The Humes sent back word that they regretted his lordship should have been worried by such a slight misfortune. The mountains were not so denuded of wood, nor were they too busy, to build another dwelling. They told his lordship to leave happily, for they were honored to have been deemed worthy of meeting him. Our Hume friends are very understanding.

About twelve the next day we set out to return to our main camp. Although we traveled as fast as we could, we managed to backtrack only two leagues over the roughest ascents. The way was so rugged we barely kept from falling to our knees. It was late by the time we reached the first place we had stopped on our way to Guarisamey. We passed an uncomfortable and rigorous night because of a sharp north wind that blew all night long. By morning we were frozen, for we had no other protection than what our cloaks and the stones afforded. Everyone, from the governor to the lowest soldier, was afflicted. We neither ate that night nor had breakfast in the morning. We set out on foot to climb a steep grade one league and a half long. After crossing more canyons, we finally reached our camp and were heartily welcomed. We found that many mules had died because of the severe cold. We rested at the camp for another day, Saturday, March 17, and I said mass *in gratiarum actionem*<sup>38</sup> to the Holy Virgin for the success she granted us in Guarisamey.

That afternoon of our return from Guarisamey, there occurred something which gave us great pleasure and good reason to thank God. In order to illustrate how He provides for his creatures and gives them sustenance, I will describe this event.

One of our Indian auxiliaries had very carefully saved a small quantity of maize. While crossing an especially rough place, the horse carrying this maize slipped and spilled its load. The Indian wanted to stay and gather the maize, but one and all yelled at him to desist, for if he remained alone his life would be in danger. As I passed by, I told him to cease his efforts, saying none would lack food. And none did, for that afternoon, on Saturday, a poor mulatto named Dominguillo came into the camp. He belonged to Captain Gaspar Dávila but had been captured by the Indians in Santiago Papasquiario<sup>39</sup> when they killed his master. Dominguillo, who was twelve or thirteen years old, was held prisoner by the Tepehuanes in the mountains around Sariama. When he heard the Spaniards had reached Guarisamey, he fled his captors. He was forced to hide on a hillside for three days without food to escape the diligent search. Finally he left his hiding place and followed our trail. He would surely have perished had not Our Lord provided that he find the spilled maize: *dispersit, dedit pauperibus*.<sup>40</sup> The mulatto ate some of the

38. "In grateful action," that is, "giving thanks."

39. Santiago Papasquiario was a Tepehuan settlement founded on the Río Santiago, northwest of Durango. The pueblo served as the cabecera for the region, with visitas at Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes, Atotonilco, and Tenerapa. Santiago Papasquiario was destroyed during the Tepehuan revolt, but it was resettled after 1620.

40. "He dispersed and gave to the poor."

maize and later found an exhausted mare we had left behind. He mounted her and came at full speed toward the camp. When he arrived, he was nothing but skin and bones. The governor asked Dominguillo what he would have done if we had returned to Guadiana. Dominguillo responded that he would have followed our trail. When asked what he would have eaten, he said earth, for he would rather die free than live among such bad people as the Tepehuanes.

In conformity with the plans we had made with the Humes, we set out on Sunday, March 18, and proceeded with great caution. The governor sent out scouts in every direction to ensure that none of the enemy who might observe and report on our advance were hiding in the mountains, thickets, or crossroads. We continued our march until the 24th, but our scouts found no Indians or sign of them. That day we stopped a day's march from Zapiuris, a village of rebellious Xiximes allied with the Tepehuanes. At this point, the governor decided it would be convenient to capture some lawless Indian who could give us information on the trail to Yamoriba and on the Tepehuan ranchería. His lordship therefore ordered Captain Gonzalo Martín de Soria, a brave and very careful man, to scour the surrounding peaks, canyons, and crossroads with twenty Spaniards and eighty Indians. They encountered nothing until the night of the 27th, when Alférez Bernabé de Arriola with six Spaniards and fifteen Indians happened upon a jacal on the steep slopes about half a league from the village. It was around midnight, and they found two Indian men and an Indian woman with a babe at her breasts. The Indians were there to clear out brush so they could plant a field. The alférez and his men fell upon them without being seen or heard and soon had the Indians bound and gagged so they wouldn't cry out. The alférez traveled the remainder of the night and brought them into the camp around twelve. It was a happy day, for although we had only horsemeat to eat, we now had prisoners. The soldiers ate the horsemeat with such gusto that it might as well have been pheasant, and not a complaint was heard. When the prisoners were brought before the governor, they fainted from fright and lay speechless upon the ground. It was necessary to feed them and comfort them a bit. Finally they were interrogated, one by one. Their stories coincided, and in essence this is what they said. Zapiuris was populated by Xiximes who could easily be conquered if the governor was prepared to attack. Yamoriba was three days' travel away, but by the roughest and most difficult road in all the sierra. The Tepehuanes lived among some tall peaks, known as Sariama in their language, another two days' travel from Yamoriba. They offered to lead us to the Tepehuan ranchería but could not promise we would take it. They said the Tepehuanes were very vigilant especially since Gogojito's death, which had given them a terrible fright. The governor, having such excellent guides, could well have reached Zapiuris that night and struck in the morning without its inhabitants knowing the better. However, in conformity with the viceroy's orders, which were to make peace with all the nations surrounding the Xiximes, his lordship resolved to do the following.

He gave Captain Tomás García forty Spaniards and 130 Indian allies and ordered him to proceed with all speed to Sariama. Captain Tomás García had three days in which to reach his destination, because, on Saturday night, the last day of March, he had to be poised for the Sunday morning attack we had arranged with our friends the Humes. His lordship gave him the two Indian prisoners—Francisco and Martín—in chains. Francisco was to be sent to make peace with the Xiximes of Yamoriba and to assure them the Spaniards would do them no harm,

provided they surrendered peacefully and did not help the Tepehuanes. Martín was to serve as a guide to Sariama. The two captives knew that the pardon his lordship offered was true, and that on no account would we harm the Xiximes as long as they wished to be our friends. And so they were in good spirits and happy to perform their tasks. His lordship sent the Indian woman, María, to Zapiuris with a letter telling the people of that village to make peace. The next day the remainder of the army—very few soldiers indeed—set out as a rearguard for Captain Tomás García in case he should encounter trouble at Yamoriba. On Saturday we neared Yamoriba, and the next day his lordship left the camp and, taking only a few people, set out for the village in a flash. In the meantime, Captain Tomás García's troops ahead of us reached the Tepehuanes. Arriving in Yamoriba, the governor's party had no trouble following the captain's trail because it had never stopped raining during those three days. It snowed every night as well; I have never experienced such cold in my life. We found the village calm and its inhabitants gentle. Before I describe what happened there, I should mention that the area is similar to Guarisamey. The dress, language, and the docility of the people are also similar. Nonetheless, this area is many times more rugged than Guarisamey, which is why the Tepehuanes had taken refuge there.

What had happened, then, was that our new and good friend Mehigua, governor of Guarisamey, had arrived the day before with fifty men to block the Tepehuan retreat. He was discovered by the people of Humase, Yamoriba, and Zamoi-tua,<sup>41</sup> but he parleyed with them. He explained how they had all suffered at the hands of the Tepehuanes. He also threatened them, telling them of his new alliance with the Spaniards, for whom he would die if necessary. He spoke with such authority, frightening them to such an extent that one and all took up their weapons and hid themselves so that not a single Tepehuan would survive the attack. At this point Francisco, our prisoner, arrived and confirmed what Mehigua had said. Finally, Indians and Spaniards converged upon the Tepehuan rancherías, only to find the enemy had escaped undetected. The Tepehuanes, being very cautious and not trusting the natives for fear they would join Mehigua and the Spaniards, had stolen away two days before. No one saw or heard their departure. They had left fires burning, two at one side and four on the other. In order to leave no trail they scaled the most rugged peaks. Thus the Tepehuanes had left the land which they, with good reason, thought unsafe. Eventually the Spaniards met up with Mehigua's Humes, who were lamenting the Tepehuanes' foresight. One and all came to the governor in Yamoriba, where the Indians continued to lament the fact that they had not taken revenge upon the Tepehuanes. The Indians were obviously happy to see his lordship and they shouted their cries of joy while the Spaniards fired their muskets. Everyone hugged his neighbor while Mehigua sat and spoke with his lordship.

Saying he could not have been happier even if his own father were resurrected, Mehigua welcomed the governor, adding that he loved his lordship like the light of his eyes, and that he hoped for further occasions to show his love for the Spaniards by serving the governor. The Indian chief said it hurt him deeply that the

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41. A ranchería of Xixime speakers located in the Piaxtla drainage.

Tepehuanes had slipped through his hands but that some day God would punish them all as He had Gogojito. Mehigua, speaking on behalf of his people, assured his lordship that the Humes would forever be enemies of the Tepehuanes and would kill any who tried to enter the gorge. He promised to send the heads of any Tepehuanes they killed to Guadiana so his lordship might witness the good faith of Mehigua and his people. Mentioning the alacrity with which his people had served, Mehigua asked, by way of payment, that his lordship place the people of Yamoriba and Humase under his paternal care. As promised, Mehigua had brought the people from these villages to make peace with his lordship. The governor again thanked Mehigua for his goodwill and promised to protect and always be as a father to him. His lordship said he would pardon the delinquents because of Mehigua's intercession on their behalf, but he told the Indian leader to be prepared to punish the people of Cocorotame for collaborating with the Tepehuanes. Mehigua asked the governor to also pardon the people of Cocorotame, assuring him that although they spoke Tepehuan, they were really Humes and relatives of his. He said they wished to make peace but had not come forward because they felt guilty and had never seen Spaniards in their lives. Mehigua promised to bring these people to swear obedience to his lordship, if the governor would return to Guarisamey and await them near the place where Gogojito had died. Mehigua also asked me to intercede with the governor on their behalf. The governor agreed to pardon them provided the captains of Cocorotame would come. His lordship set a day upon which they would meet. He allowed us twenty days to establish peace in Yamoriba, Yamoyoitua,<sup>42</sup> and Zapiuris and to return to Guarisamey. The valiant and honorable Mehigua then asked permission to go home with his people. The governor granted it, and Mehigua bade us farewell, embracing his lordship, the captains, and me.

We spent the remainder of the day amazing ourselves at the sight of such rugged land, such high and inaccessible peaks, and such deep canyons. We recognized God's work, for if the Tepehuanes, Humes, and Xiximes had joined together, all the power of our lord the king would not have enabled us to conquer them without great loss of life. The local Indian leader sent word that he could not come that day because he was assembling the captains of all the surrounding rancherías. He promised to come the next morning. He kept his word, and at about nine o'clock he appeared with seventy chiefs. All were painted and armed for battle with bows, arrows, and lances. His lordship was staying in a suitable and pleasant house, and when the chiefs came to the door, he had them enter. They set aside their bows and quivers and came in to embrace the governor and me. They then sat down in order of rank, and their leader, an old man about seventy years old whose name was Mihayhuet, ordered one of them to welcome his lordship. The Indian did so with signs of joy. His lordship thanked them and ordered that peace be made under the same conditions that applied to the Guarisamey. The governor of Humase, named Maicohueta, then spoke. He agreed to the promised conditions that his people would always be our friends and enemies of the Tepehuanes. The Indian leaders then spoke to me, saying they were grateful that his lordship had pardoned

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42. A probable variant of Zamoitua.



them and made peace. They also promised that as soon as they harvested their crops they would go fetch the padres at San Hipólito and carry them back on their shoulders.<sup>43</sup> They promised to build churches, listen to the padres' sermons, and to become good Christians like their neighbors in Zapiuris and Guapisuxe.<sup>44</sup> They asked me to write the padres and tell them that the Indians would be as their sons and would be obedient. I thanked them for their good faith and exhorted them to fulfill their promises. The old Indian Mayhuel [Mihayhuet] then raised his hand with authority and began a long parley with his lordship. Mayhuel said it gave him great pleasure to make peace, and he promised that his people would deport themselves properly. Mayhuel told his lordship to witness how the Indians trusted him, for they had set aside their weapons even though they were surrounded by Spaniards. The slaughter of their relatives, friends, and neighbors in Xocotilma was still fresh in the Indians' minds, yet they had still come to make peace, profess their friendship and show their great love for the Spaniards. His lordship thanked the Indian leader for his trust and sent them away satisfied, after giving them some small gifts. The Indians went out and spent the day buying, selling, and conversing with our soldiers. They begged us to fire our weapons as a sign of celebration, and we did. They gave their cries and the canyons rang with the sounds of joy.

His lordship had heard that two Indian leaders from Zapiuris named Tucapel and Baucomani were staying with the people of Yamoriba. One of them had sent his son among the Yamoribas to see how things were going with the Spaniards. His lordship asked about these two chiefs, and the governor of Yamoriba told him they were in the ranchería, terrified on account of their crimes. The governor summoned the two, promising they would be pardoned. Yet they did not come until Bautistilla, our interpreter, took an arquebus and went after them. He knew what to say and reassured them so that on Thursday morning, April 5, they appeared before his lordship. Their arrival greatly pleased the governor and the rest of us because the peace and stability of this land depended on them. Both of them were shaken, especially Tucapel, because he was the more criminal and the principal instigator of the uprising; he could neither raise his eyes from the ground nor speak clearly for a long time. The governor made him feel even worse by reciting an exaggerated accusation of his crimes so that the pardon would mean even more. The governor set the same conditions for the peace, and the Indians promised to be our friends until death. To celebrate the event, they begged permission to summon the entire pueblo of Zapiuris. We set out that afternoon, and it cost us great effort to climb a steep grade, about three leagues long, on foot. The natives greatly admired this feat; they had not believed Spaniards would attempt such a climb. Their admiration was even greater when some of our soldiers went on foot

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43. They were Pedro Gravina and Juan Mallén. San Hipólito was a mining real in the mountains in Acaxee territory, near the Xixime frontier. A presidio was established there by 1607, after San Hipólito had already been destroyed once during the Acaxee uprising in 1602.

44. Guapisuxe was a mining real and Xixime settlement located on the Río Remedios between San Hipólito and Santa María de Otaíz (Otaés). It figured prominently in the Xixime rebellion of 1610.

into the sierra in search of supplies and to barter for maize and climbed the ladders that the Indians have on the cliffs. Not even all the Indians climb these ladders. The natives were so full of admiration that they joined them and brought the maize themselves. They also told the governor what agile, valiant, and courteous men the Spaniards were. Seeing the Spaniards climbing and sporting among the cliffs, the Zapiuris realized that the Tepehuanes were liars, for they had said that the Spaniards, though valiant in the flatland, were worthless in the sierra. The next day we reached the camp and found we had been anxiously awaited. We rested the remainder of the day and set out the next for Zapiuris.

Something happened that day which greatly pleased us and brought us good fortune. Three Indian allies who along with their companions were scouting ahead of us found the trail of some livestock which had passed through only a few days before. With the speed of lightning bolts, the Indians came to notify the governor, who immediately set out with only the men remaining and the three Indians. We followed the trail through the thickets, and after about half a league we found two dead cows. A little further on we came upon a dead mule, shot with arrows. Further yet we found a saddled mule. With such clear evidence of the enemy's presence, we pursued them like lightning bolts. We traveled seven leagues over the harshest land I have seen in my life until we reached a slope so steep we had to dismount and lead our mules. We soon saw about 100 cows, maimed and exhausted by their journey, in a small valley. We circled around to capture the Tepehuanes, but they were so frightened that they could not even yell and fled instantly. Our group separated, some to round up the cattle, some to pursue the enemy. The governor, with only two soldiers, leapt down the cliff and chased the enemy for a good league. The governor is such a brave and determined gentleman that, *coram Deo*,<sup>45</sup> he never ceases to surprise me. We waited for his lordship two long hours, each of us remaining at his post. At the end of this period we saw him searching among the peaks for the enemy. He finally arrived, saying the Tepehuanes were so fleet that they had escaped on foot. We therefore tried to rest in the Tepehuan ranchos, where we dined on very good veal (even though it was the Friday before Palm Sunday). Nothing has surprised me more during this expedition than the tolerance and good cheer with which his lordship as well as the soldiers have subsisted until now on small quantities of parched corn and horsemeat. They eat this grim fare with as much pleasure as if it were partridges. It appears that as a reward for such fortitude, He that provides *in tempore oportuno*<sup>46</sup> gave us this beef. We spent an apprehensive night, and the next morning we set about driving the cattle back to camp.

In order that we might better recognize His hand in providing us with the livestock, God allowed two things to happen. The first was that of the ten of us, five were famous cattlemen who had been raised in the saddle and were owners of cattle ranches. The second was that we took mares and fast horses from the enemy, which we needed to drive the cattle. When we reached the steep slope that had caused us such difficulty the day before, we were concerned that the Tepehua-

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45. "Before God," that is, "as God is my witness."

46. "At the opportune moment"; "at the appropriate time."

nes might attack us. His lordship therefore took the lead, riding his surefooted mule and with his musket ready. We followed him and saw no Tepehuanes. Being despicable folk, they were afraid to come forward and claim their livestock. The slope was so steep that a few Tepehuanes could easily have caused us a great deal of trouble. The cattle, all of which bore Gaspar Dávila's brand, made it up the hill. On the way back to the camp, we saw an Indian running like the wind from hill to hill. We flew after him, and God provided that, despite the Indian's fleetness and resistance, we should capture him. The governor questioned him under torture, and we thus learned the story of the livestock.

The Indian said he was native of Zapiuris, adding that his people were waiting to make peace with us. He said the Tepehuanes had gone down to the plains a few days before, during the new moon, to steal cattle. The animals we were now driving were those they had stolen. These Tepehuanes had not known of Gogojito's death, the presence of our army, or the flight of the rest of their people when they had gone raiding. They came back by a different route three days before, sending a Xixime to Yamoriba to fetch people to help them with the cattle. Our new friends in Yamoriba, who knew of the peace, ordered this Xixime to leave the Tepehuanes and never join them again. The people of Yamoriba wished to have no further communication, friendship, or commerce with the Tepehuanes, and they threatened to kill the Xixime if he rejoined them. Nonetheless, this Xixime returned to the Tepehuanes and told them that our army was only six leagues away. The Tepehuanes had already seen our trail and were frightened and worried. They quickly tried to hide the cattle in the peaks and gorges, but their efforts were to no avail. We, however, enjoyed good fortune; if we had not found the livestock, we might have died of hunger. We no longer had extra horses to kill for meat and had no other food. Our troops had been living on nothing but meat; they had no maize, bread, or anything else. Many had become ill as a result of this diet, but sickness did not prevent them from valiantly doing their work. We reached the camp the same day. When our Spaniards and hungry auxiliaries saw the cattle, they cheered. The Spaniards fired their guns and the Indians gave their cries. His lordship and those of us who accompanied him were thanked a thousand times over. His lordship immediately ordered Captain Tomás García to assemble his squadron of Spaniards and Indians. After slaughtering enough cattle for provisions, the squadron was ordered to set out the next day in search of the fugitive Tepehuanes.

Captain Tomás García's orders were to pursue the Tepehuanes until he caught them. The captain immediately set about readying his squadron, and they left the next morning at dawn. Our group set out for Zapiuris. His lordship ordered Captain Alonso Hernández Castellanos, a veteran of singular courage and discipline, to take the troops to the heights above the village while his lordship, Captain Alonso Martín, and the rest of us went into the village. Zapiuris is a Christian village, its people having been baptized and taught by the holy padre Hernando de Santarén. Being a bellicose people, however, they had joined the Tepehuan rebellion, as had some of the people of Guapisuxe, and all the people of Basís, Huahuapan,<sup>47</sup> and Tenchius. The people of Zapiuris had given refuge to the Tepehuanes

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47. San José de Basís was a mining settlement on the upper Río Remedios. The Huahuapan is a tributary of the Río Remedios below Basís.

and had participated in their evil deeds as well. For this reason, Captain Jucane, under orders from his lordship, had entered their territory by way of San Hipólito a few months before and attacked them. He killed many of the rebels, but those who survived deserved similar punishment because of their treachery and perfidy. However, his lordship, following the order of the viceroy, had come to pardon them and make peace.

We went down to the village, seeing on the way the burned and destroyed church. We stopped in one of the *rancherías* where the two leaders, Tucapel and Baucomani, immediately presented themselves to his lordship. Orating in the customary manner of their people, the two leaders asked the governor to pardon their people. They promised to mend their ways and assured his lordship that their crimes were a thing of the past. His lordship told them the conditions of the peace, adding that they must rebuild the church and obey Padre Pedro Gravina.<sup>48</sup> Padre Gravina has been at the fort in San Hipólito quite afflicted by the sight of his misled parishioners. The Indians promised to meet the conditions of the peace. They volunteered to leave their surrounding *rancherías* and congregate in one village around the church. The dearly remembered Padre Santarén had striven for this but had never accomplished it. The Indians asked his lordship to designate a suitable place for the new village. His lordship agreed to send them padres, provided the Indians kept their word. The Indians promised to do so, and the chiefs begged permission to summon their people so that they might pay obeisance to his lordship and receive his pardon. Permission granted, the Indians left and soon returned with all their men, women, children, and old people. One and all joyfully embraced his lordship and kissed my hand. I exhorted them to live peacefully and to be friends with the Spaniards. I told them it would go badly for them if they disobeyed the padres, strayed from their devotion to Our Lord, and did not rebuild the church. The Indians showed their great desire to mend their ways. The next day we left to join the rest of our group in the land of the Tepehuanes, in order to leave no refuge for these evil people. In order that we might successfully realize our goal, the governor made the following arrangements.

He ordered Captain Gonzalo Martín de Soria to proceed toward San Hipólito with his squadron of Spaniards and Indians. The captain's orders were to visit the friendly Xixime villages to confirm our friendship and to tell them of the peace made with the Xixime rebels of Guapisuxe, Gucayas, Santa Fe, Cocampana, Los Remedios,<sup>49</sup> San Pedro,<sup>50</sup> and Coapa.<sup>51</sup> The captain was then to enter the land of the Tepehuanes, circling through the Sierra de Arratia, surely a stronghold of these evil people, and march through Santa Catalina [de Tepehuanes], Trancosa, and

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48. Gravina was born in Sicily, about 1576, and entered the Society of Jesus at age 29. He was a noted linguist who in 1613 compiled an Acaxee dictionary which was considered very useful by succeeding missionaries. He was also fluent in the Xixime dialect. He founded the mission Santa María de Otaéz, where he was stationed for many years. He died in 1634, shortly after being sent to convert the Humes, and was buried in Otaéz.

49. Remedios was a settlement on the river of the same name.

50. San Pedro was an Acaxee *ranchería* in the San Andrés mission district.

51. Coapa was an Acaxee *ranchería* near Tepehuan territory. Two Indian caciques, Don Andrés and Juan Gordo, had attempted to start a revolt here in 1616 but were executed by Captain Bartolomé Suárez of the presidio of San Hipólito.

Organos, until he came out at Las Cruces<sup>52</sup> in late April or the first of May. Captain Tomás García, who had gone in pursuit of the Tepehuan cattle rustlers, had orders to follow them until he ran them down. He was then to go through Ramos,<sup>53</sup> Fuenterrabia, and Texamen,<sup>54</sup> also coming out at Las Cruces in late April or early May.

The task of the governor and the remaining troops was to reconnoiter the mountainous area around Yoracapa, Tenerapa, Vasapa, Vaquitame, New Papasquiario, and Old Papasquiario,<sup>55</sup> all places in the heart of the Tepehuan country. His lordship was also to come out at Las Cruces on the agreed-upon date. Under this plan, the entire land of the Tepehuanes was to be combed, leaving them with no hiding places anywhere. The captain set out for San Hipólito and we returned to our camp, though with difficulty. We had to climb, on foot, a steep and difficult grade about three leagues long. We were amazed at the harshness of the land, particularly the narrow pass. Our animals could barely reach it, and ten Indians could have easily defended it against a force of 10,000. When we reached the camp, his lordship as usual sent our scouts in all directions. The next day we set out to reconnoiter the mountainous country, passing through what appeared to be the most likely places. We continued in this manner until we reached the place where the trail from Yamoriba, which we were following, meets the one to Guarisamey. We found no Indians, nor even evidence of them, among all those peaks, canyons, and gorges.

At this crossroads we left the camp in charge of Captain Castellanos, and the governor with ten men took the trail to Guarisamey. It appeared risky to everyone that such a small force should go into such rough and rugged land. We strongly suspected that the Tepehuanes were hiding somewhere among the gorges and cliffs. After three days of traveling we reached a steep hillside that ends in a deep gorge, the very same place where Gogojito tried to escape and was killed. We named this place the Gorge of the Just Revenge, because here Our Lord had punished His enemy and ours.

Somewhat fearful of the enemy, we made camp and slept there that night. Being angry and spirited enough, the Tepehuanes might have risked attacking such a small force. The next day we were to meet our good friend Mehigua, governor of Guarisamey. He had promised to bring the people of Cocorotame to pledge allegiance to his majesty and to make peace with us. At nine in the morning, the time we expected them, Mehigua appeared on the crest of the hill. In a loud voice he asked if we were there. We responded by firing our arquebuses, the prearranged

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52. Las Cruces was centrally located in the northern end of the plains of Guatimapé.

53. Ramos was a Tepehuan ranchería and real de minas located on the Ramos branch of the Río Nazas below Atotonilco. Missionary activity began in the area after 1613; the Tepehuanes tried to encourage a permanent Jesuit foundation there, offering to supply a site and provide alms, but nothing was done at that time.

54. Texamen was a Tepehuan ranchería just to the west of Guatimapé and which overlooked the plain.

55. Santiago Papasquiario (New Papasquiario) was the Tepehuan mission community founded some 25 kilometers downriver from the real de minas of San Miguel de Papasquiario (Old Papasquiario).

signal. Mehigua then came halfway down the hill and asked that only the governor and I come up. We immediately did so, and the Indian chief embraced us joyfully. He told the governor how happy he was to see us, and he offered to leave his people so that he might go to Guadiana and serve his lordship forever. Mehigua then summoned the people he had brought from Cocorotame. At the sound of his voice seventy warriors armed like Philistines with bows, arrows, lances, hatchets, and clubs appeared on the crest dressed for battle. Our compatriots ran down the slope immediately, firing their guns to frighten the savages. The Indians all humbled themselves before his lordship and then embraced me. They then sat down, gave their excuses, and asked to make peace and be pardoned. The governor pardoned them under the aforementioned conditions, and the people of Cocorotame swore always to be our loyal friends and enemies of the Tepehuanes. As an inviolable sign of peace they presented his lordship with a quiver full of arrows. Some of our people then came up the hill to trade with the Indians. Everyone embraced his neighbor, our people fired guns, and the Indians gave their cries. With this, Mehigua asked permission to return to his land after receiving some small gifts from the governor. We again embraced and then we returned to our camp. That afternoon I witnessed the most savage thunderstorm of my life, complete with thunder, lightning, hail, and torrents of water.

We finally reached the camp, having been gone two days. We were tired but still amazed at how the Tepehuanes remained out of sight. The next day we set out for the Yoracapa gorge. Although we had scouts on all sides as well as men on swift horses, we saw no Indians. We then plunged into the depths of this gorge, which is by far the deepest and most dangerous that I have seen in all this land. A few people, by rolling stones off the high cliffs above, could kill many. Yet there was no one to do us harm, and we did not hear so much as a cry from the Tepehuanes. Because of Gogojito's death and our alliance with the Humes, the Tepehuanes are on the run and have no refuge. During the next few days we passed through Tenerapa, Vasapa, Vecatome, Otinapa,<sup>56</sup> the dam and house of Avila,<sup>57</sup> and finally came out at Santiago Papasquiario without seeing a single Indian or sign of one.

I do not want to exaggerate the pain we all experienced at seeing the village of Papasquiario, commonly known as Santiago de los Mártires in memory of the atrocious murders committed there by the terrible Tepehuanes. Everyone of us had some sad memory refreshed. Some remembered a dead father, others a brother, grandfather, friend, relative, or acquaintance. Our hearts were broken at the sight of the church. It had only recently been completed and was extremely beautiful when the Tepehuan dogs fell upon it. They burned everything. They profaned the altars and destroyed the sacred images. I saw the place where these sacrilegious

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56. Otinapa was a Tepehuan ranchería in the midst of the Sierra Madre 30 kilometers due west of Durango. It had been the scene of earlier troubles; Father Bernardo Cisneros, martyred during the Tepehuan revolt, had earlier destroyed an "idol" and shrine here and had been stabbed and left for dead by the Tepehuanes.

57. This may refer to the property of Captain Diego de Avila, named by the viceroy as a pacifier and protector of the Acaxee. Though his rancho, La Próspera, was established in 1600 in the Topia district, he might have also had holdings in the Río Santiago region.

heathens had trampled the Holy Sacrament and murdered the padres. The next day I said a mass for the souls of those who had died here. We so carefully combed the surrounding country that the soldiers found, scattered about, ploughshares, bars of iron, broken arquebuses, and even the lamp from the church. The lamp was found in the bottom of a gorge. Yet we found no Tepehuanes nor any sign of them.

We left for Las Cruces the last day of April. On the way, some of the scouts rejoined us in great haste. When asked why they were in such a hurry, they replied that Captain Tomás García and his men had been caught in an ambush. The situation became so confusing that we would have fired upon one another had we not made ourselves known in time. It developed that the scouts had pursued Captain Gonzalo Martín and his group, thinking they were Tepehuanes. Captain Gonzalo Martín's group, in turn, had been following us. At this point four men on horseback appeared on the crest of a nearby ridge. Some of our men immediately set out after them like lightning bolts, only to discover they also belonged to our party. It turned out the four had been awaiting our arrival for three days. When they saw us arriving, they came to meet us with the speed of falcons. It gave us great pleasure to see how alert the men were, for we had caught one another in our own ambushes. We waited, and the good and valiant Tomás García soon arrived, welcomed by the fire of arquebuses and the cries of the Indians.

Captain Tomás García gave us an account of his trip. He told us how at one point they caught up with eight Indians, killing two who tenaciously resisted capture. Their names were Juan Vinagre and Cuscusillo. Both were men whose valor had won them fame among the rebel bands. The captain took the other six Indians prisoner, and one of them led the way to their ranchería. There they found six Indian women and two boys, all of whom are now under the charge of the sergeant at Las Cruces. The captain added that he had questioned each of the prisoners under torture and all had said the same thing, that their ranchería was the only one in the area because everyone else had fled when they heard of Gogojito's death. Those who escaped spread the news of his death, causing such terror that one man was afraid to remain with another. The prisoners affirmed that the word among the Tepehuanes was, "Brothers, save yourselves if you can because there is nothing more we can do but try to survive and escape from the crazy ones," as we Spaniards are known to them. The Tepehuanes accordingly had split up into groups of two or three in order to leave no trail, each group seeking its own safety. This, then, was the reason why we found no evidence of the Tepehuanes in Tene-rapa, Otinapa, Oracapa, and Papasquiario, even though these places lie in the heart of their lands.

When Captain Gonzalo Martín arrived he said he had carried out his orders and that the Xiximes of Yamoriba, Zapiuris, etc., as well as the Humes of Guarizamey, were our sure allies. He said that even the Xiximes who had vacillated were now giving great joy to the padres of their parish. The captain stated that in the land of the Tepehuanes he saw nothing but old tracks, even in the Cuesta de Arratia, which is their refuge. With this news we joyfully set out for Las Cruces, glad to be together again. The prisoners I found awaiting us in chains. We rested for two days in Las Cruces, during which time the two captains prepared their squadrons for the further expeditions ordered by the governor.

On the Feast of the Discovery of the True Cross [May 3], having heard mass, the governor gave the captains and the soldiers their orders. Captain Tomás García

and his squadron were ordered to proceed to San Julián, the estancia of [Captain Cristóbal de] Ontiveros<sup>58</sup> as far as the Ramos River,<sup>59</sup> the Cerro del Organo, and the gorges of Xicorica and Palmitos.<sup>60</sup> He was to come out at Cacaria<sup>61</sup> on the agreed-upon date.

Captain Gonzalo Martín was ordered to reconnoiter the mountain ranges of Coneto,<sup>62</sup> Moxitome, and Jomuleo. He was also to come out at the estancia of Cacaria on the same date.

The two captains set out with their squadrons while the governor remained to settle the matter of the guilty parties and those sentenced to die. I looked after the condemned prisoners, catechising them, confessing them, and encouraging them to abandon their idolatry. After they repented, the governor had them hanged along the road between Texamen and Las Bocas<sup>63</sup> to put fear in the hearts of all who beheld them.

That evening two soldiers from Captain Gonzalo Martín's squadron came into the camp with word that a group had been sighted crossing the plains of Texamen and heading toward the Coneto mountains. The captain had sent men on swift horses in pursuit, but the Indians had too much of a head start. However, the Indians left behind everything: meat, mescal, and their personal belongings. They also left their mares and horses at the base of the mountains in order to climb the mountains on foot. Two of our soldiers caught up with them and fought tenaciously until reinforcements arrived. However, the Indians fled instead of fighting. In all, our soldiers captured two women, one of them an Indian; through them we learned what was happening. Captain Gonzalo Martín sent the two women back to the governor with the two soldiers, and they reached our camp around ten at night. The governor, accompanied by five dragoons, immediately mounted his horse and set out like a flash for Captain Gonzalo Martín's camp. When the governor arrived, he sent out trustworthy soldiers in all directions. The soldiers had only the light of the moon to illuminate their trail. Finally they captured an Indian woman. Further on, they killed an Indian who valiantly resisted capture. This Indian was a native of Santiago Papasquiario, and his name was Juan Quequejol. About a league beyond, they heard a faint cry coming from the bottom of a deep ravine. Believing that those who escaped—twelve in all, six of whom were women—were camped there, the soldiers hid themselves on a nearby hillside to

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58. The hacienda of San Julián is 20 kilometers northeast of Papasquiario near the northern end of the plains of Guatimapé. It was owned by Ontiveros, who had helped quell the uprising.

59. The Río Nazas is known by this name from the confluence of the Santiago and Tepehuanes rivers to the point where it is joined by the Río Sextín.

60. These gorges are on the lower Río de Ramos.

61. This was the estancia of Cacaria, referred to again below. It was on the plains of the same name, some 30 kilometers north of Durango.

62. The Coneto Mountains lie along the northeastern edge of the plains of Guatimapé.

63. San Miguel de las Bocas (now Villa Ocampo) was founded in this same year by Captain Juan de Barraza and Fray Juan de Heredia. Tarahumara families were among the Indians settled there at that time. It was located in the Río Florido, a tributary of the Conchos, in northern Durango.



wait for daylight. At dawn they attacked the ranchería, but they found only a very young boy. He had been left to trick our soldiers into thinking that the entire group was encamped in the gorge. Because we waited to attack, the ploy worked and the Indians were given more time to escape. Continuing, the soldiers sighted two of the enemy on a steep peak. With some difficulty the peak was climbed, but the Indians had fled without leaving a trace. The soldiers therefore turned back, bringing the Indian woman and the head of the dead Indian to his lordship. The governor immediately sent the troops out again. Divided into two squadrons, they set out to comb the mountains as far as Coneto. To date we do not know the whereabouts of these two companies. We hope that Our Lord is served and that the defense of His holy cause is successful.

At present, the governor and his squadron are searching every contour of these mountains—Texamen, Las Bocas, Los Pinos, Cerros de Canatlán, Sauceda, and Cacaria. His lordship has set up ambushes along all the roads and trails and placed spies on the peaks, because the captured Indian woman and the mulatta say another group of Indians who followed Tlamatini are pursuing the same path as the ones who were chased by Gonzalo Martín and his men from the hills of Yamoriba to the mountains of Coneto.

May God revenge Himself on these evil people—*sanguinem sanctorum qui effusus est*<sup>64</sup>—by allowing them to fall into our ambushes!

Such then, father, are the events of this expedition. We have killed only seventeen of the enemy. However, one of these was Gogojito. All the rebels had depended upon him, for they thought him immortal. Because of his death, we are victorious. We hope we will see these vile people exterminated within a short time. The Tepehuanes are now so afraid that they will not want to fight, and nowhere can they take refuge. The one who led them is dead, and now they wander past his tomb without a steady hand to guide them.

We asked the prisoners, who were to pay for their ignominy at the hands of the executioner, why they dared to remain in this land. They answered that they had decided to stay because hunger, thirst, exhaustion, misfortune, and anxiety had pursued them as they fled from peak to peak. They wanted to live only while they could, for they knew that God and the Spaniards would pursue them everywhere and eventually catch them. This expedition has been of greater importance and has been more successful than any previous one. Not only have the Tepehuanes been scattered and stricken with fear by Gogojito's death, they have also lost respect in the eyes of the nations who once harbored them, believing they would triumph over Spanish courage. They have also come to abhor their god, which he deserves, killing his prophets. Because of their great dread of the Spaniards, they dare not halt anywhere lest they fall into our hands. We have made peace with the Humes of Guarisamey, Humase, and Cocorotome. We have made peace with the Xiximes of Zapiuris, Yamoriba, Yomoyoitua, Basís, and Guapisuxe. In all of these places, we leave behind as true and devoted allies more than 2,000 brave archers. We have wrested this rugged land which was once their refuge from the Tepehuanes. The poor creatures do not know what they are doing. As the saying goes, they

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64. "By the holy blood which has been shed."

will fall in the coals as they flee the fire, all of them meeting the paymaster, if they do not come down and place themselves at the disposition of the governor, under protection of the law. Let what happens happen.

Much will be gained from this peace we have made with the Humes and Xiximes. Because of it, the mines, roads, and people of Topia, San Andrés, San Hipólito, and even the extensive provinces of Culiacán, Chiametla, Piaxtla, and Alayá are safe. The natives of these provinces are relatives of the Humes and Xiximes, and they are therefore our allies. Previously, we were not assured of these peoples' allegiance.

The letters that Padres Andrés Tutino,<sup>65</sup> Pedro Gravina, Diego de Castro,<sup>66</sup> Andrés González,<sup>67</sup> and Juan de Mallén<sup>68</sup> have written with Captain Gonzalo Martín to his lordship show that all is well. Because of the peace, they are free from danger. I repeat this so that your reverence may give thanks to God Our Lord: *qui mortificat et vivificat deducit ad inferos et reducit*.<sup>69</sup>

In such a way, then, is this raging war without quarter being transformed into a happy peace. From all this evil, much good has come. I trust his majesty will enjoy the fruits of this afflicted land, now that the terror and fear generated by the Tepehuanes has been banished from this earth. May Our Lord remember us and grant all your reverence's holy wishes; such is my hope! Llanos de Guatimapé. May 9, 1618. To your reverence, from your humble son, Alonso de [Valencia].<sup>70</sup>

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*Original copy in the Archivo General de la Nación, Historia 19. A Spanish transcription with occasional errors is printed in Documentos para la Historia de México, 4th Series, Vol. III, pp. 89–129 (México: 1857). See notes 66 and 70.*

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65. Tutino was born in Palermo, Sicily, in 1574 and arrived Mexico in 1604. He was teaching rhetoric at the Jesuit Colégio de México three years later. He was at the mission of San Andrés by 1614 and was there until at least 1620. He subsequently served as rector.

66. A copy of this letter was made in 1792 by Fray Francisco García Figueroa and is in the Archivo General de la Nación in México. It formed the basis of the *Documentos* edition. In it García records Diego de Castro. This is clearly an error because there was no Jesuit by that name serving there at that time. The error probably stems from a misreading of the original letter. The name most likely intended was Diego de Acevedo, who was working in the Topia mission district at the time of the rebellion.

67. González was born in Funchal, Madeira Islands, about 1583. He came to Puebla, where he entered the Jesuit novitiate at age 18. He was first sent to work among the Acaxee and Xixime.

68. Mallén was born in Sombrerete, Zacatecas, ca. 1589, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1605. He was stationed at San Andrés and was made superior in 1633. He died in 1648.

69. "Who kills and brings to life, he brings down to hell and raises up." 1 Samuel 2:6

70. The printed version in *Documentos* that is generally followed here gives Alonso del Valle as the writer of this letter. But the 1792 copy of the original in the Archivo General de la Nación (Historia Vol. 19) clearly has it written *Valencia*. Furthermore, the appropriate Jesuit catalogs list no Alonso del Valle. Valencia, who did accompany Governor Alvear's third expedition as chaplain, was born in Guanajuato in 1585. After serving in the Tepehuan mission he was at the Casa Profesa in México and the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla.

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**B**ien deseada he tenido la ocasión del propio que ahora se ofrece para dar a vuestra reverencia cuenta de los sucesos del viaje, que por orden de vuestra reverencia hice en compañía del señor gobernador de esta Vizcaya a Guarisamey, Cocorotame, Humase, etc.

Gracias a Dios Nuestro Señor que ellos son tales cuales esta república sin ventura podía desear. Ojalá se sirva llevarlos adelante para que la guerra se convierta en paz y veamos breve el castigo de esta pérfida gente tepehuana, que tan a rienda suelta ha corrido en pos de toda maldad.

Salimos de la villa de Guadiana el domingo 25 de febrero próximo pasado y en el campo sesenta españoles y doscientos indios amigos: alejóse aquel día en el astillero que dista cuatro leguas de la villa donde esperamos todo el lunes, así para que el campo se acabase de juntar como por dar lugar a que las espías que envié por delante el señor gobernador, nos llevasen aquel día de ventaja. Estas fueron doce soldados españoles con cuarenta indios amigos, parte laguneros, parte xiximes y acaxees, todos a cargo del alférez Gonzalo de Uría, hombre de cuidado y práctico en esta tierra, con orden de caminar de noche y emboscarse de día, hízolo con tanto cuidado y con señalada suerte que a los tres días nos envié a un indio al encuentro participándonos de extraordinario violento; este indio cuyos años gastó al lado del capitán Mateo de Barraza, venía este viejo en compañía de otro por nombre Francisco, natural de las Bocas; eran estos enviados (a lo que después averiguamos) por Gogojito, para que le asegurasen el camino por cierta jornada que pretendía hacer, y diré después que fue Nuestro Señor servido que habiendo venido por Picachos atalayando la sierra, luego que salieron al camino dieron en la emboscada de las espías que saliendo a ellos mataron al Francisco que se defendió valientemente, prendieron al dicho Antonio y remitiéndolo al camino dos jornadas atrás al gobernador, que luego que llegó le preguntó la causa de su venida. La ranchería de Gogojito es estalaje de los tepehuanes; y viéndole variar le dió bien rigurosos tormentos hasta hacerle saltar la sangre viva por las yemas de los dedos, hasta aplicarle ascuas a los pies que a vista nuestra le agujerearon las piernas, levantándole muchas ampollas sin que el indio hiciese más movimiento que si fuese de piedra. Dijo que su venida había sido para avisarle al señor gobernador y guiar a los españoles a las rancherías de los tepehuanes que estaban en Sariama, lugar de xiximes alzados que confina con Yamoriba y Zapiuris. Que Gogojito había ya muchos días faltado de aquellos contornos porque acosado del hambre había bajado con su escuadra a los llanos de Texame y Guatimape con intento de hacer su vivienda y sementeras en la serranía de Maxitome. Y que amedrentado del albazo pasado no quería vivir en puesto donde ya habían llegado españoles. Que otros tepehuanes de Tenerapa y Santa Catarina, estaban en Sariama, que él no los daría a las manos y cuando no pagaría con su cabeza como mentiroso y embustero.

Todo esto hacía el indio por divertirnos del camino de Guarisamey que llevábamos, y para que tomásemos el de mano derecha que iba a Sariama y afirmaba con tantas veras la ausencia de Gogojito y permanencia de los tepehuanes en Sariama, que el señor gobernador y todos nos movimos a creerles y se determinó su señoría a mudar de derrotero y dar con toda presteza en Sariama un famoso albazo a aquella mala gente que ha dicho el viejo vivía bastante descuidada.

Llegamos el domingo a donde se parten los caminos; mandó su señoría hacer alto y dormir allí aquella noche, y estando ya para llamar o enviar a llamar a las espías que por el camino de Guarisamey estaban una jornada adelante porque tomasen el de Sariana, llegaron dos indios enviados por el cabo de dichas espías, dando aviso como habían ya llegado a las raíces de la serranía de Guarisamey y estaban emboscados en un tribio por donde estos indios cruzan de una parte a otra, y que de allí distaba Guarisamey sólo ocho leguas; que viese su señoría si pasarían adelante o aguardarían allí otro día a que llegase el campo. Bien estábamos todos de parecer que se le mandase volver para tomar la nueva derrota y en esto hasta aquel punto había estado también el señor gobernador; más Nuestro Señor Dios que dijo por su profeta: *Oculis tuis considerabis et retributionem peccatorum videbus*. Como tiene en su mano los corazones de los príncipes, de repente mudó al señor gobernador y quiso que fuese el campo todo a ver el castigo que había de hacer en el maldito del Gogojito. Volvió a remitir los indios con carta para el caudillo en que le ordenaba que estuviese allí emboscado hasta que llegase el campo otro día. Supo esta determinación el viejo Antonio y como otro Xenón quiso estorbarla y enmarañarnos en Sariana. Dijo con muchas veras al señor gobernador que aquel camino era muy malo y que no podían pasar por él bestias de carga por las muchas cuestas y barrancas y que desde el paraje donde las espías estaban, era casi imposible romper a Sariana que ni aun indios a pie podían penetrar aquella agreste serranía.

Verdad decía en todo esto el viejo pero su intento era engañoso o engañarnos con la verdad y divertirnos de encontrar a Gogojito: todos recurrimos al señor gobernador persuadiéndole creyese al viejo y mudase derrota, pues a vista de ojos veíamos la dificultad de la serranía que el día antes desde un alto divisábamos, no fue posible mudarle, y así volvieron los indios con el mandato dicho.

Amaneció el lunes 5 de marzo, y el campo, tomando la mañana, siguió el camino de Guarisamey donde hallamos las dificultades todas que nos dijo el indio viejo, y algunas más y aun dejamos el camino de las espías y echamos por otro que las cruzaba; todas trazas del demonio para despintar las de Dios, más valiéronle poco porque viendo nuestro yerro el señor gobernador echó por donde le pareció y mandó todos le siguiesen y a poco trecho dimos con el rastro de nuestras espías que seguimos hasta las cuatro de la tarde que llegamos a encontrarnos con ellas, y estando el campo ya para alojarse bien melancólicos todos de ver aquellas serranías tan inaccesibles por las cuales no se podía romper a Sariana. Gogojito con treinta o cuarenta gandules de una escuadra venía de Guarisamey subiendo la serranía, cuya cumbre teníamos nosotros, estaban en la mitad de aquella subida, emboscadas nuestras espías, y él a la vanguardia de su campo, con otros cuatro capitanejos en muy gentiles mulas, venía bien ajeno de mal suceso marchando y departiendo; más como era tan astuto y resabido, no se descuidaba del camino y poniendo en él los ojos, vió unas huellas que estampó un indio de la Laguna pasándose poco antes de una parte a otra del camino y al punto que reconoció la huella, mandó retirar su campo y él volvió a rienda suelta para hacer lo mismo.

Viendo esto las espías que lo habían dejado entrar para que diese en manos de todo nuestro campo que estaba en la cumbre y don Francisco de Amaya, indio, capitán de la Laguna, le dió un flechazo que, entrándole por la garganta, le atravesó el pecho, saliendo la flecha por el costado derecho; arrojóse de la mula para coger el alto de una loma que caía a mano izquierda, cuando llegó la flecha de otro indio

lagunero, llamado también Francisco que lo atravesó por la espaldilla y le salió por la garganta, con todo procuraba subir a lo alto el miserable cuando otro indio xixime, llamado también Francisco, ganándole un lado lo atravesó con otra flecha que para castigar al mal Francisco Gogojito, escogió Nuestro Señor estos tres Franciscos; a este tiempo llegaron los españoles que por no herir a nuestros amigos no se atrevieron a disparar y con la misma lanza de Gogojito lo acribillaron hasta que cayó muerto; matáronse en el alcance otros cuatro indios y entre ellos él mas señalado, Agustínillo, hijo de Juan Soldado, natural de la Sauceda, indio belicosísimo. Los demás ganaron bien a su salvo aquellos altos a causa de un arroyo profundo que los guareció de nuestros soldados que aunque corrieron valerosamente no fue posible darles alcance. Quitáronles la presa de mulas y caballos que traían y con ella y las cabezas de los muertos subieron al campo y yo tomé en mis manos la de Gogojito que aun estaba caliente y de rodillas, acompañándome en la propia actitud el campo, dije el *te deum laudamus*.

Sobre la marcha el señor gobernador escogió treinta españoles y cien indios amigos, dejando los demás en el real y a toda prisa siguió el alcance, caminó de Guarisamey con el intento de dar albazo a los tepehuanes que allí habían quedado, así en la ranchería de Gogojito como en las otras. No sé como le encarezca a vuestra reverencia el gran trabajo que aquella noche pasamos por estos riscos, cuestras, barrancos y despeñaderos; caminamos ocho leguas hasta Guarisamey, sólo digo de ellos que nunca imaginé cosa más fragosa y difícil; llegamos como a las tres de la mañana y si bien nuestra llegada fue con presteza, mayor la tuvieron algunos de los derrotados que bien a tiempo dieron entrando por la mañana en las tres primeras las hallamos como viña vendimiada. Hizo pie el ejército en la cuarta donde antes de llegar vimos desde un alto un indio tepehuan que blasfemaba de los españoles, pedía al cielo venganza y daba grandes voces contra ellos, esparciendo ceniza al aire; más luego que vió acercarse algunos de los nuestros que a toda carrera iban a él se dejó caer por una cuesta abajo más ligero que el viento: luego que llegamos a aquella ranchería hizo alto el ejército y tratamos de descansar que lo habíamos bien menester; y mientras descansa vuestra reverencia y da gracias a Nuestro Señor de la muerte de Gogojito, haré una descripción de esta quebrada, de su aspereza, de sus rancherías de los pertrechos y arte que tenía la de Gogojito.

Cae esta quebrada norte a sur cuarenta leguas de Guadiana; confina con Corotame, pueblo de tepehuanes gentiles, y con Humase, Yamoriba y Zapiuris, pueblos de xiximes alzados, parte gentiles, parte cristianos; corre por ella un apacible río que, despeñándose por aquellas quebradas, va a salir a la provincia de Piaxtla y allí le llaman el río de la Sal; tiene Guarisamey al poniente al rincón de Zamora en una quebrada inaccesible, donde se baja por escaleras asidas de cuerdas y donde este año pasado bajó el señor gobernador y dejó de paz todos sus moradores con espanto de todas las naciones circunvecinas que jamás se persuadieron tendrían los españoles ánimo para bajar a puesto tan profundo y peligroso donde aun ellos rehusan bajar por el peligro de tres leguas de cuesta a pique de su bajada tienen consigo. Compónese esta quebrada de nueve pueblos y cada uno consta de cuatro o cinco rancherías y cada ranchería de seis o siete vecinos casados, el principal pueblo de donde toda la quebrada se domina es Guarisamey. Los demás son Toministame, Queibos, Yazaboytia, Acuz, Yomocoa, Tomisitua, Zipamoytia, Mosas. Los moradores de esta quebrada se llaman humes, nación distinta de los

xiximes aunque tienen una misma lengua. Es gente política, obedecen todos a un gobernador que en cada pueblo tiene sus particulares caciques. Son grandes labradores y lo que más me admiró fue ver sus sementeras que hacían en las lomas más a pique donde se da tan fértil el maíz que nos admiró la grandeza y colmo de las mazorcas: siembran también frijoles, chile, calabazas, chíá y otras semillas a este modo; tienen muchos cañaverales y cañas dulces, zapotes, guayabas y otras frutas de tierra caliente, porque lo es mucho lo profundo de la quebrada y por el contrario muy fríos y destemplados los altos de ella, tanto que nos hubimos de helar con las muchas nieves que cayeron en todo el tiempo que estuvimos en los altos. El traje de estos indios es muy vistoso y variado de tilmas de muchos tochomites, vestidos de la cintura arriba, coronadas sus cabezas de diademas de varias plumas de papagayos, guacamayas con algunos penachos de hoja de plata batida. Usan flechas con varillas de Brasil, lanzuelas de lo mismo, hachuelas de fierro en lugar de macanas; traen unas colas postizas de varios animales y en ellas algunos cascabeles; corresponden a éstas desde el nacimiento unos pequeños espejuelos que rescatan a los indios que salen a tierra de paz. Es gente de muy buen entendimiento y discurso, viven en casas de adobe y terrado, embarradas y envidadas a nuestro modo, pintadas; cuesta cada ranchería de cinco o seis casas, puestas en contorno de una pequeña plazuela que tienen muy llana y limpia. Dejan entre casa y casa un pequeño portillo en orden a defenderse con poca gente de muchos enemigos, y a esta causa tienen las casas unas sumamente pequeñas puertas que mejor parecen ventanas, algo altas del suelo por donde no se puede entrar sino paulatinamente y por partes, primero la cabeza y luego los brazos apoyándose siempre en ellos, y las manos se dejan caer para entrar el resto del cuerpo, todo en orden a guarecer sus hijos y mujeres en tiempo de arrebatos que los tienen a menudo y varias guazabaras con sus vecinos xiximes, tepehuanes e hinás que por particulares intereses tienen entre sí guerras continuadas. Están estas rancherías con grande arte en esta fragosa quebrada, porque por el aire de una a otra hay un pequeño espacio, de manera que a voces moderadas se hablan y comunican; más para ir a ellas hay bien que sudar y venir por la profundidad de las barrancas y la fragosidad de las cuestras que las dividen por donde van ellos como unos gerifaltes y nosotros por prisa que nos demos, a buen medrar, no hacemos poco en atravesar de una a otra en tres y cuatro horas, y esto a pie agarrándonos con manos y pies.

Para que vuestra reverencia vea la imposibilidad de coger a esta gente en albazo ni de otra manera alguna, pues mientras las habemos en una ranchería, se ponen las otras en cobro, escapándose de nuestras manos si ya no es que con fuerza de diez mil hombres se les cerque todos los altos y quebradas.

Pues a esta *tanquam ad acrem anchorarum* se había retraído el astuto Gogojito y las reliquias de estos malos tepehuanes y aun allí apenas se hallaban seguros del valor de nuestro intrépido gobernador que certifico a vuestra reverencia es insuperable y muy de marca mayor la grandeza de ánimo con que arrostra estas y aun mayores dificultades, dándose a temer a nuestros enemigos sin espantarse de serranías, cuestras, barrancas, nieves, heladas, hambres y cansancio, subiendo pie a tierra el primero estos picachos, embreñándose con poca gente donde parece temeridad empeñarse aun con mucha, y no por la natural defensa del lugar, vivía con descuido Gogojito, antes bien tenía su ranchería con tanto arte que no causó bien grande admiración ver sus reparos, pertrechos y fortificaciones.

La tenía en el primer pueblo de Guarisamey para estar más a mano y cerca del camino para sus salidas y correrías; tenía antes de la suya, como de vanguardia, tres rancherías de humes, naturales de la quebrada, donde forzosamente se ha de dar entrando por la angosta senda que solo guía a esta quebrada, teniendo de una parte a otro picachos inaccesibles, y después de estas rancherías que a buena diligencia se andan con harto trabajo, en medio día se seguía en un repecho otra de tephuanes en número de cuarenta o cincuenta cuyo capitanejo es un indio valiente llamado Hernandillo de Valenzuela. Rancheábanse estos tephuanes en enramadas que estaban en lo interno de un pequeño jacal donde debía de dormir el capitán de ésta; a la ranchería de Gogojito había una profunda barranca y dos cuevas que para subirlas son bien menester dos horas. Después de ellas, en una loma algo llana, tenía Gogojito un jacal de su alojamiento abierto por ambas partes para temer menos estorbos a la huída; cercaban dicho jacal los ranchos y ramadas de su gente, y a cuatro o seis pasos de él tenía un pequeño corral donde cabían seis yeguas que siempre tenía a punto para todo acontecimiento, y en caso de huir lo podía hacer una larga legua por aquella loma arriba que para este propósito la había escogido la más llana de todas, quebrada y aun para hacerlo con menos estorbos y peligro de tropezar la bestia y estrellarse. El tenía la loma muy rozada de matorrales y desmontada de pinos y otros árboles, y por retaguardia de su ranchería otras tres de humes, naturales de la quebrada, y por el lado derecho le cercaban otras tantas y por la izquierda le servía de foso la profunda barranca del río que tiene una muy larga legua de bajada, de manera que todo el poder del rey no era bastante a cogerlo y marcharlo en albazo, ni fuera de él si ya no se juntaban cien mil hombres que por todas partes cercasen estos tan encimados picachos.

Todo esto para que vuestra reverencia admita y alabe los profundos juicios de Dios, que dice de sí *mea est ultio et ego retribuam in tempore*. Pues estando Gogojito a su parecer tan amparado y defendido, la justa venganza de Dios le trajo al pagadero de sus maldades que si bien lo merecieron todas a mi parecer (fuera de la idolatría), la que dió el último complemento y puso coto a su castigo fue una solemne crueldad que ahora últimamente hacía, que era disponer se enterrasen vivas las criaturas recién nacidas porque no fuesen óbice y estorbo a la ligereza con que pretendían mudarse de una parte a otra para hacer todo mal y recibirle. La traza con que nuestro señor le sacó fuera de esta guarida fue con hambre, porque aunque había traído de los llanos de Texame y Guatimape cantidad de ganado que, según los rastros, vimos de osamenta y cabezas en el rodeo y matadero que en esta quebrada tenía, sería hasta de trescientas cabezas y la mitad de ellas desbarrancadas por lo agrio de la serranía; habíanse dado buena mano a comer y los humes a hurtarles y comprarles y así acabado el ganado padecían hambre, y Gogojito retirando las mujeres, niños y chusma, parte a Sariama, parte a Cocorotame, por ser tierra aun más inaccesible y fragosa que Guarisamey salía con su escuadra para dar en luna llena una vaqueada en Texamen, o quitar a los pocos españoles que allí estaban vaqueando el ganado e yeguas y dar la vuelta a su guarida, aunque como averiguamos ya, no tenía por segura la de Guarisamey, y se había ya mudado a otra quebrada más áspera y por ir más seguro, habiendo enviado por espías a los dos viejos de quienes (con razón fiaba mucho) inusitado y poco cursado seguro a su parecer; mas Nuestro Señor le llevaba y nos llevaba a él al pagadero, y a nosotros a su venganza, ya que viendo a nuestros ojos tan sin pensar muerto a tan fiero ene-

migo. Alabemos al Señor *qui magna fecit in Israel et victoriam dedu nobis Domini Deus noster*.

Pues, como en Guarisamey no hallásemos tepehuanes y los naturales humes con el aviso que tuvieron a tiempo de la ida de españoles, muerte de Gogojito y derrota de los suyos, hubiesen penetrado a lo más agrio de aquellas serranías, no vimos hombre en algunas horas hasta que yendo una manga de soldados a correr la tierra, un indio hume que estaba a la mira desde un encumbrado picacho, dió grandes voces diciendo que toda su nación suplicaba al señor gobernador no envolviere en un mismo castigo humes y tepehuanes, pues ellos en ninguna manera se lo habían merecido, y que si su señoría era servido de darles salvoconducto y señal de que no les haría mal, bajarían a volver por su inocencia y dar sus disculpas. Respondióseles bajasen en buena hora con entero seguro de que no recibirían daño y serían oídos y perdonados; replicaron ellos bajarían dos o tres a una ranchería que distaba de la nuestra dos leguas con tal que fuesen a verlos sólo un español y el indio intérprete que es Bautistilla, xixime de nación y único para todo tlatole. Admitióse la condición y en cumplimiento de ella fue el capitán Tomás García, hombre de singular valor y ánimo, acompañado con el mentado Bautistilla aunque para su resguardo fueron algunos indios amigos y entre ellos una docena de españoles con quetzales y plumajes a su usanza en piernas y calzón blanco, y quedándose estos en un promontorio dos tiros de escopeta del pueblo donde los indios salieron porque dieron gritos los humes que no bajarían si aquella gente no paraba. Bajó el capitán sólo con el intérprete y llegando mas cerca le pidieron arrimase la escopeta; arrimóla y sin ella pasó un trecho más adelante y ellos de la misma manera aunque con sus arcos y flechas teniendo una quebrada profunda de por en medio. Hablaronle al capitán diciéndole no se espantase de aquel miedo y recato con que se llegaban a ver y hablar a españoles porque además de que no lo habían jamás visto ellos siendo naturales de aquella quebrada donde vivían contentos, los tepehuanes les habían dicho que los españoles eran una gente cruel, feroz y carnívora, que a modo de leones todo cuanto encontraban destrozaban y despedazaban y que se persuadían de ello por la matanza que pocos años antes hizo el gobernador pasado en los indios xiximes, sus vecinos, en Xocotilma y que como veían al gobernador en su quebrada, temían comparecer a su presencia.

El capitán les aseguró que su señoría no venía a hacerles mal alguno ni en busca suya sino de los tepehuanes, nuestros rebeldes y enemigos. Replicaronle ellos que no ignoraban que por haberles dado acogida en su tierra habían incurrido en el crimen e indignación de los españoles; pero que si el señor gobernador les daba seguro y prenda de paz, celebrarían mucho ver a su señoría, darle su excusa y asentar amistad con los españoles. Y en señal de que hablaban verdad sin dobles ni engaño alguno daban aquellas dos flechas (decían esto cuando al capitán llegó un indio con ellas) que es el juramento inviolable que ellos hacen; que les diese el señor gobernador otra prenda y que se sirviese llegar allí y oírlos, que ellos darían tales razones que les valiesen para ser oídos y perdonados. Replicóles el capitán que el señor gobernador les daría prenda, más que ellos fuesen donde su señoría estaba que era más razonable. Respondieron que bien lo veían y sabían; pero que el temor era tan grande y pusilánimes sus corazones que no se atreverían a entrar solos entre españoles, y que se admiraban del ánimo del capitán, tan impertérito que se hubiese atrevido a entrar solo entre ellos, y que por allí conjeturaban que



valor tendrían los españoles. Con estos y otros cumplimientos se despidió el capitán y dió la vuelta a nosotros y las flechas al señor gobernador que en retorno y prenda de paz les envió un hábito de Santiago. Llevóselo el capitán y al recibirlo el principal lo tomó y lo besó, significando lo mucho que lo estimaba. Pidióle el capitán se fuese con él a ver al señor gobernador; dió la misma excusa que antes y añadió que sabía que un padre sacerdote venía en compañía del señor gobernador y pedía muy encarecidamente fuese allá su señoría, acompañado con el padre que con eso se decidirían a salir y verle.

Luego que su señoría supo la resolución de los indios, fue a verse con ellos con pocos soldados disfrazados que le acompañaron y en llegando a vista de las rancherías, avisóles a voces Bautista nuestro intérprete, y replicaron ellos bajase su señoría con el padre y capitán Tomás García y no más, y que había de ser sin escopetas porque tenían todo temor y miedo de ellas. Bajamos como pidieron ellos al lugar acostumbrado y ello también al suyo, la barranca de por medio, haciendo al señor gobernador a su usanza todo acatamiento. Díjoles su señoría pasasen a este lado de la barranca donde nosotros estábamos; replicaron ellos que no lo habían si yo no bajaba sólo a lo profundo de ella. Bajé sólo con el intérprete y ellos también; abracélos y acariciélos mostrando ellos todo agrado. Preguntéles por sus nombres, respondieron no eran cristianos como los xiximes sus vecinos y que así no merecían sus nombres porque no los entendería. Repliquéles que por que no lo eran; dijeron que porque no habían tenido padre ni merecido tanto como los xiximes. Díjeles que si ellos querían, el rey les daría padre que los enseñase. Respondieron que ahora sólo trataban de la amistad con españoles que en ello les fuese yo buen tercero para con el señor gobernador que luego harían lo que yo les dijese; prometíles ayudarles, y con aquello los subí conmigo al señor gobernador. Luego que llegó a su señoría el principal gobernador con dos caciques, le abrazó su señoría y ellos le hicieron a su usanza sus cortesías y con tan gran temor que no le alcanzaba un contento a otro. Comenzó el gobernador indio a decir a su señoría se holgaba infinito de verle en su tierra por lo que había deseado ver españoles y hacerse amigo de ellos, que suplicaba a su señoría le perdonase haber dado acogida a tepehuanes, que lo había hecho a más no poder, persuadiéndose como mozo poco experimentado que le hablaban verdad los tepehuanes, que le informaron de un nuevo dios que les había bajado del cielo, más poderoso que el nuestro, y que con su ayuda habían tomado las armas y muerto a los españoles sojuzgando a Guadiana y que si ellos le resistían y no querían su amistad subiría el profeta que ellos llaman Tlamatini al cielo y de una cox se lo echaría a cuestras. Añadía el indio que atemorizado de estas cosas no habían tenido ánimo de resistirles la entrada, más que con el tiempo se habían desengañado de las mentiras de los tepehuanes, de cuya vecindad estaban muy enfadados y agraviados por los robos, traiciones y extorsiones que les habían hecho padecer. Quejábase mucho el indio de su poca experiencia pocos años de la muerte de su padre y hermano, gobernadores de valor, que a vivir estos nunca los tepehuanes tuvieran la avilantez de entrárselas en su quebrada; añadía que últimamente movidos de sus agravios habían tomado las armas y los tepehuanes recelosos de su enojo y de la venida de los españoles habían mudado sitio y pasádose a Sariama y Yamoriba. Pedía perdón al señor gobernador de que le había dado con todas veras y proponía en su mucho entendimiento alcanzarlo por la nobleza del señor gobernador, de que le habían informado largamente los del rincón de Zamora, que ellos llaman en su lengua Lengate

Nabuco y por haber él, como mozo, errado más de ignorancia que de malicia. Dióle a más de esto el parabién de haber muerto a Gogojito, mostrando alegrarse mucho de la muerte de un tan perniciosos enemigo.

Mandóles decir el señor gobernador les perdonaba en nombre de su majestad sus delitos todos con sólo dos condiciones: la primera que de aquí adelante en ninguna manera diese entrada a la nación tepehuana en su quebrada como a gente enemiga de españoles. La segunda, que se juntasen los más que pudiesen para ir con nosotros a Sariamá enseñándonos camino en aquella serranía para entrar a dar albazo a los tepehuanes que allí estaban. Agradecieron ellos la merced y prometieron cumplir perfectamente las condiciones, de manera que en todo mereciesen les hiciese su señoría toda merced; suplicándole al señor gobernador que cuando en Guadiana oyese decir otra cosa al contrario no diese crédito hasta enviar gente que se informase si ellos no guardaban perfectamente sus condiciones, y que si en algún tiempo que ellos hubiesen desde hoy dado más favor y acogida a tepehuanes, enviase gente española que a fuego y sangre llevase toda su quebrada. Pidieron juntamente a su señoría espacio de algunos días para correr los nueve pueblos de su quebrada dando aviso de lo capitulado con su señoría, pidiéndole perdón de no darle muchos regalos y bastimento para su ejército, certificando padecían ellos harta necesidad a causa de que los tepehuanes les habían comido toda su cosecha, no dejándolos sembrar a derechas el año pasado y comiéndoles en jilote las milpas. Con todo señalaron una ranchería donde hallaría muestra gente algún maíz y frijol; dióles licencia con esto el señor gobernador y al partirse se llegó uno de ellos a Bautistilla, nuestro intérprete, y con rostro halagüeño le pidió se fuese con ellos a su ranchería; rehusólo algo el indio y ellos sonriéndose le dijeron irónicamente: “ven sin recelo y dile al Tlatoani que esté aquí con su gente para que acuda a favorecerte cuando te matemos.” Fue el indio y vinieron a él muchos que de temor estaban por aquellas quebradas y barrancas y habiéndoles asegurado y recibido de ellos algunas cosillas dio la vuelta a nosotros y todos a nuestra ranchería donde aguardamos ocho días enteros que con dos que habíamos estado aparte antes fueron por todos diez los que allí estuvimos. Y en ellos pasamos muy grandes infortunios de agua y nieve que cayó en mucha abundancia, de frío y hambre que afligió en manera al campo que se vieron obligados nuestros soldados a comer carne de caballos que mataron para no perecer porque como salimos del real con intento de dar albazo a los indios otro día de mañana, no llevamos más bastimento que para aquel día, pues el maíz y frijol que nos dieron los indios nos llegó a dos o tres días. Admiróme grandemente la tolerancia y ánimo del señor gobernador y el buen rostro que hizo a estos trabajos, durmiendo a la helada y al agua, entre piedras, sin más abrigo que su capa, comiendo esquite y eso bien poco, con que los soldados pasaron con mucho gusto y alegría su trabajo, sin abrir la boca a queja alguna.

Dieron aviso los indios después de los ocho días como tenía ya resolución de lo que se había de hacer y habían dado aviso a la quebrada de la nueva paz. Volvimos a su ranchería como antes y subiendo a nosotros el principal, que es un indio de hasta veintidos años de edad, de muy buena traza, cara y mejor entendimiento llamado Mehigua, hizo al señor gobernador su acatamiento, abrazándome a mí y a los capitanes don Antonio de Gama, del hábito de Cristo, caballero portugués de gran valor y buenos hechos, al capitán Tomás García y al secretario Juan de Vargas. Dijo por medio del intérprete que agradecía mucho a su señoría la merced que en

aquellos días de asistencia había hecho a su quebrada toda; certificando a su señoría que con aquello y la amistad que le había dignado todos sus enemigos circunvecinos, temblarían de allí en adelante y no osarían dar pesadumbre a los humes como amigos de españoles y que todos los de la quebrada a una voz unánimes y conformes agradecían a su señoría la merced recibida y prometían morir en demanda de servir y ayudar a españoles y resistir con armas la entrada en su quebrada a los tepehuanes como al tiempo ponían por testigo.

Y para que el destruir su señoría a los tepehuanes de Sariama, Yamoriba y Zapiuris, fuese con cierto efecto y el paso fuese acertado, tenía por mejor fuese su señoría con el campo todo a Zapiuris por donde si por aquí les diésemos tienen segura y cierta la huída y que les diese por aquella parte el albazo que para el mismo día que esto hubiese de ser tendrían ellos con su gente cogidos los altos y angosturas por ser de Guarisamey y Sariama, por donde desbaratados habían de huir y allí los mataran y prendieran, entregando a su señoría preso al vivo o la cabeza del muerto. Pidiéronle a su señoría dos cosas, la primera una bandera para que cuando nuestra gente se encontrase con la suya en prosecución del alcance, no recibiesen ellos daño de nuestros amigos en viendo tremolar aquella bandera. Dió-sela al punto su señoría, recibéndola ellos con mucho gusto y aplauso. La segunda, que se computasen los días que habíamos nosotros de gastar en el camino, por que ellos se dispusiesen también en ellos y se acercasen a dar el albazo por esta parte a tiempo que nosotros demos por la otra. Computamos los días y ellos pidieron les diésemos tantos palitos cuantos días habíamos computado, que como se pasase el día arrojarían un palito y pasado otro día otro, hasta que faltasen seis para acercarse a Yamoriba. Eran los días de nuestro cómputo, doce precisamente necesarios para la vuelta que habíamos de dar, y contando ellos los palitos pidieron al señor gobernador los llegase hasta quince por si las mulas se no fatigasen con el mal camino y heladas; plugóle al señor gobernador admirado su buena prevención y discurso, y en nombre de su majestad prometió darles por cada cabeza de tepehuan que le guardasen para dársela cuando nos encontrásemos, cuatro hachuelas, cuatro cuchillos, cuatro coas y machetes y un vestido de sayal, cosas que ellos grandemente estiman y con que se animaron extrañamente. Dióle después de esto al principal y a otro mozo su deudo y compañero dos capisayos de paño fino, cuchillos, pañuelos y otras cosillas. Vinieron a esto algunos de ellos y otro de nuestros amigos y trocaron entre sí sus drogas celebrando ventas y contratos, señal inviolable de firme paz entre estos bárbaros; dispararon luego nuestros españoles su arcabucería en señal de contento y ellos levantaron una algarada y por gran rato retumbaron aquellos peñascos y quebradas. Despedímonos con esto, quedándose ellos en sus rancherías y volviéndonos nosotros a la nuestra con mucho gusto y contento.

No dejaré de contar un caso que aquel día nos sucedió, por ser evidente muestra del coraje y dolor que con estas cosas concibió el demonio. Había entre aquellas dos rancherías un jacal donde había vivido el tlamatini o profeta de estos indios con el demonio (que se les vende por Dios y se les muestra.) Supliqué al señor gobernador tuviese por bien su señoría se quemase aquel jacal por haber sido marada del demonio. Dio su consentimiento y quemáronle con notable gusto y alegría de todos; llegamos a nuestra ranchería y estando comiendo sin saber como ni por donde, se prendió fuego en una de aquellas casas sin bastar apagarle todo el campo y cuando en mayor fuerza iba el incendio, se levantó una ventis-

quera que le echaba a las otras y las abrasara a no poder toda diligencia emperrecharlas con cueros y aparear el fuego. Vióse obligado el señor gobernador a enviar a nuestro intérprete otra vez a la ranchería de nuestros nuevos amigos a informarles de lo sucedido afirmando no había sido a mal hacer, y prometiendo pagar al dueño la casa. Respondieron que les pesaba que el señor gobernador hubiese recibido pena por aquel pequeño desmán, que no estaban aquellos montes tan faltos de madera ni ellos tan ocupados que no harían luego aquella casa de nuevo; que fuese su señoría con todo gusto que ellos le tenían muy grande de haber merecido verle: tan buen entendimiento como éste tienen nuestros buenos amigos los humes.

Luego aquel día como a las doce dimos la vuelta por nuestro real, y caminando con toda diligencia apenas desandamos dos leguas de tan ágras subidas, que yendo a pie apenas podíamos estar en él sin caer ni rodar, llegando bien noche al primer puesto que tuvimos la que llegamos a Guarisamey. Pasamos aquella noche muy penosa y rigurosa por un desabrido norte que corriendo toda ella a la mañana nos echó a costas una terrible helada sin tener otra resistencia ni abrigo, desde el señor gobernador hasta el soldado, que peñas y nuestros capotes, sin que cenar la noche ni almorzar por la mañana, cogimosla para subir a pie una bien larga cuesta de legua y media, y después por otras barrancas dimos la vuelta a nuestro real donde hallamos mucho deseo por nuestra vuelta y muertas muchas mulas por las terribles heladas de aquellos días y noches. Descansamos allí otro día sábado a diez y siete de marzo, y yo dije una misa *in gratiarum actionem* a la Santísima Virgen por el buen suceso que nos dió en Guarisamey.

Sucedió aquel día a la tarde un caso que nos dio mucho gusto y motivo de alabar a Nuestro Señor y porque mejor se vea su providencia con que sustenta a sus criaturas y da de comer, diré primero lo que nos sucedió en el camino al salir de Guarisamey.

Traía un indio amigo, muy guardado un poco de maíz que había ahorrado para su sustento, y en cierto paraje alborotóse el caballejo que traía el maíz, dio en respingar y derramólo por el camino; quería el indio cogerlo y diéronle voces lo dejase porque no se detuviese y quedase solo a riesgo de la vida, y pasando yo a poco rato dije, déjenlo, que no faltará para quien sea. Así fue, porque aquella tarde del sábado llegó a nuestro real un pobre mulatillo del capitán Gaspar Dávila llamado Dominguillo que cautivaron los indios en Santiago Papasquiario cuando mataron a su amo. Este mulatillo de doce a trece años estaba en los picachos de Sariama en poder de tepehuanes, y como oyó decir habían llegado españoles a Guarisamey, huyóse de sus amos que le buscaron a gran cuidado, y él por no ser hallado estuvo tres días en una cuesta sin comer, y siguiendo después de ellos nuestro rastro hubiera perecido de hambre a no depararle Nuestro Señor aquel maíz derramado '*dispersit dedit Pauperibus.*' Comió de él y a poco rato se encontró con una yegua que dejamos cansada y subiendo en ella vino con presteza a tiempo que encontró nuestro real traspasado de hambre en los puros huesos, y preguntádole el señor gobernador que haría si nos hubiésemos partido a Guadiana, dijo seguiría nuestro rastro; preguntándole qué comería, respondió que tierra, por verse libre de tan mala gente como los tepehuanes, o moriría en la demanda.

Amaneció el domingo diez y ocho de marzo y el real comenzó a marchar con todo recato en cumplimiento de nuestro concierto, despachó el señor gobernador a todas partes espías para que por aquellos picachos, sotos, y encrucijadas de

caminos no hubiese recelo de espía contraria que viese nuestra derrota y diese aviso al enemigo. Caminamos hasta los veinticuatro sin que nuestras espías viesen por todos aquellos contornos indio ni rastro de él. Hicimos alto este día a una jornada de Zapiuris, pueblo de xiximes alzados y confederados con tepehuanes. Allí pareció conveniente poner todo cuidado en coger por aquellas travesías un indio desmandado que nos diese noticia del camino para Yamoriba y de la ranchería de tepehuanes y así el señor gobernador señaló el capitán Gonzalo Martín de Soria, hombre valeroso y de gran cuidado, que con veinte españoles y ochenta indios cogió todos aquellos picachos y barrancas y encrucijadas de caminos, sin ver persona viviente hasta en los veintisiete en la noche que el alférez Bernabé de Arriola, bajando por unos ágrios picachos con seis españoles y quince indios se acercó a media legua del pueblo con tan buena fortuna que en un jacal cogió a la medianoche dos indios y una india con una criatura a los pechos que estaban allí haciendo una roza para su sementera. Dio sobre ellos con sin ser oído ni visto y al maniatarlos les taparon las bocas porque no gritasen y dio con ellos en el real caminando el resto de la noche y otro día hasta las doce. Tuvimos un muy alegre día con los nuevos prisioneros, y tan poco de comer que no había mas que carne de caballos que mataban los soldados para su sustento y la comían con tanta alegría y gusto como si fuera de faisanes sin haber quien desplegase la boca a queja alguna. Pues luego que llegaron los presos a la presencia del gobernador se desmayaron de temor, de manera que cayeron sin poder hablar palabra; fue necesario darles de comer algo y confortarlos y apartando uno de otro los examinó y ambos últimamente convinieron en una misma cosa. Dijeron que Zapiuris estaba poblado de xiximes y que si su señoría se disponía a darles albazo los darían a las manos; que Yamoriba otros dos días de camino en unos picachos altísimos que en su lengua llaman Sariama, ofreciéndose a guiar mas no a entregar la ranchería por la vigilancia con que andaban los tepehuanes, especialmente después de muerto Gogojito, cosa que afirman les había causado un temor horrible. Bien pudiera el señor gobernador ponerse luego en camino y aquella noche sobre el pueblo de Zapiuris a la mañana en un albazo no dejar persona habida con tan buenas guías, mayormente por estar ausentes del pueblo, no habían echádoles menos, mas por cumplir el orden del señor virrey de llamar de paz a todas las naciones confines a los xiximes, tomando acuerdo su señoría dispuso la cosa de esta manera.

Al capitán Tomás García dio cuarenta españoles y ciento treinta amigos; mandóles aprontarse luego para Sariama con orden de caminar aquellos tres días valientemente y ponerse el sábado último de marzo en la noche sobre la ranchería de tepehuanes en Sariama para darles albazo domingo al romper el día por ser el citado con nuestros amigos los humes. Diole en collera los dos indios presos llamados Francisco y Martín para que de ellos enviase antes de dar asonada a Yamoriba al Francisco a llamar de paz y no ayudar a tepehuanes, y dejando a este indio para esta diligencia, llevaba orden de pasar con el otro Martín por guía a Sariama y aun estos dos indios bien saneados de que el perdón que se ofrecía era de veras, y de que en ninguna manera les haríamos mal a sus xiximes como ellos quisiesen ser amigos y así iban con gusto y alentados. A la india, por nombre María, envió su señoría a Zapiuris con una carta en señal a que llamase de paz a sus moradores y otro día en el resto del campo que eran bien pocos soldados, se partió en pos del capitán Tomás García para guardar las espaldas en cualquier acontecimiento, y haberles con los de Yamoriba en caso que maleasen. Llegamos el sábado bien cerca

de Yamoriba y otro día por la mañana dejando su señoría el real y en él poca gente partió al pueblo como un rayo para darles en el ínterin que más adelante la compañía de Tomás García las había con los tepehuanes llegando la compañía del señor gobernador a Yamoriba siguiendo el rastro de los compañeros que iban delante que estaba bien señalado porque aquellos tres días con sus noches nunca cesó los días de llover y las noches de nevar con tan gran frío que jamás he sentido, hallamos el pueblo quieto y los indios de aquella ranchería muy benévolos, y antes de decir el suceso digo que aquella tierra es al modo de Guarisamey, el traje, lenguaje y genero de gente dócil aunque la tierra es muchas veces más ágría que Guarisamey y a esta causa habían los tepehuanes mudádose a ella pensando hallar seguridad en su maleza.

Es, pues, el caso que el bueno y nuevo amigo Mehigua, gobernador de Guarisamey con cincuenta de los suyos llegó el día antes a cogerles a los tepehuanes los picachos de su retirada y siendo descubierto por los de Humase, Yamoriba y Zamoitua de tal suerte los tlatoleó, poniéndoles delante los agravios que de tepehuanes habían recibido todos en común, el mal que les amenazaba de su amistad y de la enemistad con españoles de quienes él se profesaba ya tan amigo, que pondrían él y los suyos la vida por ellos en todas ocasiones. Hablóles con tanta autoridad dándoseles tanto a temer que les hizo tomar las armas y emboscarse por aquellas barrancas para no dejar tepehuanes a vida cuando se retirasen del albazo, a esto se llegó el tlatole que les dio Francisco nuestro prisionero que les confirmó notablemente. Llegaron, pues, todos a un tiempo indios y españoles a cerrar con la ranchería, mas los tepehuanes como recelosos, no fiándose de los picachos y naturales de la tierra temiendo hacer las paces con Mehigua y humes, sin ser oídos ni vistos ni dar cuenta a persona viviente dos días antes dejando fuegos encendidos, dos por una parte y cuatro por otra por no dejar rastro salieron por muy ágrios picachos a tierra fuera, dejando la tierra que con razón tuvieron por mal segura por los innumerables trabajos que en son de amistad habían hecho aquellos que le eran vecinos y propios. Encontráronse con nuestros españoles Mehigua y sus humes que tomaban el cielo con las manos de la prevención de los tepehuanes, y todos juntos se vinieron para el señor gobernador a Yamoriba trayéndose también a los naturales, que bien se lamentaban de no haber tomado venganza de los agravios recibidos de los tepehuanes. Vinieron todos con notable alegría de ver al señor gobernador en su tierra, dispararon sus escopetas todos nuestros españoles y ellos y nuestros indios amigos dieron su algarada abrazándonos unos y otros, y sentándose Mehigua con el señor gobernador les habló en esta manera:

Que fuese su señoría muy bien venido, que no se alegraba menos de verle que si viese resucitado su padre; pero que le amaba como a las lumbres de sus ojos y deseaba se ofreciese ocasión para servirle y mostrar lo que amaba a los españoles; que los tepehuanes se habían escapado aquella vez de sus manos con harto dolor de su corazón, más que Dios sería servido que algún día pagasen como Gogojito, que de sí y sus humes aseguraba a su señoría les sería siempre enemigo, matando a cualquiera que se atreviese a entrar en su quebrada y enviando la cabeza o cabezas a Guadiana que recibiese su señoría su buena voluntad y la de su gente, que con mucha prontitud habían venido a servirle en aquella ocasión y que en pagó de ella, sólo suplicaba se mostrase su señoría padre con los de Yamoriba y Humase sus vecinos a quienes había traído de paz como prometió y vendrían a ver a su señoría. Retornóle el señor gobernador otro tanto agradecimiento de su buena voluntad,

prometiéndole de serle padre y que en todas ocasiones le favorecería, perdonando por su intercesión aquellos delincuentes, más que los de Cocorotame quería ir al punto a castigar la amistad que con tepehuanes habían tenido y que él con sus humes había de ir en nuestra ayuda a este efecto que se dispusiesen a ello. Pidió entonces el Mehigua perdón por aquella gente, asegurando a su señoría que aunque los vecinos de Cocorotame hablaban tepehuan, eran humes como ellos y parientes de su gente, que juntamente con ellos habían ya hecho amistad con su señoría y españoles y que el no haber parecido era de miedo de sus delitos y temor de no haber visto españoles en su vida, más que él los traería a todos a que viesen a su señoría y le diesen la obediencia si su señoría se dignaba dar otra vuelta hasta cerca de Guarisamey a un puesto señalado cerca de donde mataron a Gogojito, y pidióme a mí intercediese por aquella gente, y el señor gobernador le dijo que por su intercesión los perdonaba, con tal que saliesen con los capitanes de dicho Cocorotame al lugar señalado, pidiendo les señalásemos día; señalóselo su señoría, dándoles veinte días de término que habíamos menester para asentar la paz con Yamoriba, Yamoyoitua y Zapiuris y dar la vuelta a Guarisamey. Pidió con esto licencia el valeroso y cumplido Mehigua para dar la vuelta con su gente, dióselo su señoría, y con mucho agrado se despidió abrazando a su señoría, a mí y a los capitanes.

Pasamos lo que quedaba del día espantándonos de ver la maleza de la tierra, la altura de sus picachos tan inaccesibles, la profundidad de sus barrancas y la mano de Dios que allí reconocimos claramente, que a unirse tepehuanes, humes y xiximes, todo el poder del rey nuestro señor no era bastante a contrastarlos sin mucho estrago que en nosotros harían estos indios. Enviónos avisar el principal que no venía aquel día por andar juntando todos los capitanes de aquellas rancherías y con ellos vendría el día siguiente por la mañana como lo hizo porque como a las nueve vino acompañado de setenta principales, todos embijados, con arcos, flechas, y lanzas a guisa de pelear. Estaba el señor gobernador en una casa capaz y muy agradable; llegaron ellos a la puerta, mandóles entrar y ellos arrimando los arcos y carcajes, iban entrando abrazando a su señoría y a mí. Sentáronse todos por su orden, y el principal es un viejo de hasta sesenta años llamado Mihayhuet; mandó a un indio de los suyos que diese la bienvenida al señor gobernador. Hízolo el indio con gran muestras de alegría, respondióseles de nuestra parte y mandó su señoría decirles lo mismo que a los de Guarisamey asentando la paz con las mismas condiciones que con los humes. Habló después de esto el gobernador de Humase, por nombre Maicohueta y con las mismas condiciones admitió la paz prometiéndole todos de ser eternos amigos nuestros y enemigos de los tepehuanes, y volviendo su plática a mí me dijeron todos aquellos principales que estaban sumamente agradecidos del buen oficio que había hecho con su señoría, alcanzando perdón a sus delitos y que los españoles los llamasen de paz y que ellos me daban su palabra que luego que cogiesen sus sementeras irían por los padres de San Hipólito y los traerían en hombros a sus tierras, harían iglesias, oirían sus sermones y se harían cristianos como sus vecinos los de Zapiuris y Guapisuxe que les escribiese que con toda seguridad podían entrar en sus tierras y a ellos tenerlos por hijos, y como a tales mandarles. Agradecióles aquella buena voluntad exhortándoles a poner por obra sus buenos deseos, cuando el principal y gobernador de todos, el viejo Mayhuel, tomó la mano con mucha autoridad e hizo un largo tlatole al señor gobernador significándole lo mucho que se había alegrado de

aquellas paces, que él procuraría portarse de manera que no desmereciese la amistad tratada, y vuelto al señor gobernador le dijo que estimase mucho la confianza con que se habían venido a poner en sus manos y entrado en su presencia sin armas, mayormente viéndose rodeados de tantos españoles y temiendo tan fresca la matanza de sus parientes, amigos y vecinos se había hecho en Xocotilma, que allí vería lo que le amaban y como de veras admitían la paz y se profesaban amigos de españoles. Agradeciéoles el señor gobernador la confianza y dándoles algunas cosillas los envió muy contentos, y tanto que con mucha familiaridad se pusieron a comunicar con nuestros españoles, comprando y vendiendo todo aquel día y pidiendo muy encarecidamente que en señal de alegría disparasen las escopetas. Hiciéronlo y ellos dieron sus alaridos, con que resonaron aquellas quiebras y mostraron recibir gran contento.

Tuvo noticia el señor gobernador que estaban entre estos de Yamoriba retirados de su pueblo, dos indios principales cabezas de Zapiuris, y uno de ellos como al descuido había enviado a un hijo entre los de Yamoriba para ver como se habían con ellos nuestros españoles, llamándose estos dos Tucapele y Baucomani. Preguntó su señoría por ellos, y el gobernador de Yamoriba dijo que estaban en su ranchería, atemorizados por sus delitos; suplicó por ellos y certificado el perdón mandó los fuese a llamar. No vinieron con todo los dos hasta que nuestro intérprete Bautistilla, pidiendo un arcabuz, fue a donde estaban y tantas cosas supo decirles y aseguróles tan bien, que se animaron a venir y así jueves 5 de abril por la mañana vinieron a presencia del señor gobernador con singular contento de su señoría y todos nosotros, porque todo el saneamiento y seguro de estas paces consiste en haber parecido estos dos. Llegaron algo turbados particularmente el Tucapilillo por ser el más delincuente y principal motor del alzamiento, y a esta causa no osaba alzar los ojos del suelo, ni pudo hablar a derechas en gran rato, mayormente haciéndole una gran acusación de sus delitos, de que le hizo largo catálogo el señor gobernador, exagerándoselos mucho, para que cayese mejor el perdón que le hizo de todos ellos con las condiciones que a los demás, prometieron sernos amigos hasta la muerte. Y en testimonio de ello pidieron licencia para partirse a su pueblo de Zapiuris para tener junta la gente para cuando fuésemos a él, fuéronse al punto y nosotros aliñando nuestra partida también salimos aquella tarde, en la cual hacemos harto en subir una sola cuesta de tres leguas que subimos a pie con gran trabajo y mayor admiración de los naturales, que jamás se persuadieron que españoles treparían por aquellas breñas, más de esto quedaron bien desengañados y especialmente que unos soldados en busca de bastimento entraron a lo interior de aquella serranía a pie y subieron por escaleras que ellos tienen en las mismas peñas y no todos las suben aun entre ellos en busca de maíz que rescataron. Y fue tanta la admiración que los naturales se vinieron con ellos y les trajeron a cuestras el maíz, diciendo al señor gobernador cuán ligeros, valientes y comedidos, habían andado aquellos españoles y cuanto se habían holgado verlos subir aquellos picachos, sacando mentirosos a los tepehuanes que les habían certificado no valen españoles cosa alguna en sierras aunque son valientes en los llanos.

Llegamos otro día a nuestro real que estaba con cuidado de nosotros, descansamos lo que nos restaba de día y otro de mañana tomamos el camino para Zapiuris. Este día sucedió una cosa de mucho gusto y buena fortuna para nosotros, y fue que tres indios amigos entre otros que iban por delante espiondo dieron en un



rastro de ganado que pocos días antes había entrado por allí. Vinieron como unos rayos a dar aviso al señor gobernador que al punto con sólo diez hombres que con él estábamos y estos tres indios siguió el rastro por aquellas breñas. A media legua caminada encontramos dos reses muertas y más adelante una mula flechada, más adelante otra ensillada y con tan evidente rastro de enemigos íbamos como unos rayos en su seguimiento. Caminamos por la tierra más áspera que vi en la vida siete bien largas leguas bajando al fin de ellas una cuesta tan a pique que parecía imposible dejar de rodar allí nuestras mulas; bajamos a pie las mulas de diestro y a poco rastro dimos en un vallecito donde vimos una partida de ganado de cien reses, bien cansado y destroncado del mal camino, cerramos con la partida a los tepehuanes que la habían traído, concibieron tan gran temor, que no osaron esperarnos un momento ni osaron dar siquiera un grito. Partimos por aquel valle unos a rodear el ganado, otros en busca de los enemigos y el señor gobernador con solos dos soldados siguiendo el rastro de los que huían se dejó caer por una quebrada y corrió tras ellos una larga legua con el valor y esfuerzo que tiene este caballero y es verdad *coram Deo* que me ha espantado notablemente. Esperamos a su señoría largas dos horas bien cuidadosos del suceso guardando cada uno su puesto, cuando al cabo de ellas le vimos por aquellos picachos buscando en ellos al enemigo. Llegó finalmente a nosotros y dionos nueva de la ligereza de los tepehuanes con que se habían escapado por pies, y con esto tratamos de descansar en sus propios ranchos cenando aquella noche aunque será viernes de Ramos una muy buena ternera. Y pues llegamos a este punto; ninguna cosa más me has espantado en esta jornada que el ánimo y tolerancia con que así el señor gobernador como los soldados comieron hasta aquí solo muy poco esquite y carne de caballos con tanta alegría como si comieran perdices, que parece que en premio de esta prontitud de ánimo nos trajo este ganado el que da de comer *in tempore oportuno*. Velámosle aquella noche con cuidado y otro día de mañana le fuimos sacando a nuestro real, y para que más claro viésemos que Nuestro Señor nos había enviado aquel refresco sucedieron dos cosas. La una que acaso entre los diez que hicimos esta jornada venían cinco famosos vaqueros señores de estancias, criados en este ejercicio. La otra que quitamos a los enemigos yeguas y caballos ligeros en que rastrear el dicho ganado: llegamos con él aquella cuesta a pique que el día antes bajamos con recelo de que allí nos salieran indios, y a esta causa el señor gobernador tomó la vanguardia y el primero de todos con su mula de diestro y la escopeta en la mano subió a ganar los altos, seguámosle sin ver tepehuan, que como gente ruin no se atrevió a venirnos a pedir cuenta de la presa, siendo así que la cuesta es tal que pocos que salieran nos dieran bien que hacer, subió el ganado, que todo era del fiero de Gaspar Dávila y yendo con él para nuestro real vimos cruzar un indio de un monte a otro como un viento. Fuimos volando en su alcance, quiso Dios que le hubiésemos a las manos sin valerle su ligereza y resistencia que hizo; púsolo su señoría a cuestión de tormento y desatónos el sueño de aquel ganado de esta manera:

Dijo ser natural de Zapiuris, donde dijo también nos estaban aguardando para recibir la paz, que aquel ganado habían traído tepehuanes, que pocos días habían ido a vaquearlos a los llanos en la luna nueva, y sin saber de nuestra entrada, muerte de Gogojito y retirada de los suyos, había tres días entraron con él por diferente camino que nosotros enviando a Yamoriba un xixime de allí que llevaron por auxiliar a que ganase las albricias de la llegada del ganado. Más nuestros

nuevos amigos los de Yamoriba leyeron la cartilla de las nuevas paces a su natural, mandándole se quitase y no volviese otra vez a los tepehuanes, con quienes no querían trato, amistad ni comercio. Amenazáronlo de muerte si así no lo hiciese, mas él a excusas de los suyos dio con presteza la vuelta a los del ganado, avisóles de nuestra entrada, y como distaban de nosotros sólo seis leguas, llegó a tiempo que los halló bien medrosos y cuidadosos por haber ya dado con nuestro rastro, y al punto con toda prisa guiaron el ganado por aquellos picachos y quebradas para esconderlo de nuestros ojos, mas aprovechóles poco su diligencia y a nosotros tanto la nuestra, que a no quitarles aquella presa nos veríamos en notable riesgo de perecer de hambre, porque no había ya caballos que matar para nuestro sustento ni otra cosa que comer, tanto que desde este día hasta la fecha de esta, sólo ha comido el campo carne sin pan ni maíz ni otra cosa alguna, con que han enfermado muchos sin dejar por eso de acudir valerosamente a toda ocasión de trabajo. Llegamos aquel día a nuestro real y cuando nuestros españoles y hambrientos vecinos nos vieron venir con la presa del ganado, saltando de puro contento, disparando su escopetería y dando nuestros indios su algazara y mil parabienes todos al señor gobernador y a los que le acompañamos. Luego al punto su señoría mandó al capitán Tomás García congregase su escuadra de indios y españoles, y matando las vacas necesarias para el camino se partiese otro día siguiendo a toda prisa, el rastro de los tepehuanes fugitivos que su señoría el día antes había seguido con orden de no parar hasta darles alcance; preparóse al punto el capitán, y otro día al romper el alba se partió a cumplir su orden, y nosotros al pueblo de Zapiuris, mandando su señoría al capitán Alonso Hernández Castellanos, capitán veterano de singular esfuerzo y gobierno, que con el real marchase a lo alto del pueblo y aguardase allí mientras su señoría con su gente y el capitán Alonso Martín bajáramos al pueblo. Este pueblo de Zapiuris de cristianos que bautizó y doctrinó el santo padre Hernando de Santarén, aunque como gente belicosa luego que vieron los tepehuanes concluyeron con la guerra acudieron al reclamo y se alzaron con los vecinos de Basís y parte de los de Guapisuxe, todos los de Huahuapa y Tenchius amparando en su tierra los tepehuanes y dándoles ayuda a sus faenas. Y a esta causa pocos meses ha el capitán Jucane por orden de su señoría entrando por la parte de San Hipólito les dio un famoso albazo, matando muchos en él y continuando otros sin que por eso los que se escaparon dejasen de ser merecedores de semejante castigo por su alevosía y traición, mas el gobernador por cumplir el orden del señor virrey, pudiéndolos acabar, bajo esta vez a perdonarlos.

Luego que bajamos al pueblo donde vimos la iglesia quemada y destruida, paramos en una de sus rancherías y al punto parecieron en presencia del señor gobernador los dos principales Tucapel y Baucomani con las arengas que esta gente acostumbra, pidiendo perdón para sus naturales y vecinos prometiendo la enmienda en adelante de manera que bastase a hacer echar en olvido sus culpas y alevos: alcanzólo de su señoría con las condiciones que las demás naciones, añadiéndoles la de reedificar la iglesia y reducir al padre Pedro Gravina, su padre, que hasta aquí ha estado en el fuerte de San Hipólito sin sus feligreses bien afligidos por verlos perdido. Prometieron hacerlo añadiendo ellos de su motivo se congregarian de todas aquellas rancherías, todos alrededor de la iglesia que harán, poblando un solo pueblo, cosa que aunque sumamente lo deseó el padre Santarén de buena memoria, jamás la pudo alcanzar de ellos. Pidieron a su señoría les señalase puesto cómodo para esto, mas remitimoslos a los padres mandándoles no se apar-

tasen en punto de su voluntad: prometiéronlo así pidiendo licencia para ir por los suyos que viniesen a dar la obediencia y recibir el perdón de su señoría, fueron y a poco rato vinieron todos los hombres, mujeres, niños y viejos y con todas muestras de alegría abrazaron a su señoría, besandome a mí la mano. Exhortélos a todos a la paz, amistad con españoles, poniendoles delante lo mal que les iba con lo contrario a la obediencia de sus padres, a la devoción con Nuestro Señor y sus cosas a la reedificación de su iglesia, mostrando ellos mucho deseo de enmendarse en todo; con que para otro día de mañana dispusimos nuestra vuelta para dar con nosotros en la tierra de tepehuanes y no dejarlos ni a sol ni a sombra en todas partes.

Pues porque esto fuese con más acierto dispuso la cosa el señor gobernador de esta manera: Al capitán Gonzalo Martín de Soria, despachó desde allí con su escuadra de españoles y amigos por el camino de San Hipólito con orden de que corriese los pueblos de xiximes amigos, por confirmarlos en nuestra amistad y darles aviso de las paces con los rebeldes y corridos Guapisuxe, Gucayas, Santa Fe, Cacampana, Los Remedios, San Pedro y Coapa, pueblos de xiximes, se entrase en tierra de tepehuanes dando vuelta a la sierra de Arratia, guarida cierta de esta mala gente, Santa Catalina [de Tepehuanes], Trancosa, Organos, saliendo últimamente a Las Cruces para fin de abril o primero de mayo, pues el capitán Tomás García que se encaminó en pos del rastro de los tepehuanes del ganado, llevaba orden de seguirlos hasta darles alcance, corriendo después los puestos de Ramos, Fuenterrabia, Texamen, saliendo a Las Cruces también a fin de abril o principios de mayo.

El señor gobernador con el resto del campo tomó a su cargo correr los picachos de la salida de las peñuelas quebradas de Yoracapa, Tenerapa, Vasapa, Vaquitame, los dos Papasquiaros, nuevo y viejo, lugares todos de tepehuanes y centro de ellos. Prometió salir a Las Cruces para el tiempo citado, y con estas correrías ceñíamos todos a un tiempo toda la tierra tepehuana sin dejarlos sosegar en parte alguna. Partióse el capitán a San Hipólito y nosotros a nuestro real con harto trabajo porque subimos a pie una cuesta de tres leguas bien ágrías y difíciles, admirándonos mucho de la aspereza de aquella tierra particularmente de un portezuelo que está en medio de la cuesta tan a pique que parece milagro subir por allí bestias y que con sólo diez indios en su cumbre los pueden defender de diez mil hombres. Luego que llegamos al real envió su señoría las espías, acostumbradas a todas partes y nosotros otro día corriendo todas aquellas serranías, íbamos dando la vuelta para los puntos que nos parecía bien. Corrimos de esta suerte hasta la junta de dos sendas, la de Yamoriba por donde veníamos con la de Guarisamey sin hallar por todos aquellos picachos, barrancas y quebradas no sólo un indio pero ni aun rastro de él.

En esta junta de caminos dejamos nuestro real a cargo del capitán Castellanos y con sólo diez hombres tomó el señor gobernador la senda de Guarisamey, pareciendo a todos casi temeridad empeñarse con tan poca gente en tierra tan ágría y breñosa a riesgo de haberlas con todos los tepehuanes que se habían retirado y había gran sospecha estaban agachados por aquellos riscos y quebradas. Caminamos tres días al cabo de los cuales llegamos a una penosa cuesta en que remata una profunda quebrada de donde iba saliendo y subiendo nuestro mal Gogojito cuando le mataron. Pusimos por nombre a este puesto la quebrada de la justa venganza por la que Nuestro Señor tomó allí de este su enemigo y nuestro. Pues luego que llegamos a la repetida cuesta hicimos pie y dormimos allí aquella noche con

algún recelo de enemigos, por ser ellos de coraje y ánimo pudieran darnos bien en que entender a tan pocos como allí estábamos más tales que valían por muchos; era el día siguiente el citado con nuestro buen amigo Mehigua, gobernador de Guarisamey en que prometió traernos los vecinos de Cocorotame a la obediencia de su majestad y paz con nosotros, y a las nueve del día cuando mas cuidadosos estábamos de su venida, llegó a la cumbre de aquella ágría cuesta y a voces preguntó si estábamos allí. Respondímosle con los arcabuces que así lo habíamos concertado, y con esto bajó hasta en medio de la cuesta, pidiendo subiésemos allí sólo el señor gobernador y yo. Lo efectuamos al instante y el indio, con notable alegría abrazó al señor gobernador y a mí, diciendo a su señoría lo mucho que se alegraba de vernos allí otra vez y que al dejar los suyos y las ocupaciones tenía con ellos, se vendría a Guadiana a servirle toda su vida; llamó con esto la gente que traía de Cocorotame, y a su voz se descolgaron de aquella cumbre sesenta gandules como unos filisteos con sus arcos, flechas, lanzas, hachuelas y macanas a guisa de pelear cuando nuestros compatriotas de abajo de la cuesta con grande estruendo dispararon sus escopetas para ponerles temor; humilláronse todos al señor gobernador, abrazándome a mí y sentándose dieron sus excusas pidiendo paz y perdón; se los concedió el señor gobernador con las condiciones dichas, prometiendo sernos leales amigos y enemigos de los tepehuanes, y en señal inviolable de paz presentaron a su señoría un haz de flechas. Subieron en seguida algunos de los nuestros y celebraron con ellos sus ferías y compras, y con gran muestra de contento se abrazaron unos y otros disparando los nuestros sus escopetas y dando ellos su algarabía; con esto y algunas cosillas que les dio el señor gobernador pidió licencia el valeroso Mehigua y abrazándonos a todos dio la vuelta a su tierra y nosotros a nuestro real, lloviéndonos el cielo aquella tarde un turbión de agua, granizo, truenos y relámpagos, el mayor temporal que haya visto en mi vida.

Llegamos últimamente a nuestro real, de allí a dos días bien cansados y admirados de lo mucho que se esconden los tepehuanes a quienes deseamos ver con muchas veras y a otro día tomamos el camino para la quebrada de Yoracapa llevando por todos los lados nuestros espías y caballos ligeros sin ser indio. Engolfámonos con esto en la quebrada que es la más profunda que he visto con el paso más peligroso que hay en toda esta gobernación de cuyas alturas con sólo arrojar piedras, poca gente bastaría destruir mucha; no hubo quien no hiciese mal ni diese siquiera un grito porque ya los míseros tepehuanes andan tales, después de la muerte de Gogojito y paces con los humes que no hallan lugar seguro donde ampararse, corrimos los días siguientes a Tenerapa, Valapa, Vecatome, Otinapa, presa y casa de Avila hasta salir a Santiago Papasquiario sin ver indio ni rastro de él.

No quiero exagerar el dolor que sentimos de ver aquel pueblo de Papasquiario que ya llaman comúnmente Santiago de los Mártires, acordándonos de las muertes tan atroces que allí en los nuestros hicieron estos malditos tepehuanes, como allí refrescó cada cual sus memorias, cual de su padre muerto, cual de su hermano, cual de su abuelo, cual de su amigo, pariente o conocido. Quebróseme el corazón ver la iglesia que era linda en extremo y recién acabada, y cuando estos perros la abrasaron y quemaron toda, profanando sus aras, destrozando las imágenes. Vi el lugar donde pisaron estos sacrílegos al santísimo sacramento, matando a los padres y cerca de él dije misa al otro día por las ánimas de los que allí acabaron; corrimos todos aquellos contornos con tanto cuidado que nuestros soldados se hallaban por aquellos picachos cual rejas de arado, cual barretas de fierro, cual

arcabuces quebrados y aun uno la lámpara de la iglesia en una profunda quebrada y ninguno halló ni tepehuan ni rastro.

Salimos con esto a Las Cruces el último de abril cuando de nuestros espías que por todas partes corrían la tierra, los unos llegaron muy a prisa; y preguntados que presa traían respondieron que al capitán Tomás García y su gente, los que habían cogido en una emboscada; otros volvieron a toda carrera y la presa que traían era el capitán Gonzalo Martín, cuya gente solo habían columbrado, y pensando eran tepehuanes corrieron tras él y su gente, a nosotros con el mismo engaño y amigos con enemigos se hubieran de foguear a no conocerse a buen trecho. Y estando en esto se aparecieron sobre un picacho cuatro a caballo y corriendo como unos rayos a ellos una manga de nuestros soldados, luego que llegaron a tiro reconocieron ser de los nuestros, que habiendo estado allí tres días esperando, luego que vieron a nuestra gente en el campo salían a ella como unos alcotanes. Dionos notable gusto ver el cuidado con que todos estaban en sus puestos como sin saber unos de otros por diferentes caminos, nos habíamos venido a juntar cogiéndonos unos a otros en nuestras mismas emboscadas. Aguardamos a los capitanes y a poco rato llegó el bueno y valeroso Tomás García, salvando los de su escuadra con la arcabucería al señor gobernador y dando los indios su algarada.

Rindió cuenta de su viaje y correrías y como en uno de los puestos que le cupieron en suerte dio alcance a ocho indios de los cuales, mató sólo dos, únicos que le hicieron tenaz resistencia, llamados Juan Vinagre y Cuscusillo, indios cuyo valor conocido habían hecho raya en las bandas rebeldes. Al resto los hizo prisioneros de guerra y uno de ellos le guió hasta la ranchería a que pertenecía en la cual halló seis indias y dos muchachos que prendió y tenía en poder de su sargento y algunos soldados en el paraje de Las Cruces para donde caminábamos, añadiendo que había puesto a cuestión de tormentos a los prisioneros y examinados cada cual aparte. Todos vinieron a decir lo mismo que en todos estos contornos no había otra ranchería que la suya a causa de que luego que matamos a Gogojito algunos de ellos que se escaparon corrieron toda la tierra dando la noticia que causó tan grande temor que al punto no quedó hombre con hombre. Afirmaron que el lenguaje común que corría entre ellos era: hermanos, sálvese cada uno como pudiere porque ya no es tiempo de más que tratar de vivir y huir de los locos, que así tratan comúnmente a los españoles, añadieron que dos por una parte, tres por otra, por no dejar rastro de sí se habían ido cada cual a buscar su remedio, y esta es la causa porque en parte ninguna hallamos nosotros rastro, pasando por rastro de sí se habían ido cada cual á buscar su remedio, y esta es la causa porque en parte ninguna hallamos nosotros rastro, pasando por Tenarapa, Otinapa, Zaracapa y Papasquiario que es el centro de esta gente.

Llegó últimamente el capitán Gonzalo Martín y dio en noticia que habiendo corrido con toda diligencia los puestos señalados si bien al verle y saber lo sucedido en Guarisamey con los humes y en Yamoriba, Zapiuris, &c., con los xiximes amigos que aun vacilaban ya alegrando sumamente a los padres de su doctrina; pero que en tierra de tepehuanes no había visto mas que rastros antiguos, ni aun en la cuesta de Arratia que es el lugar de su seguro. Marchamos con esto a Las Cruces con notable alegría de vernos juntos y la presa que hallé en collera nos aguardaba; descansamos allí dos días en que los dos capitanes con sus escuadras se previnieron para salir a otras correrías que de nuevo les ordenó el señor gobernador.

Y al tercer día de la invención de la cruz, después de haber oído misa, a prestados los capitanes y soldados, el señor gobernador los dispuso de esta manera. Al

capitán Tomás García mandó que con su escuadra corriese los puestos de San Julián, la estancia de Ontiveros al Río de Ramos, Cerro del Organo, Quebrada de Xicorica y de los Palmitos, saliendo por último á Cacaria para el día señalado.

Al capitán Gonzalo Martín se le ordenó corriese las serranías de Coneto Moxitome y Jomuleo, saliendo para el día señalado también a la estancia de Cacari.

Y sobre la marcha se pusieron en camino los dos capitanes, y solo el señor gobernador se detuvo a formar su correspondiente sumaria a los culpados y sentenciados a muerte; yo los tomé a mi cargo, catequicélos y doctrinélos de nuevo, confesándolos y haciéndolos adurar de la idolatría, y bien contritos los fue el señor gobernador haciéndolos colgar en el camino que conduce de Texame a las Bocas para terror y espanto de los que los vieron.

Aquella noche del día de la cruz llegaron al real un par de soldados del capitán Gonzalo Martín y trajeron noticia que en el llano del Texame divisaron de dos leguas de él gente que camina a la serranía de Coneto; despachó en su seguimiento caballos ligeros para darles alcance; mas como ellos llevaban tan gran ventaja no fue posible darles alcance; aligeráronse de todo cuanto llevaban dejando tilmas de carne, mescal y sus cosillas y al pie de la serranía las yeguas y caballos en que iban, subiendo por consiguiente a pie la altura cuando llegaron dos de nuestros soldados, trabando con ellos acción reñidísima mientras llegaban los otros; ellos aunque hicieron alguna resistencia no trataban de pelear sino de apelar a la ligereza de sus pies. Quitáronles nuestros soldados, con todo, dos mujeres, india la una, y con ellas relación de lo sucedido. Las despachó a nuestro real al señor gobernador el capitán Gonzalo Martín. Llegaron los dos soldados como a las diez de la noche y al momento el señor gobernador montó a caballo y acompañado de cinco dragones salió como un rayo dirigiéndose hacia donde Gonzalo Martín estaba; de allí despachó en distintos rumbos escuadras con soldados de su confianza, y una y otra siguiendo estrictamente el rastro a la luz de la luna, dieron por fin en su alcance con una india. Algo más adelante dieron muerte a un indio por haberseles resistido valientemente, natural de Santiago Papasquaro llamado Juan Quequejol, y siguiendo una legua más adelante oyeron en una profunda quebrada llorisquear a chiquillos, y creyendo estarían allí los demás que se escaparon, que por todos eran doce y mujeres seis, pararon luego en el cerro inmediato aguardando amaneciese; al despuntar el día se decidió nuestra tropa a dar el albazo en aquella ranchería y no hallaron mas que a un niño de corta edad que de industria dejaron allí para que entendiesen con su lloro estaban allí todos, y aguardando darles albazo tendrían ellos mas tiempo de huir; valióles ciertamente la estratagemas y nuestra gente siguiendo más adelante avistaron a dos enemigos en un alto picacho al que remontaron con harta dificultad; mas tambien escapáronse perdiendo en su totalidad su rastro y desconfiando volver a dar con él, se dieron prisa en ganar hacia el real a presentar al señor gobernador la presa y cabeza del muerto, quien al punto los remitió por otra parte en pos de su capitán que, dividido en dos escuadras, había salido ciñendo aquellas serranías hasta Coneto; aún no sabemos el paradero de dichas compañías, aunque esperamos sea Nuestro Señor servido para que el resultado de ellas, defendiendo su santa causa, sea tan próspero como hasta aquí.

En la actualidad el señor gobernador se ocupa con su escuadra en recorrer todos estos contornos de esta serranía de Texamen, las Bocas, los Pinos, cerros de Canatlán, Sauceda y Cacaria, teniendo emboscadas en todas las sendas y caminos, espías en los picachos, porque la mulata e india presas dan últimamente por aviso

que saliendo la escuadra de los suyos que corrió Gonzalo Martín y su gente de los cerros de Yamoriba a la serranía de Coneto, dejaron atrás otra del Tlmatini que seguía los mismos pasos.

Quiera el cielo dé en nuestras emboscadas para que paguen sus maldades, vengando el Señor *sanguinem sanotorum qui effusus est!*

Este es, padre mío, el suceso hasta aquí de nuestro viaje en el cual aunque los muertos en varias partes sólo llegan a diez y siete; pero como entre ellos se cuenta la de Gogojito de quien todos los alzados tenían colgadas sus esperanzas juzgándole por inmortal, así ellos como las demás naciones alzadas, sólo en su muerte se realizó nuestra victoria completa y tal vez dentro de poco veremos esterminado este temible enemigo, de modo que los tepehuanes han concebido tal temor que en ninguna parte hacen ya frente ni buscan, porque no la hallan, una guarida segura en todos estos contornos, y muerto el que los conducía andan sin tino, con y vacilante paso hacia su tumba, como lo confesaron antes de espirar los que pagaron a manos de un verdugo el colmo de tanta ignominia que, preguntados como ellos solos se habían atrevido a parar por estos contornos respondieron que habiendo oído su consejo se determinaron quedar en estos puestos, huyendo del hambre, sed, cansancio y desvelo y malpasarse que les sigue cuando andan huyendo de picacho en picacho, encomendándose a su buena suerte y fortuna viviesen lo que viviesen, pues en cada parte los había de perseguir y alcanzar la ira de Dios y la de los españoles. Y este viaje se debe tener por el más feliz y de la mayor importancia que hasta aquí otro alguno, porque además de haberlos atemorizado y puestos en dispersión con la muerte de Gogojito, han decaído notabilísimamente de la estimación y respeto que las demás naciones les guardaban, a las cuales se habían vendido por domadores del coraje español. Han cobrado además de esto tan grande aborrecimiento a su dios cual él merece, matando a sus profetas y manatinis con tan gran temor de españoles que no osan parar en parte alguna por no dar en sus manos; y como con esta entrada dejamos de paz a los humes de Guarisamey y sus pueblos de Humase, Cocoratome y xiximes de Zapiuris, Yamoriba, Yomoyoitua, Basís, Guapisuxe, y en todos estos puntos dejamos a nuestra devoción y en verdadera amistad más de dos mil flecheros, gente arriesgada y valiente, quitando a los tepehuanes aquella fragosa tierra que tenían por guarida, no saben los pobres que hacerse y por huir del fuego, como dicen, han de ir a dar en las mismas ascuas y venir todos al pagadero, si ya no es que toman por última resolución bajarse y ponerse a la disposición del señor gobernador y amparo de la ley, suceda lo que sucediere.

Pues ya los provechos que se siguen de las paces con los humes y xiximes nos son de estima y provecho, pues con ellos se aseguran las minas, caminos y gente de Topia, San Andrés, San Hipólito y las latísimas provincias de Culiacán, Chiametla, Piaxtla y Alayá, cuyos moradores indios tienen por primer móvil á estos flumes y xiximes, y en ser estos nuestros amigos lo son también aquellos de los cuales no se tenía hasta ahora plena satisfacción y confianza.

Bien muestran esto las catas de los padres Andrés Justino, Pedro Gavina, Diego de Castro, Andrés Gonzáles y Juan de Mallén que con sumo contento, han escrito con el capitán Gonzalo Martín grandes parabienes al señor gobernador, prometiéndose de aquí en adelante todo seguro en sus puestos con las paces dichas. Todo esto para que vuestra reverencia dé gracias a Dios Nuestro Señor *qui mortificat et vivificat deducit ad inferos et reducit.*

## The Tepehuan Rebellion Is Ended

Y así es, pues, como va convirtiendo en tan alegre paz tan encendida guerra sin cuartel, sacando de tantos males mucho bienes como espero de su majestad se seguirán a esta afligida tierra, con la quietud que nos promete el desconsuelo y terror de los tepehuanes con lo cual no caben ya en el mundo. Quiera Nuestro Señor acordarse de ellos y dar a vuestra reverencia el colmo de sus dones divinos que puede como yo lo deseo.

Llanos de Guatimapé, mayo 9 de 1618. De vuestra reverencia hijo humilde Alonso [de Valencia].

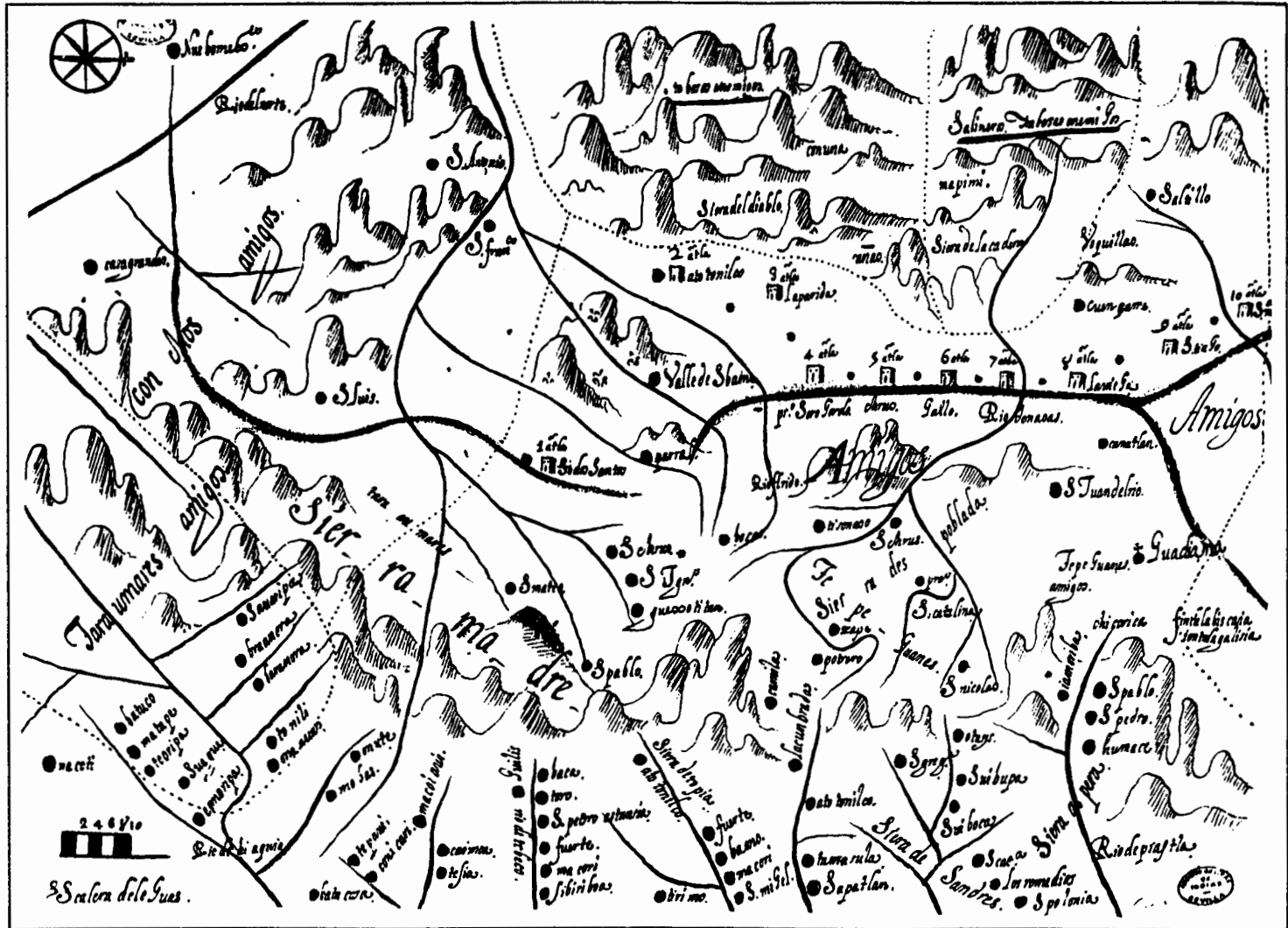




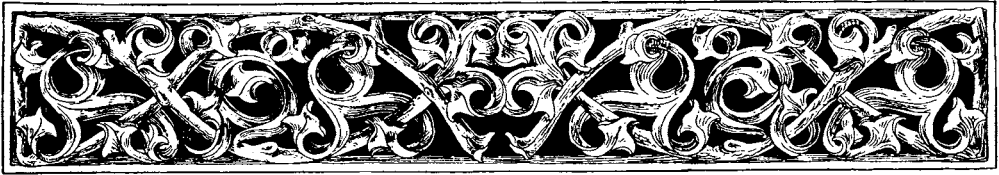
# III



*A Conquistador*



One of the few known maps of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century.  
Artist unknown. Original in the Archivo General de Indias.



## Mid-Century Challenges and Realignment

(1640—1660)

**W**hen Spanish presidios were chosen as an instrument of pacification by Viceroy Martín Enríquez in the sixteenth century, he also stressed the value and potential of the pacification of Indian peoples through missionary tactics.<sup>1</sup> In the aftermath of the Chichimeca War and Peace the role of the Franciscan and Jesuit missions reached new prominence. As demonstrated in the preceding chapter, the missionary or colonist who was exposed on an isolated frontier often required the presence of an effective presidial force to guarantee security and continuity of effort. Without substantial military support, missions and colonial settlements were precarious adventures at best, but the authentic spearhead of Spanish expansion during the seventeenth century was primarily the mission. The geography of the north dictated the dispersal of Spanish settlements because the arid lands could support only so many people; thus the occupation of the mountains and deserts followed closely the *ranchería* patterns of the native inhabitants. So there was hardly any colonial institution better suited than the mission to cope with the transformation of the scattered native groups into Spanish society. It was never a question of pure conquest and submission; it was a question of education, acceptance, and discipline. The seventeenth century was the epoch of missionary prominence; the eighteenth would see a return to militarism.

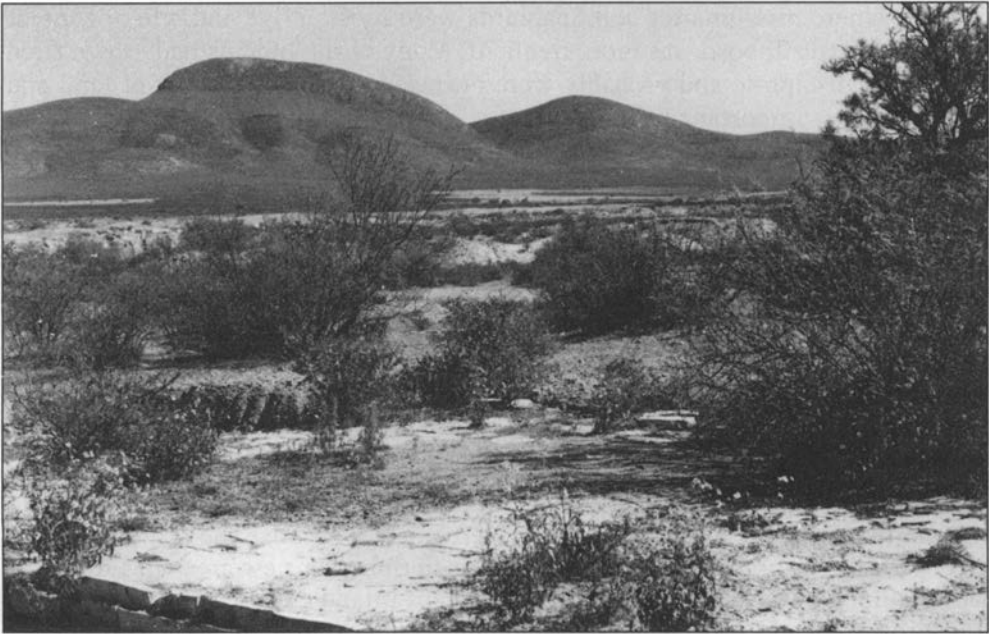
Once the hostile tribes in the Sierra Madre were subdued, the Spaniards concentrated during the next decades on exploration and expansion. Juan de Oñate led a successful expedition into New Mexico, which then became a base for other far-ranging explorations and contacts with scores of Indian groups. Francisco de Ibarra had probed the mountains and deltas of the northwest, and his successors as governors, Diego de Ibarra and Rodrigo del Río y Losa, for example, consolidated Spanish contact with new native pueblos by establishing Jesuit missions along the western slopes. One of New Spain's great military campaigners, Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, challenged the hostility of Mayos and Yaquis so effectively that only one permanent garrison was required on the entire northwestern coast. Even before the bloody rebellions among the Tepehuan, Jesuit missions had penetrated the whole southern frontier of Sonora. The first half of the seventeenth century in many ways was a triumph of missionary pacification and restrained

military involvement. Presidial expansion, however, commanded only low priorities—until the Toboso revolt of the 1640s. By this time New Mexico was a firmly established colony on the far northern frontier, and Spanish reales and haciendas dotted the long road from Durango north. With the Toboso revolt Spanish colonization was once again threatened by the cutting off of supplies and communication. The Toboso straddled the route from Nueva Vizcaya to New Mexico, and the Spaniards were just beginning to discover the promise of vast wealth in the desert mountains of Sonora. If northern New Spain was to survive, the viceroy had to implement a policy of maintaining strong military garrisons; otherwise, hostile Indians would sever the lifeline of silver and supply.

Exceptionally rich veins of silver ore were found at San José del Parral in 1631, and the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes, moved the provincial capital there despite royal orders that it remain in Durango.<sup>2</sup> The succession of governors continued to reside in Parral until the end of the seventeenth century, when it appeared more prudent to move away from the strife-torn northern districts. As in most other parts of New Spain, the discovery of silver in Nueva Vizcaya became the undoing of peaceful relations with neighboring Indians. The natives were seen as a convenient, cheap source of labor to work in the mines; and the Spaniards were seen as a vulnerable source of supply for food, animals, and material goods without having to work. The combination was volatile. Although the record seldom elaborates on native slavery, the common Spanish practice was to contact pagan Indian tribes and offer conversion. If the natives refused or became hostile, the Spaniards then felt justified, according to their legal logic, to take captives and sell them for laborers in the Spanish pueblos. This practice frequently set missionaries against colonists because Spanish policy was working at cross purposes—an issue that was never resolved throughout the whole colonial period.

Within twelve years after the Parral discoveries, the Tobosos joined the Salineros to raid, plunder, and disrupt all of southern Chihuahua. It was the most dangerous uprising mounted since the Chichimeca War three quarters of a century before. If the rebellious Indians had succeeded, they would have isolated the capitals of both Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico. The Spanish response had to be swift and definitive, so the viceroy ordered the establishment of the presidio of Cerrogorordo, whose soldiers were to protect the highways and byways of the developing provinces. Already expeditions had moved well west of Parral into the cascading escarpments of the Sierra Madre. Pedro de Perea, who was named the adelantado of Nueva Andalucía, brought settlers from Parral into the valleys of central and northern Sonora. Small coastal vessels were probing the inlets of the Californias hoping to find pearls or northern passages.

To the east of Nueva Vizcaya clusters of Spanish settlers grew up at Saltillo and radiated into the restricted but rich farmlands of Nuevo León and Coahuila. The Indian population was scattered and generally pacific, but the viceroys insisted on a minimal military presence. As a consequence a small garrison was established at Cerralvo in 1629 and another at Cadereyta in 1639. These were not placed on major routes of travel, but they served as protective bases for the local populace. Their roles remained somewhat static until full-scale expansion into Texas was decided on in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Essentially they resulted from the growth of the colonial population and the spread of missions among the semi-nomadic native groups.



*Looking south at the site of the Cerrogordo Presidio, with ruins barely visible in the middle distance and the hill in the background*

The documents selected for this chapter begin with the Toboso revolt, which continued to play an important role in the justification of increased military activity in Nueva Vizcaya. The report on the campaign against the Toboso gives a vivid idea of how the Spaniards envisioned their enemy and the problems they faced in trying to capture and defeat highly mobile Indians who were skilled in the art of desert survival. This campaign was the first sustained encounter by the Spanish cavalry with a large, skilled, and mounted force of hostile natives. In many ways it was the turning point in warfare in northern New Spain because the natives were no longer intimidated by Spanish mobility and firepower. The Toboso perfected the tactic of long-range, surprise attacks and swift disappearance into areas where the Spanish cavalry was at a disadvantage.

The Toboso example torched the fires of rebellion among the neighboring Tarahumara in 1648. Like their neighbors to the east, the Tarahumara resented growing Spanish encroachment on their lands and even more the exploitation of their labor. But unlike them, the Tarahumara had never developed a pattern of raiding for subsistence. Padre José Pascual, the Jesuit missionary of San Felipe for nearly ten years, said it best:

In the three wars we have had with the Tarahumara nation, they have never acted treacherously, they have never ambushed us, nor have they set out to rob and kill us as have other tribes. Rather the Tarahumaras have only defended what they consider theirs and have revenged themselves on Spaniards who have harmed them.

Although Pascual does not assign specific reasons for the Tarahumara rebellion, it is clear that the revolt erupted along the eastern margins of Tarahumara

country where missionaries and Spaniards were most active and where contact with the hostile Toboso was more frequent. Many of the Indians had grown tired of mission discipline and probably were outraged at various abuses of land and labor. But it is important to note that not all the Tarahumara rose in rebellion; many remained very loyal and even joined in capturing the rebel leaders. Indeed, the Tarahumara were never a unified tribe. They were a collectivity of disperse bands, loosely organized, geographically localized, and dedicated to differing interests. Although they spoke the same language and shared common customs and beliefs, they were never politically integrated. No social institution larger than the extended family was operative in their society, hence resentments and loyal vengeance were isolated and atomistic.

Perhaps one of the classic documents dealing with the presidial history of northern New Spain is the report of Bachiller Diego de Medrano, the curate of the cathedral church of Durango. At the time of authorship Durango was an orphan capital of a vast but ill-defined province. The civil authorities preferred to reside closer to the sources of "instant" wealth and left the frills of other civil matters to the cabildo. Even ecclesiastical matters were unclear because the resident bishop vied with the bishop of Guadalajara for jurisdiction over new areas in the northwest. Durango was at the heart of an adolescent inland empire ruled by absentee lords, threatened by elusive enemies, and protected by an ineffective military.

The Medrano document is one of three important statements about civil and military affairs in Nueva Vizcaya. Each of these must be considered for a thorough understanding of the historical situation, but only the first and earliest of these is presented because it sufficiently describes the situation with respect to the establishment of presidios and the need for more extensive protection. This document is known as the Medrano Relación of 1654 (August)<sup>3</sup>; some of his notions were incorporated into the official informe written after the inspection of Nueva Vizcaya by Juan de Cervantes Casaus (October 1654).<sup>4</sup> The third document on this theme is the informe of Medrano which he sent to the Archbishop of México, Don Mateo de Sagade Bogueiro (June 1660).<sup>5</sup>

The documents presented in this chapter are intended to set the background for Medrano's Relación. Hence it is important to realize that the growing threat of Indian hostilities contrasted sharply with the Spanish experience in Nueva Vizcaya throughout the preceding century. Francisco de Ibarra, who explored most of the northern region of New Spain, successfully established many Spanish colonies from the limits of Nuevo León to Sinaloa. Because of his achievements that were done without the force of arms, the renowned historian of Durango, José Gallegos, called Ibarra more colonizer than conqueror.<sup>6</sup> The sparse and scattered Spanish communities were not the major targets of inter-tribal hostility until well into the seventeenth century. Medrano noted this sharp contrast with a sense of genuine urgency, and whether or not his particular advice helped change the course of human events, his plea for systems of regional defense graphically portrays the changed situation of northern New Spain at mid-century.

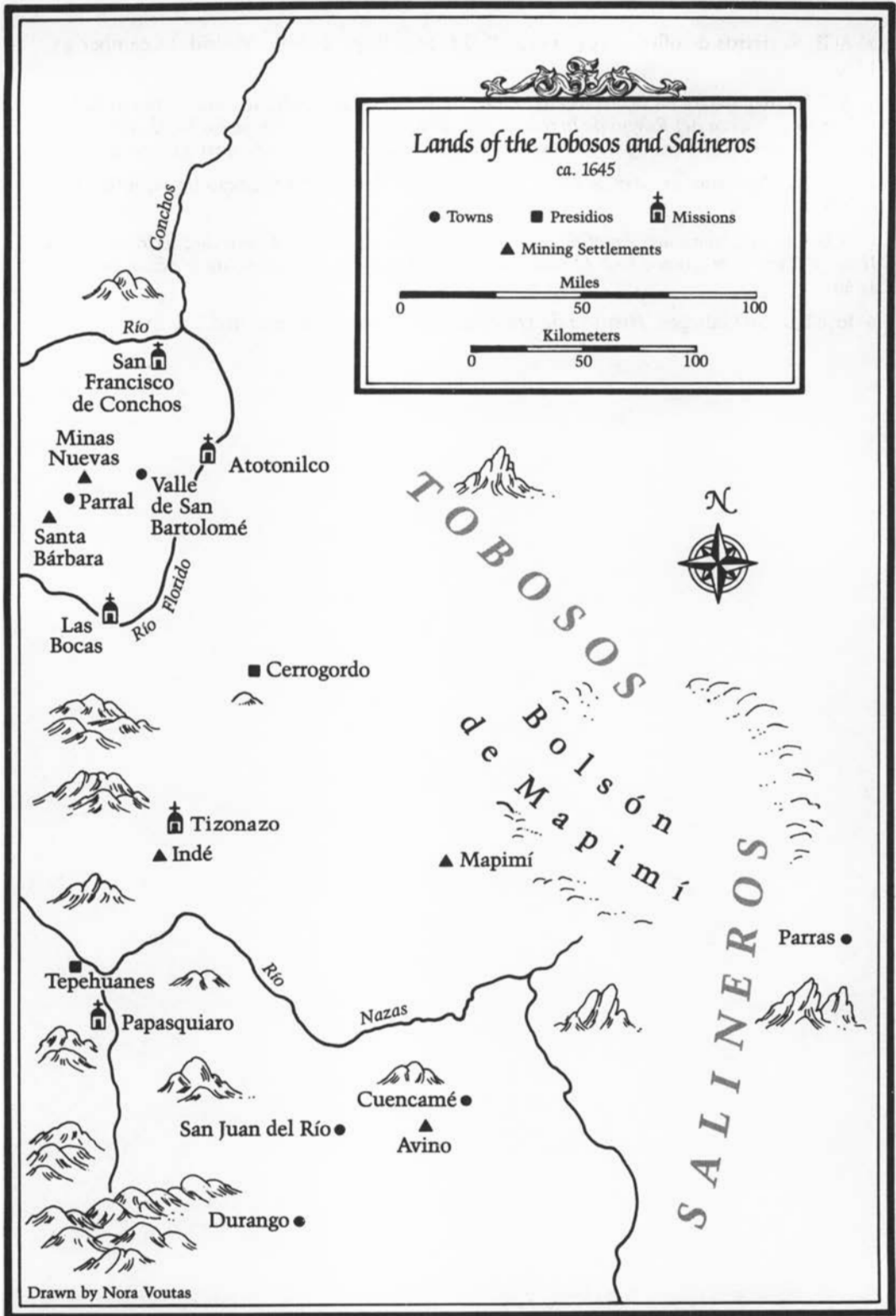
#### NOTES

1. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, edited by Marquis de Pidal y Miraflores and Miguel Salvá (Madrid, 1857); Kraus reprint. Vol. 26, p. 373. These are Enriquez' instructions sent to his successor, the Conde de Coruña, Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza.

## Introduction

2. AGI, Registros de oficio 1554-1671, T. II f. 263. Royal cédula, Madrid, December 23, 1637.
3. A.G.I. Guadalajara 68. *Relación del Licenciado Diego de Medrano cura de la ciudad de Durango cabecera del Reyno de la nueva Vizcaya del estado en que se halla y le an puesto los Alborotos y estragos que an echo los indios alzados, Durango August 31, 1654.*
4. A.G.N., Presidios 11, *Autos sobre el Socorro del Parral, y asistencia de aquellos Presidios, 1671.*
5. A.G.I. Guadalajara 68, *Papel de ynforme que haze del Liz.do Diego de Medrano . . . Al Il.mo y R.mo S.or Doctor Don Matheo de Sagade Bogueiro Arzobispo de Mexico, June 25, 1660.*
6. José Ignacio Gallegos, *Historia de Durango, 1563-1910, (México, n.d.), p. 23.*





## The Tobosos Are Enticed to Peace

*After the silver strikes were made at Parral in 1631, the new mines and surrounding area rapidly gained population. Nearly as dramatic as the diggings themselves was the growth of agricultural settlements east of Parral. The narrow, but lush, valley of San Bartolomé drained to the Río Florido and quickly became the "bread basket" for the new mining centers.*

*By the early 1640s this Spanish encroachment had riled the Tobosos and their equally nomadic allies into attacking supply routes and the new settlements. The basins east of the sierra were vast and unforgiving, and the Spaniards soon learned the futility and peril of pursuing the mounted raiders into these arid bolsones.*

*Thus the concept of the peace settlement was revived after a half-century hiatus in the north. The mission of Atotonilco was envisioned as a place where the Tobosos would congregate and learn to live like Spaniards. It was well situated at the edge of the bolsón country and in the land of the Tobosos, but it also lay on the Río Florido, where agriculture was still possible. A safe distance from Spanish populations, it was close enough to be easily monitored from Parral and the new presidio at Cerrogordo.*

*As this document shows, the Spanish military went to considerable effort to avoid engaging these hostiles. Maestre de Campo Montaña de la Cueva spent nearly a year sending emissaries and messengers to the camps of the Tobosos and Salineros. In exchange for peace they were offered missionaries and foodstuffs and the chance to settle at Atotonilco. In the process, the Spaniards were predictably frustrated in locating and establishing reliable contact with native leaders and planning for their arrival at Atotonilco once peace was accepted. The names of many individual natives come to light, and we also learn that Spanish prisoners could tax the patience of their primitive Indian captors.*

**A** transcript of the edicts made during the establishment of peace with the Toboso and Salinero Indian nations by Maestre de Campo Don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant of the governor and captain-general of this kingdom and its provinces by order of our lord the king.<sup>2</sup> 1645 A.D.

A copy of an opinion delivered in Atotonilco<sup>3</sup> by the religious of Saint Francis and captains relative to the arrival of Don Cristóbal.<sup>4</sup>

I, Maestre de Campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, lieutenant governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces by order of our lord the king, am leaving San Joseph del Parral to pacify and punish the following Indian nations and their allies: the Tobosos, Nonojos, Ococlames, Coyomes, Pimotologas, Cabezas, and Gavilanes.<sup>5</sup> These nations have rebelled against the crown and have committed many murders; their theft of almost all the herds of this province of Santa Bárbara is notorious.<sup>6</sup>

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1. A native Spaniard, Francisco Montaña de la Cueva was an experienced frontiersman. He was captain of the presidio of Tepehuanes and alcalde mayor of Santiago Papasquiario and became maestre de campo to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Mateo de Vezga. In 1635 he was appointed lieutenant governor to Luis de Monsalve. In March 1639 he was named interim governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya. The following year he became lieutenant governor. With the rank of captain, he participated in campaigns against the Tobosos during the succeeding years and retained the lieutenant governorship under Luis de Valdés. He was residing on his hacienda at Parral in 1652 and apparently died there shortly thereafter.

2. Felipe IV reigned from 1621 to 1665.

3. Numerous places bear the name Atotonilco, which in Nahuatl means "warm springs." San Buenaventura de Atotonilco was located on the Río Florido, east of San Bartolomé and Parral. It was founded about 1602 as a Franciscan mission to the Tobosos.

4. This was Cristóbal de Valero, the *contador del Tribunal de Cuentas de México*. Due to the laxity of regular and reliable audits of expenses incurred by the American vicerealties, which were supposed to be submitted to the Council of the Indies, special tribunals of accounts were established in 1605. The contador was charged with auditing certain public accounts. Valero, who was visiting the treasury in Durango at this time, sent word of the revolt to the viceroy, who immediately authorized an expenditure of 2,000 pesos to punish and pacify the Tobosos and their allies.

5. Tobosos and Salineros, native to the inhospitable desert of the Bolsón de Mapimí, had been generally hostile to the Spaniards from their first contact. Considered among the most primitive of the northern tribes, these nomadic hunters and gatherers were compared to the Guachichiles for their valor and bellicosity. Although their actual numbers were small, their alliances—both social and military—with the Cabezas, Nonojos, Acoclames, and others made them, collectively, a formidable force. The territory of the Tobosos extended from Parral 100 leagues to the northeast. The Cocoyomes were also native to the Bolsón, as were the others, with the exception of the Gavilanes (Sparrow Hawks), who inhabited the sierras surrounding Satevó, north of Parral.

6. The silver and gold discoveries at Santa Bárbara in the 1560s began the Spanish development of northern Nueva Vizcaya. The Toboso uprising actually began in this area, the first attack occurring at a hacienda in the Valle de San Bartolomé in 1644 and with subsequent raids spreading to Indé.

A scribe of government, justice, and war must be named because Sebastián Guijarro,<sup>7</sup> who normally fills this post, has gone to México. Manuel Ruiz, whom I appointed and approved, cannot leave with me because of his poor health and advanced age. In conformity with my commission and both to better serve their majesties and to secure the peace and calm of this kingdom, I have chosen Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz to fill the post. In his person can be found the necessary traits of fidelity, legality, and honesty, and he will faithfully perform his duties. Therefore, in the name of our lord the king I name him the scribe of government, justice, and war of my tribunal. I commission him to use his post and his privileges in both civil and criminal cases as he sees fit, to keep confidences, and to enjoy the rights and fees as provided in the royal book of rates. All this shall be his when he swears to use his office well and faithfully. He did so in my presence, swearing to God and making the sign of the cross with his right hand. He swore to faithfully perform his duties, understanding that God would bless him if he did and punish him if he did not. To this he said "amen."

The lieutenant governor and captain-general witnessed his swearing-in and acceptance, granted him the use of the said office, and ordered that all legal proceedings, writings, and any and all sureties that shall come before him and to which he affixes his recognized signature shall be accepted and accredited both in and out of court and that any other essentials owed him shall be kept by reason of his office. Thus he signed his name alongside that of the lieutenant governor and captain-general, who, to validate the document, exercised his authority. February 1, 1645. The following were witnesses: Fernando de Sosa Ortiz, Francisco de Aguilar,<sup>8</sup> and Diego Rodríguez. Francisco Montaña. Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz.

Maestre de Campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general, said that the Conchos, Mamites, Julimes, Guachichiles, Mosnales, Olozasmes, Xiximloles, Oposmes, Chisos,<sup>9</sup> and other allied Indian nations who have recently rebelled in the province of Santa Bárbara and murdered, robbed, and burned there are deserving of severe punishment. Their many crimes and murders are well known. They killed the Franciscan religious who administered the village of San Francisco de Conchos.<sup>10</sup> They murdered their governor Don

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7. Sebastián Guijarro eventually served as captain of the presidio of San Hipólito in the final year of its operation, 1684–85.

8. Francisco de Aguilar, born in Puebla, was a miner and a member of the militia at Minas Nuevas in 1644. He became one of the initial settlers at the new mining real of Cusihuiachi in 1688.

9. The Conchos and Julimes were semi-sedentary agriculturalists occupying the Conchos River valley north of the Tobosos and Salineros. The other tribes were nomadic and ranged from that area northeastward to the Río Grande.

10. On the river of the same name, San Francisco de Conchos was founded by the Franciscan Alonso de la Oliva in 1604 for the conversion of the Conchos. This attack on Conchos occurred March 25, 1645, while Fray Tomás de Zigarrán, guardian of the convento, and Fray Francisco Labado were celebrating the Feast of the Annunciation. Zigarrán was felled with five arrows to the heart and, for added measure, had his head split open; Labado was dispatched with fourteen arrows.

Joseph Juan,<sup>11</sup> his son, Don Lorenzo Sotelo Montezuma,<sup>12</sup> and another ten people.<sup>13</sup> They pillaged and burned the convents at San Francisco de Conchos and San Pedro.<sup>14</sup> In short, they have rebelled against the crown and we are ready to wage war against them. However, the safety of the natives of this province and the well-being of this kingdom must be maintained in spite of the continuing rebellion of the Tobosos, Nonojes, Ococlames, and the other Indian nations allied with them. These latter nations have rejected the many peace talks offered by his grace on different occasions via different messengers, both male and female Indians. During these parleys and treaties they have always been promised peace in the name of his majesty. Recently, a Toboso Indian named Juan Largo was sent to the Tobosos as an emissary of peace with all the clothing and supplies that he could, and would, carry. The Tobosos and their allies are enemies of the Conchos, who recently rebelled, and through Juan Largo they were offered a lasting peace as well as a pardon for their own rebellion if they would join us against the Conchos. So that this may be legally recorded, I give this mandate and charge in the name of our lord the king. Sealed with the seal of my arms and countersigned by the scribe of government on this frontier and in the estancia of Juana de Aldaz.<sup>15</sup> May 8, 1645. Francisco Montaña. By mandate of the maestre de campo. Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

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On May 11, 1645, the lieutenant of the governor and captain-general received news that Juan Largo had died of old age in the process of completing his mission. His grace ordered these proceedings legally recorded and signed them on the said date. Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

I, Maestre de Campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, lieutenant of the governor and captain-general, am preparing to go into the interior to punish and pacify the following Indian nations which have recently rebelled against the crown: the Conchos, Mamites, Julimes, Olozazmes, Mosnales, Tatamastes, Oposmes, Chisos, and their allies. Indians of these nations murdered the religious who preached the gospel in San Francisco de Conchos, their governor Don Joseph Juan and other persons at Conchos, a son of the governor, and a Spaniard named Don Lorenzo

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11. The Indian governor Don Joseph, whose father was mulatto and whose mother was Concho, had ruled his tribe with a heavy hand. Upon the approach of the hostile force, he had fled to the church and hidden in a cell to which his Concho brethren set fire.

12. Montezuma is identified below as a Spaniard.

13. Massacred in the church along with the priests, Don Joseph, and his son were seven elderly Indian women and one male Indian.

14. San Pedro was a Franciscan mission northwest of San Francisco de Conchos on the Río San Pedro. Apparently forewarned of the uprising, its two priests took refuge upstream at the Jesuit mission of Satevó.

15. This was probably the same hacienda which in 1693 belonged to Ana de Aldas. It was located in the Valle de San Bartolomé and contained well-watered and fertile land but had been abandoned because of Indian hostilities.

Montezuma and the two Indians who were fishing with him. They burned and pillaged two cells of the convent at San Francisco de Conchos and profaned its images. They burned the church of the convent at San Pedro, profaned its images, and stole what they found. The two Franciscan religious stationed there managed to flee. At the farm of Captain Baltasar de Ontiveros<sup>16</sup> they killed three Indians, took most of the livestock and horses, and carried away two mulattas. One of these they later killed. Grave danger and peril face this kingdom. It is about to be lost, as enemies are attacking from all sides. My entry will be in one direction, but they also attack from the opposite direction and from the province of Santa Bárbara. The Indians of the Cabeza nation and their allies are still at war. I wrote Captain Juan de Barraza,<sup>17</sup> who is on a campaign, a letter dated April 27 of this year and ordered him to leave his presidio and proceed against the enemy in that area, for they often attack from there. For my part, I wish to protect the entire province, and so that our enemies shall not cause more problems I have set out to punish and pacify with the force which accompanies me. I have left Captain Luis de Escobar<sup>18</sup> as captain of the Spanish troops which by my order guard the frontier and village of Atotonilco. This village is composed of the Toboso, Nonoje, Ocome, and Acoclame nations which have rebelled against his majesty. In view of the present and immediate danger, I must distract our enemies so that they do not join together. In order to best serve our lord the king I have ordered Captain Luis de Escobar to send, in my name, an Indian named Cristóbal el Gangoso to offer peace to the Tobosos and their allies. These nations are the most bellicose and closest to the farms of the Valle de San Bartolomé,<sup>19</sup> where they can cause irreparable damage by burning the wheat fields. These farms supply the entire province, particularly the reales de minas of San Joseph del Parral and San Diego [de Minas Nuevas]. His majesty, of course, is also concerned with his royal fifth, and if peace is made with the Tobosos these terrible damages with such grave consequences will be halted and a great service done to their majesties. The Maestre de Campo ordered that this important mandate to Captain Luis de Escobar and Captain

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16. Baltasar de Ontiveros, a native of Vizcaya, was a mine owner and resident of Minas Nuevas as early as 1635. In the early 1540s he was an *alférez* in the militia, owned land and cattle, and had an *encomienda* of Indians who were being used as mine laborers. In 1646 he was found guilty of military corruption, fined 500 pesos, and had his hacienda and all personal property put into receivership. Two years later he was permanently enjoined from holding any public office in Nueva Vizcaya.

17. At this time Juan de Barraza was commander at the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes. Following the initial hostilities he was ordered to punish the Tobosos and left his presidio on October 6, 1644, with three companies of soldiers comprised of 60 Spaniards and 200 Tepehuan and friendly Concho auxiliaries. He became captain of the new presidio of Cerrogordo from 1646 to 1653 and during the Tarahumara revolt in 1649–50 held the position of brevet general. Barraza owned a hacienda in the vicinity of Tepehuanes.

18. Luis de Escobar was identified as a miner as early as 1636 and held the rank of captain of militia in 1641.

19. San Bartolomé was settled by Franciscan missionaries in the 1560s downstream from Santa Bárbara. With the mining strike at the latter, Spaniards flocked to this lush area and established wheat and corn fields to supply the mines.

Alonso Bello Montes de Oca<sup>20</sup> be legally recorded and signed at Río de la Gomera<sup>21</sup> on May 29, 1645. Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

At the marsh and pasture de Chophonmalba, newly renamed Ojo de los Cardos, on June 28, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that on this day he received a letter from Captain Luis de Escobar dated June 24. This letter recounted how, in conformity with his grace's orders, the Indian Cristóbal el Gangoso, a Toboso living in the frontier village of Atotonilco, was sent to the Toboso nation with an offer of peace. He returned, saying he was well received and that he parleyed with them on behalf of his grace, offering peace. So that these proceedings may forever stand, they were legally recorded and signed on this day. Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

At El Chiquipa, newly renamed San Diego,<sup>22</sup> eighty leagues into the interior, on July 27, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that today he received two letters, one from Captain Luis de Escobar dated July 22 and the other from Captain Alonso Bello Montes de Oca dated July 21. The captains advised his grace that the Indian Cristóbal el Gangoso had returned for the second time. In conformity with the new order given to the captains by the *maestre de campo*, Cristóbal el Gangoso had with him an Indian captain named Zapata. In the name of the Tobosos he had come to make peace. With him also came a Nonoje Indian who wished to make peace in the name of his nation. Captain Luis de Escobar responded, saying he greatly appreciated their rapid arrival, and gave them to understand that the *maestre de campo* would come, and that when he reached Atotonilco they would be advised so that they might come to his grace and make peace. So that these procedures may forever stand, they were legally recorded and signed on this day. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the village of San Francisco de Conchos on August 20, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that today the Indian Cristóbal el Gangoso arrived in his grace's presence. By his grace's orders this Indian has been dispatched on different occasions by Captain Luis de Escobar and Captain Alonso Bello [Montes de Oca] to make peace with the Tobosos. Cristóbal el Gangoso came to his grace to deliver the message of his people: namely, that they will make peace only when his mercy is in Atotonilco because they trust no one else. Having heard him, the *maestre de campo* ordered that he be fed and allowed to rest. He entertained the Indian there with the intention of keeping him in the village until the many Conchos and other Indians he had ordered to settle in San Francisco could arrive. His grace

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20. Alonso Bello Montes de Oca held an *encomienda* of Indians at San Bartolomé.

21. This drainage runs through Parral. Montano's encampment was a short distance downstream.

22. Based on the distance stated, this might be the San Diego southwest of Casas Grandes, near the junction of the Río San Miguel with the Piedras Verdes.



*The mission church at San Francisco de Conchos; founded in 1604, damaged during the 1644–45 hostilities, and rebuilt in 1710 with monies bequeathed by the first commander of the presidio there.*

hoped that Cristóbal el Gangoso would describe to the Tobosos the good treatment accorded the Conchos after they made peace. So that these proceedings may forever stand the *maestre de campo* ordered them legally recorded and signed them on this day, month, and year. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In San Francisco de Conchos on August 25, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that today he received two letters, both dated August 24. One was from Captain Luis de Escobar and the other from Captain Alonso Bello Montes de Oca. These letters advised his grace how on August 23 a Nonoje Indian, Pedro, came to Atotonilco on behalf of the Tobosos to inquire whether or not the *maestre de campo* had arrived. This Pedro had previously come with Captain Zapata, a Toboso, and Cristóbal, Juan Bellaco, and Juan Casa Zavala, also Toboso captains. Pedro was to return after parleying with Captain Luis de Escobar if the *maestre de campo* had not yet arrived. His grace ordered these proceedings legally recorded and signed them on this day, month, and year. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

I, the *maestre de campo*, order Captain Luis de Escobar, at present in charge of the troops I have stationed at Atotonilco, to protect that village and the farms and settlements of the Valle de San Bartolomé and to speedily find Cristóbal, son of Juan Largo, in Atotonilco. You will then give this Indian my words and order



which accompany these dispatches, and with the help of Captain Alonso Bello Montes de Oca, through whom I have sent other messengers to the Tobosos, you will send this Indian to that nation. He shall be given the paper and orders herein enclosed so that his majesty's interests will be served, the peace and calm of this kingdom maintained, and my wishes fulfilled. May Captain Luis de Escobar obey these orders. Dated at Río de la Gomera, where I now have my encampment, on May 29, 1645. Francisco Montaña. By order of the maestre de campo. Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco on June 6, 1645, Luis de Escobar, captain of Spanish infantry in this said village, received and obeyed the maestre de campo's mandate. The captain explained to Cristóbal that his grace had ordered him to make peace with the Tobosos in the name of our lord the king. After Luis de Escobar explained the contents of the mandate to Cristóbal, the Indian left, having fixed the 20th of this month as the date of his return. So that this may forever stand, it shall be legally recorded. Luis de Escobar. Before me, Antonio Ramírez,<sup>23</sup> scribe of war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco in Nueva Vizcaya on June 23, 1645, Luis de Escobar, captain of Spanish infantry and cavalry, noted the arrival of Cristóbal, whom he had sent as an emissary to the Tobosos, Nonojes, Ocomes, and Acoclamas. Cristóbal brought with him the response of the captains of these nations to the mandate previously described. They agree to make peace and to live quietly and will soon come to implement the peace with the maestre de campo. They will abide by this peace made in the name of his majesty, for they trust the maestre de campo because they have seen how he has made peace with other rebellious nations.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco in Nueva Vizcaya on June 30, 1645, Luis de Escobar, captain of the Spanish infantry and cavalry, noted that the Tobosos and their allies have yet to come and make peace. He accordingly dispatched today the Indian Cristóbal to offer peace in the name of his majesty for the second time. In conformity with the maestre de campo's mandate, Cristóbal will parley with the Tobosos and their allies and bring them before his grace; these nations have said they will accept the peace he has offered in his majesty's name. So that this may forever stand, it shall be legally recorded. Signed Luis de Escobar. Before me, Antonio Ramírez, scribe of war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco of Nueva Vizcaya on July 21, 1645, Luis de Escobar noted the arrival of the Indian Cristóbal, who had been dispatched in conformity with the maestre de campo's mandate. Cristóbal brought with him five Indians to make peace in the name of their respective nations: Don Cristóbal Zapata, a Toboso cacique; an Ocome captain said to be a gentile; an Acoclame captain named Miguel; and two Nonoje Indians, one named Pedro and the other a

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23. Antonio Ramírez was listed as a resident and miner of Santa Bárbara in 1663.

captain named Juan Casa Zavala. Two Toboso women came with them as well. Captain Luis de Escobar received them in the name of his majesty and the *maestre de campo*, by whose order they had been summoned. Captain Luis de Escobar explained to them that the peace would be made and kept in the name of his majesty. Don Cristóbal, a Toboso, and Pedro, a Nonoje, responded that they were satisfied and would tell their people of the peace. They also said they would return with all their people as soon as they exhausted the supplies of squash and maize they had grown and the mesquite, tunas, dates, and pitahayas they had gathered.<sup>24</sup> In order to reaffirm their friendship with the Spanish they promised to maintain contact and to send some families before the others. Don Cristóbal Zapata and Pedro will return to their people on the 24th of this month, leaving the two Toboso women as hostages as well as a boy and girl, children of one of the women, who was named Agustina. Cristóbal served as the interpreter and was so named because he speaks both Spanish and the Indian tongues. So that this may forever stand, it was legally recorded by order of Luis de Escobar and signed by him. Before me, Antonio Ramírez, scribe of war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco of Nueva Vizcaya on August 25, 1645, Luis de Escobar noted the arrival of Pedro, a Nonoje Indian, on August 23. Pedro had been sent by Don Cristóbal, captain of the Tobosos; Juan Casa Zavala, captain of the Nonojes; and Juan Bellaco, a Toboso, to say that they and their people had traveled for two days on their way to settle here in conformity with the peace they have made with his majesty, the *Maestre de Campo* Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, and Captain Luis de Escobar. Pedro had also come to find out if the *maestre de campo* had yet arrived so that the Tobosos, Nonojes, Ocomes, and Acoclames could make peace with him personally; but in his absence they would do so with Luis de Escobar. Don Cristóbal Zapata, mentioned in the earlier proceedings, another Toboso, and two Toboso women accompanied Pedro and stayed here one day. Pedro left with orders to summon Captain Don Cristóbal, Juan Casa Zavala, and Juan Bellaco and their people and to return with them within six days. He was also told that the *maestre de campo* would be here by then to receive them and make peace with them in the name of his majesty and to arrange for their resettlement. However, in his absence, Luis de Escobar would do the same by virtue of his orders from the *maestre de campo*. So that this may forever stand Luis de Escobar ordered it legally recorded and signed it. Before me, Antonio Ramírez, scribe of war.

The *maestre de campo* stated that he reached this frontier village of Atotonilco today, August 30, 1645, with his remaining troops to reduce and make peace with the Tobosos, Nonojes, Ococlames, Ocomes, and their allies. He reviewed the edicts of Captain Luis de Escobar, conducted by his grace's order. He accepted

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24. The hulls of mesquite beans, with their high protein content, and the fruits of various desert plants were important food sources for the nomadic Indians of the northern frontier. Tunas are the fruit of the prickly pear cactus; dates, in this case, refer to the fruit of the yucca; and the pitahayas are the fruit of the cactus of the same name. It is of interest that the Tobosos were practicing limited agriculture at this date.

them and ordered them grouped with his own proceedings and dispatches so that the peace to be made with the Indians in his majesty's name may be realized. Thus he ordered and signed on this said day, month, and year. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco on September 3, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that today, in conformity with the legal proceedings conducted for the reduction of the Tobosos and their allies who have rebelled against the crown and to ensure their obedience to our lord the king, he had brought before him an Indian, Cristóbal Gangoso, son of the late Juan Largo. This Indian brought with him an Indian captain named Cristóbal Zapata, the captain's son, Antón; and three other Tobosos: Santiago, Peinado, and Juan, as well as five Toboso women. A Salinero named Domingo<sup>25</sup> also came with them, making a total of six archers. Captain Cristóbal Zapata and his son came on behalf of their people to make peace, and Santiago, Peinado, and Juan were sent by Don Cristóbal, governor of the Tobosos, to do the same. Cristóbal Gangoso assured his companions that the *maestre de campo* would keep his word and told them how he had pardoned the Conchos and settled them peacefully in the villages of San Pedro and San Francisco de Conchos. The Salinero named Domingo stated that he came on behalf of his nation, which neighbors the Tobosos and has close contact with them, to make peace with his grace, for his people wish to settle in the villages provided by the Spaniards. Such then were the parleys these Indians had with the *maestre de campo*. He placed his hand upon their heads in turn, which among the Indians is a sign of submission, and then embraced them all and entertained them. He explained through Cristóbal the interpreter, who speaks both their language and Mexican,<sup>26</sup> what pleasure their peace overtures have given him. Having finished the parley, he ordered that the Indians be abundantly supplied with flour and meat and allowed to rest so that they might return in good spirits. So that they may forever stand, the *maestre de campo* ordered these proceedings legally recorded on this said day. Witnesses to these proceedings were the padre guardian of this convent, Fray Francisco López; Padre Fray Alonso del Castillo, his companion; Captain Gabriel de Galarza<sup>27</sup>; Alférez Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz<sup>28</sup>; and many soldiers. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco on September 5, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that the Indians who arrived on the third day of this month and who are mentioned in the previous proceedings have rested and been entertained and given everything possible. He summoned them, and when all had been assembled before me, the scribe of government, the *maestre de campo* again parleyed with them through the interpreter Cristóbal Gangoso, who is fluent in Mexican. He

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25. Domingo was from the Salinero area under the leadership of Moranta, who had held Señora Tremiño captive (see Note 29).

26. Nahuatl, widely used on the frontier.

27. Gabriel Galarza was identified as a miner of Parral in 1638.

28. Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz appears as *ayudante* on the 1648 Parral militia roll.

told them to return to their people with Cristóbal Gangoso and to tell them to come on his behalf, for he would guarantee their security and would make peace with them in the name of his majesty. He told them to harbor no suspicions because they know how the Conchos and their allies were settled in the villages of San Pedro and San Francisco de Conchos. Cristóbal Gangoso had himself seen the satisfaction and joy with which the Conchos went to worship and recited the Christian gospel. The *maestre de campo* assured those assembled that their people would be treated equally well, as would any other who chose to make peace. Having heard from them that a Spanish woman, wife of Antonio Pérez,<sup>29</sup> was held captive by the Ocomes, he gave them, in the presence of this scribe, two *huipiles carreteros*<sup>30</sup> and four varas of cloth with which to ransom her. He had also heard that she had been purchased from the Cabezas, who captured her when they killed the Spaniards taking herds to Mapimí. He again offered them peace, hoping they would return with the woman. He then sent them off, having given them all the flour they wanted and could carry and after slaughtering a young bullock, which they also took. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded and signed them on this day. The assistant of the *sargento mayor*, Cristóbal de Navarrete<sup>31</sup>; Manuel Gómez<sup>32</sup>; Cristóbal Sepúlveda<sup>33</sup>; Francisco Aguilar<sup>34</sup>; and many other soldiers served as witnesses. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

On September 5, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that among the Tobosos who left after coming to make peace with Captain Zapata was a Salinero Indian named Domingo, a very cunning fellow, who came on behalf of his people to offer peace to our lord the king and to the *maestre de campo* in his name. The Salineros had heard the Tobosos were going to make peace, and as the Salineros were satisfied

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29. Antonia Tremiño, the wife of Antonio Pérez de Molina, a Portuguese miner and freighter, was traveling with four of her eight children to Mapimí when the attack occurred near Santa Ana. Eight Spaniards in charge of the train were killed while Señora Tremiño and her children were kidnapped. Taken before the Cabeza chief Gerónimo Moranta, their fate was debated. Then two of the sons were killed in front of the distraught mother; the youngest son was carried off by one of the warriors and died within a few days; the mother and daughter were spared. During the ensuing months Señora Tremiño, dressed as an Indian and her long hair cut off, was passed from owner to owner as a slave until she came into the hands of the Tobosos. They later killed her to prevent her from testifying to their crimes. The daughter, held by the Ocomes, was eventually returned to the vicinity of the abduction and reunited with her relatives.

30. A cart driver's cloak.

31. Cristóbal Navarrete was identified as a miner in Parral as early as 1634. He also held the rank of militia captain.

32. Manuel Gómez was a merchant in Parral and a member of the militia. In 1652 he was charged with stealing silver—that is, not paying the quinto tax to the crown, a not unusual occurrence.

33. Cristóbal Sepúlveda appears in Parral census and militia rolls in the 1640s.

34. See Note 8.

that his mercy would ensure its stability, they sent Domingo as their emissary. Domingo was entertained and told how well off he and his people would be when they came and made peace in his majesty's name. In order to ensure this peace with the Salineros, his grace sent Captain Francisco Mamá, a Salinero who had accompanied him as a soldier in the campaign against the Conchos, with Domingo. This captain is a faithful Indian and trusted by his people; he was sent to tell them how with his own eyes he had seen peace made with the Conchos and their allies. The *maestre de campo* gave the two Salineros all the flour and meat they could carry and sent them off with the Tobosos so that they might bring their people to peace. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded. The witnesses were the same as those previously listed. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco on September 19, Domingo and Rafael, both Salineros, came to his grace with the news that their entire nation is marching towards this place in conformity with the peace offered by his grace to Domingo and Captain Mamá during his parleys with them.<sup>35</sup> Domingo and Rafael were well received, and his grace sent for some refreshments since the two were starving because they had carried no provisions. The *maestre de campo* sent them back to their people with ten arrobas of flour and a beef. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded and signed them. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice and war.

On September 28, 1645, three Salinero Indians, one of them blind, reached this frontier village of Atotonilco. They had come ahead to say that Captain Francisco Mamá and Cacique Don Pedro were coming with a multitude of Salinero men, women, and children. The *maestre de campo* ordered that the three Indians be fed, and he entertained them as best he could. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded and signed them. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

On September 30, 1645, Captain Francisco Mamá and Don Pedro, Salinero Indians, reached the opposite bank of the Río Florido, which is about one quarter-league from Atotonilco, with the aforementioned multitude. The *maestre de campo* ordered the Indians to remain on the opposite bank until a means of crossing the river could be found, and he sent them provisions. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

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35. The news that the governor was on his way from Cerrogorro at the head of five companies of Spaniards plus numerous Tepehuan and Tarahumara allies helped persuade the Salineros to accept Spanish peace terms.

*Peace Agreement*

The *maestre de campo* stated that since the *Salineros* who came to make peace were on the opposite bank of the *Río Florido*, Captain Baltasar de Ontiveros should assemble all Indians, both soldiers of his camp and inhabitants of Atotonilco, and construct a raft. When the raft was completed the *Salineros* crossed over, assisted by his grace and captains Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, Alonso Bello Montes de Oca, and Gabriel de Galarza. The crossing required considerable effort and was dangerous. The crossing completed, the Indian Captain Francisco Mamá and Don Pedro appeared before the *maestre de campo* with 130 people. The captains made peace in the name of his majesty, and his grace received them. He told them that henceforth they should be more loyal vassals of his majesty, that they should no longer steal, and that they should live model lives and go to worship. The Indians promised to do so and gave the news that Don Gerónimo Moranta<sup>36</sup> and Don Gaspar, principal *Salineros*, were assembling their people to bring them and make peace. When the *maestre de campo* and Captain Francisco Mamá and Domingo had finished their parley, his grace told them to rest and ordered that they and their people be given provisions. So that this peace agreement may forever stand, his grace ordered it legally recorded and signed it in this frontier village of Atotonilco on October 2, 1645. The aforementioned captains and many other people were witnesses. Before me, Carlo Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

The *maestre de campo* stated that today, October 6, about one hour after dark, Cristóbal Gangoso, Don Cristóbal Zapata and his son Antón, an Indian named Juan, and another named Toyche in their language reached this frontier village of Atotonilco. His grace had sent Cristóbal Gangoso to bring the Tobosos to peace, particularly Don Cristóbal, their governor. The *maestre de campo* received them with many manifestations of affection, entertained them, and took both Don Cristóbal and Don Juan Bautista by the hand. Don Juan Bautista said he came in response to his grace's offers of peace conveyed by Cristóbal Gangoso and Captain Zapata. When the *maestre de campo* had listened to him at great length, his grace received the Toboso's offer of peace in his majesty's name, and embraced him in affirmation. He then provided the Indians with flour and meat and ordered that they be allowed to rest. So that this peace agreement may forever stand, his grace ordered it legally recorded and signed it on this said day, month, and year. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, and witnessed by me. Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

In the frontier village of Atotonilco on October 7, 1645, the *maestre de campo* stated that it has come to his attention that among the *Salineros* who have made peace there is an Indian named Benito, who is said to be a Cabeza, as well as another named Alonso, whose woman is a Cabeza. His grace summoned these two Indians and asked if they would serve as emissaries to the Cabezas, for the maes-

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36. See Note 29.

tre de campo had heard from many Salineros that the Cabezas wished to make peace. The two Indians said they would do as his grace ordered, whereupon he ordered that they be given flour and meat and dispatched them with his offer of peace. An Indian named Pablo went with them at his grace's request to inform Don Gerónimo Moranta and Don Gaspar about the good treatment accorded the Tobosos who had already made peace. So that these proceedings may forever stand, his grace ordered them legally recorded. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

*Order and Dispatch concerning Cristóbal, governor of the Tobosos*

The maestre de campo stated that last Friday, October 6, Don Cristóbal, governor of the Tobosos, appeared with three other Indians of his nation. The Indians rested until today, October 9, having been entertained and given many gifts. His grace parleyed with them at great length, saying they had rightly chosen to be reduced, live in peace and enjoy royal protection rather than run from crag to crag and mountain to mountain fleeing from the Spaniards. He extolled the propriety of their living model lives with their women and children and obeying the gospel. The maestre de campo gave them the lands adjoining Juana de Aldaz's farm, which are uninhabited, so that they might cultivate them during the coming year of 1646. Juana de Aldaz is absent at present. The Indians were pleased and the peace was reaffirmed. Don Cristóbal promised to bring all his people and to make every effort to bring with him the Nonojos, Ococlames, and Coyomes. He was asked what he knew of the Spanish woman, the wife of Antonio Pérez, who is said to be held captive by the Ocomes; his grace had sent two *huipiles carreteros* and four varas of cloth to ransom her. Don Cristóbal responded that he had heard that the woman was so stricken with grief by the death of a daughter, killed by one of the principal Ocomes, that she cried unceasingly and the Ocomes tired of her. They accordingly gave her some food and left her at the place where she had been captured.<sup>37</sup> Don Cristóbal said he knew nothing more about her. The maestre de campo gave the four Tobosos all the provisions they could carry and killed a beef which they took as well. They left content and promised to return with their people within eighteen days. So that this peace agreement with Governor Don Cristóbal of the Tobosos may forever stand, his grace ordered it legally recorded and signed it. Witnesses to all the above were Licenciado Don Felipe de la Cueva Montaña Villamayor; Padre Mateo Galindo, of the Society of Jesus; the father guardian of the convent of Atotonilco, Fray Francisco López; Captain Baltasar de Ontiveros; Captain Luis de Escobar; Captain Gabriel de Galarza; and all the other officers and soldiers of this real and encampment. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me and witnessed by me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

*Edict and Peace Pact with the Salinero Indians*

The maestre de campo stated that today, October 14, 1645, caciques Don Gerónimo Moranta and Don Gaspar appeared before him with eighty-four men,

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37. This is Don Cristóbal's version of what happened to the daughter of Señora Tremiño. Out of fear of reprisal, he quite possibly feigned ignorance that two Spanish women had been kidnapped.

women, and children. These Indians had rebelled against the crown, but now they came with their leaders to make peace. The *maestre de campo* received them and placed them under royal protection, charging them to live in peace and never again rob or pillage under penalty of severe punishment. He ordered them to build homes, live righteously, and be good Christians. He told them to respect the missionaries, plant their fields, raise chickens, and obey all of his majesty's regulations pertaining to such cases. The Indians listened attentively, and having understood through Don Pedro, a *Salinero* fluent in Mexican, they agreed to obey. So that this pact of peace may forever stand, his grace ordered it legally recorded. Witnesses to the proceedings were Captains Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, and Gabriel Galarza, as well as *Alférez* Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz and many other soldiers. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me and witnessed by me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

I, the *maestre de campo*, state that today, October 26, 1645, two Toboso Indians appeared before me. One was Antón, son of Captain Zapata, and the other was Juan. They had been sent by Don Cristóbal, chieftain and governor of the Tobosos, and Captain Zapata to say that in accordance with their promise they are coming with all their people to make peace. They are now four days' travel from this frontier village of Atotonilco and are so hungry that they beg for provisions. I accordingly sent the two Indians back with a mule carrying three and one half quintales of flour and one half a beef; they could carry no more. So that these proceedings may forever stand, I ordered them legally recorded on this said day, month, and year. Witnesses to these proceedings were Captain Gabriel de Galarza, Manuel Gómez, and Francisco de Aguilar. Don Francisco Montaña. Before me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

#### *General Agreement with the Tobosos*

The *maestre de campo* stated that for a long time now he has sought to make peace with the Tobosos. They have rebelled against the crown and have committed the murders, thefts, and attacks which are so notorious. On this day, October 31, 1645, Don Cristóbal, the Toboso governor, appeared before his grace along with Captains Cristóbal Zapata and Juan Bellaco and seventy-six men, women, and children. The *maestre de campo* received them in the name of our lord the king and granted them royal protection by the authority given him by Don Luis de Valdés, Knight of the Order of Santiago, [former member] of the council of war of Flanders, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces. Through Cristóbal Gangoso, the interpreter who is fluent in Mexican, the *maestre de campo* charged the Tobosos henceforward to live in peace and not to raid and steal as they have been accustomed to do. He warned them that they will be severely punished if they rebel and that a war of fire and blood would be waged against them. The *maestre de campo* required them to fight against any Indian nation which might come from the interior to kill or steal livestock in the province of Santa Bárbara or from the surrounding farms. The Tobosos will serve with the Spaniards and will apprehend the aggressors, bring them to justice, and return the horses or livestock to their rightful owner. Only by these means will the Spaniards recognize the Tobosos as friends. Furthermore, the Tobosos shall be required to serve in any campaign against any Indian nation which disobeys his majesty. When the Tobosos are summoned by the governors, justices, or captains, they



shall speedily respond like loyal vassals. The *maestre de campo* charged the Tobosos to live in villages, live righteously, and be good Christians. He ordered them to respect the religious, build houses, plant fields, raise chickens, and obey his majesty's regulations governing such cases. The Indians listened attentively through the interpreter. They promised to obey their orders and to serve his majesty. They claimed that they have been wrongfully blamed for crimes committed by other Indians. Nonetheless, the *maestre de campo* told them their duty would be to find any and all wrongdoers and take from them the stolen livestock. For only thus can they show their loyalty and restore their good name. The Tobosos again promised to do as they are told and said they were pleased with the peace made in his majesty's name. They begged that the Spaniards treat them well, for they ardently wish to live peacefully. To seal this pact of peace the *maestre de campo* embraced the Indian leaders and had Captains Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, Gabriel de Galarza, Assistant Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Navarrete, Alférez Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz, Alférez Alonso de Valenzuela,<sup>38</sup> Pedro Alvarez Rico, and Manuel Gómez do the same. The above served as witnesses to this pact of peace. The Indians had left their bows and arrows one half a league distant before coming to make peace. So that this pact of peace with the Tobosos may forever stand, the *maestre de campo* ordered it legally recorded and signed it along with the said captians, officers, and soldiers. Don Francisco Montaña. Baltasar de Ontiveros. Luis de Escobar. Cristóbal de Navarrete. Gabriel de Galarza. Bernardo de Sosa. Alonso de Valenzuela. Pedro Alvarez Rico. Manuel Gómez. Before me and witnessed by me, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, scribe of government, justice, and war.

*From the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, microfilm reel 1645A, fr. 227–243.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**T**raslado de los autos hechos en razón de la paz que se asentó con los indios de nación tobosos y salineros por el señor *maestre de campo* don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y sus provincias por el rey nuestro. Año de 1645. Y tanto de un parecer que dieron en Atotonilco los religiosos de San Francisco y capitanes sobre la llegada de don Cristóbal.

El *maestre de campo* Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya y sus provincias por el rey nuestro señor, digo porque estoy de partida de este reino de San Joseph del Parral para la pacificación y castigo de los indios de nación tobosos, nonojos, ococlames, coyomes, pimotoologas, cabezas, gavilanes y otros a ellos aliados y revelados contra la real corona y que han hecho las muchas muertes que es notorio llevándose

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38. Alonso de Valenzuela became *justicia mayor* of Saltillo and held the rank of captain. In 1651 a criminal complaint for assault was brought against him, resulting in a *residencia* concerning his three-year term of office.

todas las caballadas de esta provincia de Santa Bárbara conviene nombrar escribano de gobierno, justicia y guerras por ausencia del propietario Sebastián Guijarro que es ido a la Ciudad de México y por indisposición y vejez de Manuel Ruiz que estaba por él nombrado y por mí aprobado por cuyos impedimentos no pude salir en mi compañía para las casas que se ofrecieron de justicia y guerras en cuya conformidad y usando de mi comisión. Por convenir así al servicio de las dos majestades paz y quietud de este reino confiando de la persona de Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz en quien concurren todas las partes necesarias de fidelidad, legalidad y bondad y que lo hará bien y fielmente, por lo cual en nombre del rey nuestro señor le proveyó y nombró por tal escribano de mi juzgado de gobierno, justicia y guerra le doy comisión para que lo use y ejerza así en lo civil como en lo criminal y en todos los demás casos que se ofrecieron y le pertenecen como a tales guardando el secreto a las partes y llevando los derechos que conforme al arancel real le pertenecieren. Y hará juramento de usar el dicho oficio bien y fielmente el cual lo hizo así en mi presencia juró a Dios ya una señal de la cruz que hizo con su mano derecha en forma de derecho de dicho oficio a su leal saber y entender y si lo hiciere Dios le ayude y sino se lo demande y dijo Amén. Visto por el dicho teniente de gobernador y capitán general su juramento y aceptación le dio por recibido al uso del dicho oficio y mandaba y mandó que a todos los autos y escrituras y otros cualesquiera recaudos que ante el pasajero en que ponga su firma acostumbrada se les den entera fe y crédito en juicio y fuera de él y se le guardarán las y exenciones que le son debidas. Por razón de dicho su oficio y así lo firmó de su nombre con el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general que para su validación interpuso su autoridad que es fecho a primero de febrero de 1645 años. Siendo testigos Fernando de Sosa Ortiz y Francisco de Aguilar y Diego Rodríguez, Francisco Montaña, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz.

### *Mandamiento*

El maestre de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya y sus provincias por el rey nuestro señor excelencia dijo, que atento al nuevo alzamiento que en este dicho reino y provincia de Santa Bárbara han causado los indios de nación conchos, mamites, julimes, guachichiles, mosnalas, olozasmes, xiximble, oposmes, chisos y los demás con ellos aliados todos los cuales han hecho las muertes, robos, e incendios que es público y notorio en esta dicha provincia como son las muertes de los religiosos de San Francisco que les administraban en el pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos la de su gobernador don Joseph Juan la de un hijo suyo y la de don Lorenzo Sotelo Montezuma y otras diez personas habiendo quemado y robado el dicho convento del pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos y del pueblo de San Pedro alzándose y rebelándose contra la real corona, por todo lo cual son dignos de grandes castigos, y estando como está de próximo para entrar a hacerles guerra, cuidadoso del mayor bien de los naturales de esta provincia y celoso del bien de este reino no obstante la rebeldía y contumacia que han tenido los indios de nación tobosos, nonojos y ococlames y los demás con ellos aliados despreciando y no admitiendo los muchos tratados que a los dichos indios su merced ha enviado en diversas veces con diversas personas como han sido indios e indias en los cuales parlamentos y tratados, les ha asegurado siempre guardar la paz en nombre de su majestad; ahora por última deligencia despacha a dichos indios tobosos a un indio

de su nación llamado Juan Largo, aviándole de mucha ropa y bastimento todo lo que el dicho indio pudo y quiso llevar por medio del cual vuelve a prometerle la paz a dichos tobosos y a sus aliados y así mismo por haber sido los dichos indios y ser enemigos de los conchos nuevamente alzados les ofrece en nombre de su majestad y con toda seguridad su compañía para que admitiendo la dicha paz entren a hacer guerras y vengan contra los dichos indios conchos con lo que tendrán más perpetua enemistad y de admitir la dicha paz en esta ocasión para esta dicha entrada les perdona en nombre de su majestad la rebeldía que han tenido como en su tlatole y parlamento les dirá el dicho indio toboso al cual para que conste le doy este mandamiento y comisión en nombre del rey nuestro señor sellado con el sello de mis armas y refrendado por el infraescrito escribano de gobernación que es dado en esta frontera y estancia de Juana de Aldaz. En 8 de mayo de 1645 años. Francisco Montaña. Por mandado del señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

Concuerta con su original de donde se sacó por mandato del señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general. Va cierto y verdadero en fe de lo cual hice mi firma y rúbrica acostumbrada. Siendo testigos a verle corregir y enmendar con el dicho su original el capitán Luis de Escobar, el alférez Fernando de Sosa Ortiz y Francisco de Aguilar. Y para su mayor validación interpuso su autoridad y decreto judicial el dicho señor teniente de gobernación y capitán general y lo firmó este dicho día, mes y año dicho. Francisco Montaña. Doy fe de ello, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

#### *Auto*

En 11 días del mes de mayo de 1645 el señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general tuvo aviso de que el indio toboso Juan Largo había muerto yendo a hacer esta diligencia por ser ya muy viejo y para que conste lo mandó su majestad asentar por auto y lo firmó en dicho día, mes y año dicho Francisco Montaña ante mí Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

#### *Auto*

El maestre de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya y sus provincias por el rey nuestro señor. Excelencia, por cuanto voy entrando la tierra adentro al castigo y pacificación de los indios nuevamente alzados y rebelados contra la real corona de nación conchos, mamites, jullimes, olozazmes, mosnales, tatamastes, oposmes, guachichilmes, bocomes, zabasos, palmes, xiximble, chisos y los demás con ellos aliados todos los cuales han hecho las muertes de los religiosos que les daban doctrinas en el pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos y la de su gobernador don Joseph Juan y otras personas y en el mismo río de Conchos mataron a un hijo de dicho gobernador y a un español llamado don Lorenzo Montezuma y a otros dos indios que estaban pescando con él, quemando dos celdas del dicho convento robando cuanto en él había, profanando sus imágenes y en el convento del pueblo de San Pedro quemaron la iglesia y profanaron las imágenes robando así mismo lo que tenía escapándose y huyendo los dos religiosos del señor San Francisco que les daban doctrina. Y en la estancia de capitán Baltasar de Ontiveros mataron tres indios y robaron la mayor parte del ganado mayor y menor y caballada que tenía lle-

vándose de ellas dos mulatas cautivas matando después la una de ellas y atendiendo al gran riesgo y peligro en que este reino está de perderse y que por todas partes hay enemigos que lo afligen así por lo arriba referido que es por la parte que voy entrando como por ver que por mis espaldas y de la otra parte de esta provincia de Santa Bárbara quedan de guerra los indios de nación cabezas y otros con ellos aliados y aunque tengo escrita carta al capitán Juan de Barraza que ha andado en campaña. Su fecha en 27 de abril de este presente año, para que salga de su presidio o envíe a hacer resistencia a los enemigos por aquellas partes que es por donde acostumbran salir a hacer daños y procurando por mi parte resguardar toda esta dicha provincia y que los enemigos no los hagan mayores en el inter que entro y salgo a la dicha entrada a hacer el castigo o pacificación que pretendo con la gente de guerra que llevo en mi compañía. Dejo así mismo al capitán Luis de Escobar por capitán de la gente de guerra española que por mi orden queda de presidio y guarnición en la frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco que lo es de los indios de nación tobosos, nonojos, ocomes, y ococlames también alzados y rebelados contra su majestad por cuyas causas y accidentes está en este dicho reino en el aprieto arriba dicho y procurando por algún camino divertir a algunos de esos enemigos y que no hagan liga general. Tuve por mayor servicio del rey nuestro señor y conservación de este su reino enviar al dicho capitán Luis de Escobar mi orden y mandamiento fecho en este paraje hoy día de la fecha de él como por dicho mandamiento constará para que en mi nombre envíe a llamar de paz con un indio Cristóbal el Gangoso a los indios tobosos y sus aliados por ser los más belicosos y los más cercanos a las estancias de los labradores del valle de San Bartolomé, a quienes pueden hacer daños irremediables, quemándoles sus trigos por tenerlos en sazón para que lo puedan hacer con que los sería notable para toda esta provincia y en particular para los reales de minas de San Joseph del Parral y San Diego y de Minas Nuevas por ser de donde se proveen de bastimentos los mineros de ellos para el avío de sus haciendas de sacar plata en que su majestad es muy interesado en sus reales quintos. Y teniendo efecto el reducir de paz a los dichos indios tobosos se obvian y atajan tantos y tan graves daños en deservicio de las dos majestades y para que conste haberse despachado dicho mandamiento al dicho capitán Luis de Escobar y al capitán Alonso Bello Montes de Oca y haberse hecho esta diligencia en cosa de tanta importancia el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó en este paraje del río de la Gomera en 29 días del mes de mayo de 1645 años. Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, el escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

#### *Auto*

En la ciénega y pasto de Chopanmalba llamado nuevamente el Ojo de los Cardos en 28 de junio de 1645 años el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Vizcaya por su majestad dijo que hoy dicho día ha recibido una carta del capitán Luis de Escobar, su fecha a 24 de este dicho mes, por la cual le avisa y da razón como habiendo enviado, por orden de su merced y con su mandamiento al indio Cristóbal el Gangoso de nación toboso que estaba poblado en el pueblo y fronteras de Atotonilco, a llamar de paz a los indios de su nación tobosos, el cual volvió con respuesta que dichos indios le dieron en que dice lo recibieron muy bien y admitieron el parlamento que de parte de su merced les llevó, ofreciendo el bajarse

de paz a su llamado y para que en todo tiempo conste de diligencia, lo mandado asentar por auto y lo firmó este dicho día don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En el puesto de bamo el Chiquipa llamado nuevamente San Diego, ochenta leguas la tierra adentro, en 27 días del mes de julio de 1645 años, el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que hoy día ha recibido dos cartas, la una del capitán Luis de Escobar su fecha a 22 de dicho mes y la otra del capitán Alonso Bello Montes de Oca su fecha a 21 de este presente mes y por entrambas avisan a su merced los dichos capitanes que habiendo vuelto por segunda vez el indio Cristóbal el Gangoso contenido en estos autos mediante la nueva orden que el señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general les envió a los dichos capitanes Luis de Escobar y Alonso Bello trajo en su compañía al indio capitán llamado Zapata de entre los enemigos el cual en nombre de los tobosos y demás con ellos aliados vino a dar dicha paz en su compañía vino así mismo otro indio nonoje a dar la paz y en nombre de los de su nación y el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar en virtud de la orden que dijo tenía de su merced los admitió a ella al cual le dijeron haber sentido mucho no haber visto al dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general de parte de su merced el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar les respondió agradeciéndoles la diligencia y venida que habían hecho dándoles a entender vendría el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general y que llegado que fuese al pueblo de Atotonilco les avisaría para que viniesen todos a ver a su merced y darle la paz y para que en todo tiempo conste su merced lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó este dicho día don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

El pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos en 20 de agosto de 1645 años el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino por su majestad dijo que hoy dicho día, ha llegado a presencia de su merced el indio Cristóbal el Gangoso y de nación toboso que es el que por orden de su merced han despachado en diferentes ocasiones los capitanes Luis de Escobar y Alonso Bello a llamar de paz a los indios de su nación tobosos. El cual dice que ha venido a encontrar a su merced para darle las embajadas que los indios tobosos siempre le han dado y de nuevo dicen que hasta que su merced esté en el pueblo de Atotonilco para recibirlos de paz no bajarán por fiarse más de su merced y de su palabra que de la de otro ninguno. Y visto su razonamiento le mandó dar de comer y que descansase aquerenciándole con buenos agasajos y con intento de tenerle en el dicho pueblo hasta ver si llegaban algunos de los muchos indios conchos y de otras naciones que por mandato y orden de su merced vienen caminando para poblarlos en el dicho pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos de los que nuevamente viene de castigar y bajar de paz de la tierra adentro para que en llegando los vea el dicho indio Cristóbal Gangoso y dé de ello noticia y larga relación a los de su nación tobosos por cuyo ejemplar hagan lo mismo de bajarse de paz y para que conste lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó su merced este dicho día mes y año

dicho testado de no bala. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos en 22 de agosto de 1645 años. El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias por su majestad, dijo que habiendo llegado ayer que se contaron 21 de este dicho mes a este pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos cien indios, indias y muchachos de la nación conchos de los que se habían alzado y rebelado contra la real corona y hecho las muertes y daños que es notorio para poblarse como lo han hecho en el dicho pueblo de los que su merced bajó de paz en la tierra adentro y habiéndolos visto el indio Cristóbal Gangoso y hablado con ellos para cuyo efecto lo había detenido este dicho día lo despachó su merced habiéndole dado a entender como había perdonado y bajado de paz a los dichos indios, indias y muchachos conchos que había visto y hablado y que lo mismo haría con los indios de su nación tobosos y habiéndole dado en esta razón un largo parlamento y dándole el bastimento de harina y carne que pudo llevar lo despachó para que fuese a dar aviso de todo lo que pasaba a los dichos indios tobosos y que presto saldría para la frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco adonde aguardaría a los indios de su nación tobosos y les daría la paz en nombre de su majestad señalándole tiempo para que volviese al dicho pueblo de Atotonilco con los de su nación y para que así conste lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y diligencia. Y lo firmó este dicho día, mes y año dicho don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia, y guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos en 25 días del mes de agosto de 1645 años el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias por su majestad dijo que hoy, dicho día, ha recibido dos cartas sus fechas de entrambas a 24 de este dicho mes, la una del capitán Luis de Escobar y la otra del capitán Alonso Bello Montes de Oca, por las cuales avisan a su merced de cómo a 23 del presente mes llegó al pueblo de Atotonilco un indio Pedro de nación nonoje enviado de los indios tobosos que de antes habían venido con el capitán Cristóbal y Juan Bellaco y Juan Casa Zavala capitanes de dichos tobosos, con orden de que viese si había llegado el dicho señor teniente de gobernador al dicho pueblo de Atotonilco para ir a verle y bajarse de paz y caso que no estuviese allí que se volviese llevando el parlamento que les diese el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar y la orden que en razón de su venida les diese para ejecutarla y para que conste de diligencia le mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó su merced en dicho día, mes y año dicho. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Mandamiento*

El maestre de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor. Excelencia, por el presente ordeno al capitán Luis de Escobar a cuyo cargo está la gente de guerra que de presente tengo de guarnición en la frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco para el resguardo de él y de las labores y estancias del Valle de San

Bartolomé que luego que vea éste mi mandamiento haga diligencia y busqué en dicho pueblo y frontera a un indio llamado Cristóbal hijo de indio Juan Largo al cual indio Cristóbal por mi orden y con mi tlatole y mandamiento que va con este lo despachará con asistencia del capitán Alonso Bello Montes de Oca, persona por cuya mano y enviado otros mensajeros a los indios de la nación tobosos y por conocer los dichos indios al dicho capitán Alonso Bello hagan los dos dichos capitanes el despacho de dicho indio dándole el papel y mandamiento mío que va con éste por convenir así al servicio de su majestad paz y quietud de este reino y por causas importantes que a ello me mueven, lo cual cumpla y guarde el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar que es fecho en este Río de la Gomera donde al presente tengo mi real y campo en 29 días del mes de mayo de 1645 años. Francisco Montaña. Por mandado del señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general. Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco en 6 días del mes de junio de 1645 años el capitán de infantería española de esta dicha frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco Luis de Escobar habiendo visto el mandamiento de arriba del señor maestre de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general, en conformidad del dicho mandamiento hizo despacho a los tobosos con el indio Cristóbal contenido en el dicho mandamiento dándole a entender al dicho indio Cristóbal como por orden del dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general iba a llamar a los tobosos de paz en nombre del rey nuestro señor dándole a entender todo lo que contenía el mandamiento que llevaba que es el que contiene el mandamiento de esta otra parte. El cual se le entregó en preferencia del capitán Alonso Bello Montes de Oca y salió de esta dicha frontera, este dicho día, mes y año señalando el tiempo que se había de ocupar en ida estada y vuelta que se cumplirá a 20 de este dicho mes. Y para que así conste lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó, Luis de Escobar, ante mí, Antonio Ramírez, escribano de guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco de la Nueva Vizcaya en 23 de junio de 1645 años el capitán de infantería española y gente de caballo Luis de Escobar habiendo visto que hoy dicho día ha venido el indio Cristóbal contenido en el mandamiento y auto de esta obra con la respuesta de los tobosos, nonoxes, ocomes, acoclames, y de los capitanes de dichos indios que es a lo que él fue enviado como constará por el mandamiento que el dicho indio Cristóbal llevó a los dichos indios tobosos y demás dichas naciones y da por razón que todos los susodichos indios y los capitanes de ellos ofrecen dar la paz y vivir quietos asegurándolo el hacerlo y que están prestos de venir a darla al señor maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino y acudir a sus llamamientos fiados de que les guardará la paz que les ofrece en nombre de su majestad, como lo ha hecho y están viendo que lo hace con muchas naciones de indios que actualmente están rebelados y que a todo lo susodicho dieron por respuesta los dichos indios de dichas naciones. Y para que así conste mandó asentar por auto lo firmó, Luis de Escobar. Ante mí, Antonio Ramírez, escribano de guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco de la Nueva Vizcaya en 30 días del mes de junio de 1645 años, el capitán de infantería española y gente de caballo Luis de Escobar habiendo visto que los indios tobosos y de las demás naciones que con ellos están juntos, que son los contenidos en el auto de arriba, y que se detienen en venir a dar la paz que ofrecen, hizo despacho este dicho día a los dichos indios tobosos y demás dichas naciones enviándolos a llamar, por segunda vez en nombre de su majestad, de paz con el indio Cristóbal contenido en el dicho auto de arriba en nombre de su majestad y en virtud del mandamiento del señor maestre de campo don Francisco de Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino que les remite con el susodicho indio Cristóbal que el parlamento que en nombre del dicho señor teniente gobernador y capitán general les envía en esta razón que mediante a . . . hacerlo así asegura el dicho indio Cristóbal el traerlos a la presencia del dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino porque dicen les guardará la paz que les ofrece en nombre de su majestad mediante lo cual sale hoy dicho día el dicho indio Cristóbal a llamarlos y traerlos en virtud de todo lo susodicho y para que en todo tiempo conste mandólo asentar por auto y lo firmó, Luis de Escobar. Ante mí, Antonio Ramírez, escribano de guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco de la Nueva Vizcaya en 21 días del mes de julio de 1645 años, el capitán de infantería española y gente de caballo en ella por su majestad Luis de Escobar visto haber venido hoy dicho día el indio Cristóbal contenido en los autos que tiene fechos en cumplimiento de mandamiento del señor maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino y haber traído consigo a un indio toboso llamado don Cristóbal Zapata, indio cacique de dicha nación tobosa, el cual vino a dar la paz por sí y en nombre de todos los tobosos y del capitán de ellos que se llama don Cristóbal y de un indio capitán de la nación ocome que dice es gentil y de otro indio capitán de la nación acoclame llamado Miguel y así mismo vino en compañía del dicho indio don Cristóbal Zapata un indio de nación nonoxe llamado Pedro a dar la paz en nombre de un indio capitán llamado Juan Casa Zavala, que lo es de la dicha nación y trajeron consigo dos indias tobosas, los cuales dichos indios los recibió de paz el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar en nombre de su majestad y del dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino por cuya orden han sido llamados dándoles a entender que se les guardará y amparará en ella en nombre de su majestad mediante lo cual respondieron el dicho indio don Cristóbal Zapata toboso y el dicho indio Pedro de nación nonoxe que estaban muy contentos y que volverán a dar razón a los dichos tobosos y demás dichas naciones como están recibidos de paz que la tienen dada a su majestad y al dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general y en su nombre al dicho capitán general y en su nombre al dicho capitán Luis de Escobar que están prestos de venir todos juntos en acabando de comer las calabazas que tienen sembradas y el maíz y mezquite, tuna, dátiles y pitahayas y para que se entienda que son ya amigos de los españoles se corresponderán en el inter que vienen todos y que vendrán algunos a verse con el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar con algunas de sus



familias y saldrán los susodichos don Cristóbal Zapata tobozo, y Pedro, nonoje, a verse con los dichos tobosos y demás naciones a 24 de este dicho mes y año dejando en rehenes las dos dichas indias tobosas con un muchacho y una muchacha tobosillos hijos de una de las dichas indias tobosas llamada Agustina. Todo lo cual dijeron por el dicho indio Cristóbal que fue a llamarlos que sirvió de intérprete y entender la lengua de dichos tobosos y demás dichas naciones y castellana con que dio a entender todo lo que dicho tienen y fue nombrado para el dicho efecto y para que en todo tiempo conste mandó asentarlos por auto y lo firmó Luis de Escobar. Ante mí, Antonio Ramírez, escribano de guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco de la Nueva Vizcaya en 25 días del mes de agosto de 1645 años, el capitán de infantería española Luis de Escobar en ella por su majestad habiendo visto que anteayer que se contaron 23 días de este dicho mes vino a esta dicha frontera un indio llamado Pedro de nación nonoje que es el contenido en el auto de esta otra parte enviado por don Cristóbal, capitán de los tobosos, y por Juan Casa Zavala, capitán de los nonojos, y por Juan Bellaco, de nación tobozo, con razón de como están dos días de camino de esta dicha frontera todos juntos con todas sus familias para venir a congregarse en este dicho pueblo en virtud de la paz que tienen ofrecida a su majestad y al señor maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino, y al dicho capitán Luis de Escobar en su nombre y que su venida fue también a ver si estaba en esta dicha frontera el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general para venirse luego los dichos indios tobosos, nonojos, ocomes, y acoclames con dichos capitanes de dichas naciones y en su defecto que lo harán también estando el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar, quien les tiene enviado a llamar de paz en nombre de su majestad y del dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general y que así mismo vino en su compañía don Cristóbal Zapata contenido en el auto de esta otra parte con otro indio tobozo y dos indias tobosas que quedaron una jornada de esta dicha frontera y que estarán aquí muy breve y hoy dicho día el dicho indio Pedro salió de esta dicha frontera con orden que llame al dicho don Cristóbal, capitán de dichos tobosos, y al dicho Juan Casa Zavala y dicho Juan Bellaco y que traigan toda su gente y familias de dichas naciones dentro de seis días determinó y señaló a el dicho indio Pedro que dice estará en ir y volver con todos los susodichos indios dándole a entender que para este dicho tiempo estará en esta frontera el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general para recibirlos en la paz que les ofrece en nombre de su majestad y congregarlos en este dicho gobierno y que en su ausencia lo hará también el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar en virtud de las órdenes que para todo lo susodicho tiene del dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general y que los amparará en nombre de su majestad y para que así conste lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó, Luis de Escobar. Ante mí, Antonio Ramírez, escribano de guerra.

*Auto*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor. Excelencia dijo, que habiendo llegado hoy que se contaron 30 de agosto de este presente año de 1645 a esta frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco con la

gente de guerra que le ha quedado de su real y campo para este efecto que pretende de bajar y reducir a paz a los indios de nación tobosos, nonojos, acoclames, ocomes y a los demás con ellos aliados y habiendo visto la remisión de los autos que tienen fechos el capitán Luis de Escobar en esta razón por orden y mandamiento que para ello tuvo de su merced admitía y admitió los autos fechos por el dicho capitán Luis de Escobar y mandaba y mandó se junten con los demás autos y diligencias que su merced ha hecho y va haciendo en orden y para que tenga cumplido efecto la dicha paz que pretende asentar con dichos indios en nombre de su majestad y considerando como quien tiene la cosa presente lo mucho que importa a su real servicio y así lo mandó y firmó en dicho día, mes y año dicho. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

#### *Auto*

En la frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco en 3 de septiembre de 1645 años, el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que hoy dicho día en conformidad de las diligencias que tiene fechas en razón de bajar de paz y reducir a la obediencia del rey nuestro señor a los indios de nación tobosos y demás con ellos aliados que han estado alzados y rebelados contra la real corona a llegado a presencia de su merced el indio Cristóbal Gangoso hijo de Juan Largo, ya difunto, de quien se hace mención en estos autos y trajo en su compañía al indio capitán llamado Cristóbal Zapata y a un hijo suyo llamado Antón y a otro indio llamado Santiago y otro llamado Peinado y otro Juan todos de nación toboso, los cuales trajeron en su compañía cinco mujeres de dicha nación y así mismo vino otro indio más con los dichos tobosos llamado Domingo de nación salinero que por todos son seis de arco y flechas los que trae el dicho Cristóbal Gangoso y el dicho capitán Cristóbal Zapata con dicho su hijo vienen de parte de los de su parcialidad a dar la paz diciendo volverán por los demás que quedan de dicha su parcialidad. Y los tres indios Santiago, Peinado y Juan dijeron venían de parte de don Cristóbal, gobernador natural de los indios de nación toboso, a ofrecerla a su merced. Por saber y tener por cierto que les ha de guardar la palabra que les diere en razón de dicha paz como se lo dijo el dicho indio Cristóbal Gangoso y se lo aseguró diciendo que era muy buen hombre y había perdonado a los conchos y bajádoslos de paz en los pueblos de San Pedro y San Francisco de Conchos con cuya confianza los había enviado a presencia de su merced, y mediante los muchos parlamentos que de parte de su merced le han dado a él y a los demás de su nación. El indio llamado Domingo de nación salinero dijo, que venía enviado de parte de los indios de su nación que estaban muy cerca de los tobosos y se comunicaban mucho con ellos a pedir a su merced los quiera recibir y admitir de paz que admitiéndolos bajarían a dársela a su merced y con su respuesta vuelva luego a donde están en cuya conformidad y parlamentos que tuvieron todos juntos con el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general después de haberles puesto la mano en las cabezas que es la costumbre que ellos tienen de sumisión. Los volvió a abrazar y agasajar dándoles a entender por el indio Cristóbal que entiende su lengua y habla la mexicana el gusto que había recibido con las embajadas que le habían traído en razón de la paz que quieren efectuar con su merced con lo cual y después de haberles dado su parlamento les mandó dar mucha harina y

carne y que se fuesen a descansar para despacharlos en forma y después de haberlos regalado y agasajado para que vuelvan más agradecidos. Y para que en todo tiempo conste la mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó su merced este dicho día siendo testigos a todo lo referido el padre guardián de este convento, fray Francisco López y el padre fray Alonso del Castillo su compañero, y el capitán Gabriel de Galarza y el alférez Bernardo de Sosa Ortíz y otros muchos soldados. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En esta frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco en 5 de septiembre de 1645 años, el señor maestre del campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino por el rey nuestro señor dijo que habiendo llegado a 3 de este presente mes los indios e indias contenidos en estos autos y habiendo descansado hasta hoy dicho día y hécholes todo el agasajo y regalo que ha sido posible los mandó llamar y estando todos presentes y ante mí el presente escribano de gobernación siendo intérprete Cristóbal Gangoso indio de su nación ladino en lengua mexicana que entiende bien el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general les volvió a hacer nuevos parlamentos en orden a que volvieran adonde quedaban los suyos y el dicho Cristóbal Gangoso con ellos y de parte de su merced les dijera que bien podían venir con toda seguridad a su presencia que los admitirá de paz en nombre de su majestad y que no tuviesen ningún recelo en hacerlo pues ya sabían lo que pasaba y había hecho con los indios de nación conchos y sus aliados dejándolos poblados en los pueblos de San Pedro y San Francisco de Conchos donde los había visto el dicho indio Cristóbal Gangoso y con el gusto y contento que estaban acudiendo al culto divino y a rezar la doctrina cristiana y que lo mismo haría con todos los de su nación y los demás que quisieran venir a dar la paz a su merced. Y por haber entendido de ellos que una española mujer de Antonio Pérez que tenían cautiva los indios de nación ocomes les dio en presencia del presente escribano dos huipiles carreteros y cuatro varas de paño para que la rescatasen de la persona que la tuviese por haber tenido así mismo noticia que la había comprado de los indios de nación cabezas que fueron los que la cautivaron cuando mataron a los españoles que iban con unas recuas al pueblo de Mapimí y habiéndoles hecho en esta razón y para que tuviese efecto el traerla en su compañía particular parlamento ofreciéndoles de nuevo la paz. Los volvió a despachar habiéndoles dado la harina que quisieron tomar y pudieron llevar y muértoles un novillo que así mismo llevaron y para que conste de diligencia lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y lo firmó este dicho día siendo testigo a todo lo dicho el ayudante de sargento mayor Cristóbal de Navarrete y Manuel Gómez y Cristóbal de Sepúlveda y Francisco de Aguilar y otros muchos soldados presentes entre renglones. Escribano, don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

Este dicho día 5 de septiembre de 1645 años el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que por cuanto con

los indios de nación tobosos que vinieron a dar la paz con el indio capitán Zapata salió un indio llamado Domingo de nación salinero muy ladino, el cual dijo venía despachado de parte de los indios salineros a ofrecer la paz al rey nuestro señor y en su real nombre al dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general por haber tenido noticia se bajan de paz los indios tobosos y satisfechos de que su merced se la guardara la enviaban a ofrecer por medio de dicho indio Domingo al cual habiéndolo agasajado y dado a entender cuanto bien le estaría a él y a los de su nación cumplieran lo que enviaban a decir en orden a bajarse de paz en la cual desde luego los admitía en nombre de su majestad y para que tuviese más cumplido efecto enviaba en su compañía al capitán Francisco Mamá indio de su misma nación que ha andado en compañía de su merced haciendo oficio de soldado en la entrada que acaba de hacer contra los indios conchos para que como indio tan fiel y de crédito entre ellos les dijese lo que había visto por vista de ojos en el asiento de paz que en dicha entrada se había hecho en dicha nación concha y sus aliados. Y habiéndoles dado la harina y carne que pudieron llevar fueron despachados en compañía de los indios tobosos para que fuesen a bajar de paz a los de su nación que para que conste lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y diligencia a lo cual fueron testigos los referidos en el auto antecedente. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia, y guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco en 19 de septiembre, el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad en conformidad del parlamento que llevó el capitán Francisco Mamá y Domingo, indios de nación salineros que fueron despachados por su merced de esta dicha frontera en cinco de este mes y año de 1645 años, este dicho día ha llegado ante su merced el dicho indio Domingo y otro llamado Rafael, los cuales dan por nueva como los de su nación vienen marchando con toda la chusma en conformidad del parlamento que se les llevó, el cual recibieron de muy buena gana y enviaban a pedir algún sustento por venir sin él y muertos de hambre en cuya conformidad se despacharon luego con diez arrobas de harina y una res y para que en todo tiempo conste su merced lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En 28 de septiembre de 1645 años, llegaron a esta frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco tres indios de nación salineros y el uno de ellos ciego, los cuales dijeron se habían adelantado a dar la nueva de cómo venían el capitán Francisco Mamá y el cacique don Pedro de nación salineros, los cuales traían cantidad de indios varones, mujeres y muchachos, a los cuales el señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general les mandó dar de comer agasajándolos todo lo posible y para que conste de diligencia lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y lo firmó. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia, y guerra.

*Auto*

En 30 de septiembre de este presente año de 1645 años, llegaron de la otra banda de este Río Flórido que pasa un cuarto de legua de esta frontera y pueblo de Atotonilco el capitán Francisco Mamá y don Pedro, indios salineros trayendo en su compañía la gente en el auto de arriba referida a los cuales dio orden, el señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general les pasasen bastimentos y que se estuviesen de la otra parte de dicho río hasta que se pudiese vadear y para que conste de diligencia lo mandó su merced asentar por auto don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia, y guerra.

*Asiento de paz*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que atento a que están de la otra banda del Río Florido los indios salineros que vienen a dar la paz manda al capitán Baltasar de Ontiveros junte todos los indios así soldados de su campo como los de este pueblo de Atotonilco y todos juntos hagan una balsa en que pasen de esta banda los indios salineros. Y habiéndolo hecho fueron a pasar los dichos indios asistiendo a ello su merced con los capitanes Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, Alonso Bello Montes de Oca, y Gabriel de Galarza, en lo cual se pasó mucho trabajo y riesgo. Y habiendo pasado el dicho río se manifestaron ante el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general los capitanes Francisco Mamá y don Pedro indios con ciento y treinta y unas personas con los que de antes habían venido, los cuales dieron la paz en nombre de su majestad y su merced los admitió y recibió en ella, dándoles parlamentos de que fuesen de hoy más leales vasallos de su majestad y no hiciesen robos a nadie y viviesen en policía acudiendo a rezar la doctrina cristiana, los cuales respondieron lo harían así como se les mandaba y dieron por nueva como don Gerónimo Moranta y don Gaspar indios principales de dicha nación salineros quedaban recogiendo su gente para venir así mismo a dar la paz. Y habiendo oído y entendido los parlamentos que el dicho teniente de gobernador y capitán general les había enviado con el dicho capitán Francisco Mamá y Domingo y habiéndolo entendido su merced les mandó descansar y dar bastimentos y para que en todo tiempo conste este asiento de paz lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó en este dicho pueblo y frontera en 2 de octubre de 1645 años, a que fueron testigos los dichos capitanes y otras muchas personas. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, de que doy fe Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

El maestre de campo Don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor dijo: que hoy 6 de octubre, como una hora de noche llegaron a este pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco en compañía del indio Cristóbal Gangoso, a quien su merced había enviado para que llamase de paz a los indios tobosos y en particular a don Cristóbal, su gobernador, el cual llegó, como dicho es, trayendo en su compañía a Antón el hijo del capitán Zapata y a otro indio llamado Juan y a otro gentil que en su lengua nombra "Toyche," habiéndolos recibido con buen agasajo y muestras de amor el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general, tomó

la mano en hablar dicho don Cristóbal cacique y gobernador de toda la nación tobose por mano de don Juan Bautista indio gobernador de toda la conferencia que dijo que ya había venido en cumplimiento de los parlamentos que se le habían enviado por el indio Cristóbal Gangoso que estaba presente y por el indio capitán Zapata a dar la paz en nombre de su majestad a su merced. Y habiéndole oído el dicho señor teniente de gobernador grande rato le respondió que lo recibía en dicha paz en su real nombre, con lo cual le abrazó en señal de ella y dándole bastimento de harina y carne para él y los que trajo en su compañía les mandó se fueran a descansar. Y para que conste el haberlos recibido de paz lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y lo firmó este dicho día, mes y año dichos. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, de que doy fe Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

En el pueblo y frontera de Atotonilco en 7 de octubre de 1645 años, el maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad dijo, que habiendo llegado a su noticia que entre los indios salineros que se han bajado de paz hay uno llamado Benito que dijeron ser de nación cabeza y otro llamado Alonso que dijeron así mismo tenía su mujer entre ellos indios cabezas a los cuales mandó parecer ante su merced que preguntándoles si tendrían ánimo y esfuerzo para ir a llamar de paz a dicho indios cabezas por haber entendido de muchos de los salineros que la deseaban y recibían de muy buena voluntad, los cuales dichos dos indios respondieron harían todo cuanto su merced les mandase en cuya conformidad luego al instante mandó que se les diese el bastimento de harina y carne que pudieran y que saliesen con un largo parlamento que les hizo en orden a llamarlos de paz y así mismo que llevasen en su compañía a otro indio Pablo para que de camino se apartase y fuese a la parte y lugar donde estaba don Gerónimo Moranta y don Gaspar indios salineros y les dijese como les quedaría aguardando y el buen tratamiento que había hecho como lo había visto a los de su nación que estaban ya recibidos de paz y en compañía de su merced el cual dicho indio Pablo respondió lo haría como se le mandaba y dándole lo necesario fue en compañía de los dichos Benito y Alonso y para que conste lo mandó su merced asentar por auto y diligencia. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto y despacho de don Cristóbal gobernador de tobosos*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya y sus provincias por el rey nuestro señor excelencia dijo que habiendo llegado el viernes pasado que se contaron seis del presente mes a presencia de su merced el indio gobernador de los tobosos llamado don Cristóbal y traído en su compañía a otros tres de su nación y habiendo descansado hasta hoy nueve de octubre de 1645 años, después de haberle regalado a él y a los suyos y héchole muchos parlamentos en orden a lo bien que le está a él y los de su nación de reducirse y asentarse de paz debajo del amparo real como la ha venido a ofrecer y no andar de peñol en peñol y de quebrada en quebrada sobresaltados huyendo de los españoles sino que quietamente con sosiego vivan con sus mujeres e hijos en policía y doctrina para cuyo efecto y por haberlo él pe-

dido les señaló el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general el puesto que está junto de la estancia de Juana de Aldaz que de presente está despoblada y la dicha Juana de Aldaz ídose la tierra afuera para sembrar el año que viene de 1646. En el inter que se dispone adonde ha de ser su asistencia con lo cual fue muy contento y gustoso y de nuevo volvió a revalidar la paz que vino a dar, dando su palabra de traer a todos los suyos con sus mujeres e hijos y que pondría todo su esfuerzo para traer en su compañía a los indios de nación nonojos, acoclames, y cocomes al cual se le preguntó donde estaba y quedaba la española mujer de Antonio Pérez que dicen tenían cautiva los indios de nación ocomes a los cuales su merced había enviádoles dos huipiles carreteros y cuatro varas de paño para que la rescatasen y respondió que lo que había entendido era que habiendo muerto una hija del indio principal de los ocomes que la quería mucho de pesadumbre lloraba de ordinario por cuya causa se enfadaron de ella y dándole bastimentos la enviaron por el camino por donde había venido a dicho puesto cuando la prendieron, y que no sabe más que esta razón de ella y habiéndoseles dado a todos cuatro todo el bastimento que pudieron llevar y matádoles una res que también llevaron se fueron muy contentos y ofrecieron el volver sin falta ninguna con toda la gente y chusma dentro de diez y ocho días que contó el dicho don Cristóbal para su ida estada y vuelta y para que en todo tiempo conste el haber asentado la paz con el dicho gobernador don Cristóbal de nación toboso en nombre de todos los suyos el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó siendo testigos a todo lo referido el licenciado don Felipe de la Cueva Montaña Villamayor, el padre Mateo Galindo de la compañía de Jesús, el padre guardián de este convento de Atotonilco fray Francisco López, los capitanes Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, Gabriel Galarza y todos los demás oficiales y soldados de este real y campo. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, de que doy fe Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto y asiento de paz con los indios salineros*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor dijo que hoy sábado 14 de octubre de 1645 años, llegado a presencia de su merced los caciques don Gerónimo Moranta y don Gaspar indios de nación salineros con ochenta y cuatro personas de varones, mujeres y muchachos, los cuales habían andado alzados y rebelados contra la real corona de su majestad con todos los cuales vinieron los dos dichos caciques a dar la paz y el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general los recibió en ella en nombre del rey nuestro señor y debajo de su real amparo a los cuales su merced les mandó y encargó viniesen con toda paz y quietud sin hacer daños ni robos como solían hacer en parte ninguna y que de hacerlos estuviesen advertidos habían de ser rigurosamente castigados y así mismo les mandó que hiciesen sus casas, viviesen en policía acudiendo a rezar la doctrina cristiana teniendo mucho respeto a sus doctri-neros. Procurando sembrar sus milpas, criar gallinas y lo demás que las reales ordenanzas de su majestad en este caso dispone a todo lo cual estuvieron atentos y habiéndolo entendido mediate don Pedro indio de su misma nación y ladino en lengua mexicana dijeron que así lo harían y cumplirían como se les mandaba y ordenaba por su merced. Y para que en todo tiempo conste del asiento de esta paz lo mandó su merced asentar por auto, siendo testigos los capitanes Baltasar de On-

tiveros, Luis de Escobar, Gabriel de Galarza y el alférez Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz y otros muchos soldados presentes. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí de que doy fe Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Auto*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor porque hoy que se cuenta 26 de octubre de este presente año de 1645, han llegado a mi presencia dos indios de nación tobosos llamados el uno Antón, hijo del capitán Zapata y el otro Juan los cuales que vienen despachados de don Cristóbal, cabeza y gobernador de los indios tobosos y del capitán Zapata avisándome como en conformidad de la palabra que me dieron cuando vinieron a dar la paz vienen con toda su gente debajo del seguro y paz que llevaron en nombre de su majestad y que quedan cuatro jornadas de este puesto y frontera de Atotonilco y que vienen con hambre que les socorra con algún bastimento y habiéndolo entendido luego al punto, despaché los dichos dos indios dándoles una mula con una carga de harina de tres quintales y medio y media res que no pudieron llevar más y porque en todo tiempo conste de diligencia lo mandé asentar por auto este dicho día, mes y año siendo testigos a este despacho el capitán Gabriel de Galarza, Manuel Gómez y Francisco de Aguilar. Don Francisco Montaña. Ante mí, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

*Asiento general con los tobosos*

El maestre de campo don Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que por cuanto tiene hechas muchas diligencias en orden a llamar de paz a los indios de nación toboso que a mucho tiempo están alzados y rebelados contra la real corona causando las muertes, robos y salteamientos que es notorio hoy que se contaron 31 de octubre de 1645 años, llegaron a presencia de su merced el gobernador don Cristóbal que lo es de los dichos indios tobosos y en su compañía los capitanes Cristóbal Zapata y Juan Bellaco con setenta y seis personas de varones y mujeres de su nación a dar la paz al dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general, el cual los recibió en ella en nombre del rey nuestro señor y debajo de su real amparo con orden que para ello tiene del señor don Luis de Valdés, caballero de la orden del señor Santiago del consejo de guerra en los estados de Flandes, gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino y sus provincias a todos los cuales su merced mediante el intérprete que lo fue Cristóbal Gangoso indio de su nación y muy ladino en la lengua mexicana les mandó y encargó viviesen de hoy más con toda paz y quietud sin hacer nuevos daños ni robos en parte alguna como los solían hacer que de hacerlo y quebrantar la paz que de presente le dan estuviesen advertidos han de ser rigurosamente castigados haciéndoles guerra a fuego y sangre y que así mismo han de estar obligados que así algunos otros indios de cualesquier naciones que sean saliesen de la tierra adentro a hacer daños y robos en las caballadas y ganados de esta provincia de Santa Bárbara y demás estancias de fuera de ella, han de salir contra ellos como se ofreciere la ocasión yendo en compañía de los españoles, solos ellos procurando prender a los dichos indios malhechores trayéndolos ante la justicia más cercana que hubiere quitándoles la caballada o ganado que llevasen entregándoselo a su dueño con lo



cual estarían ciertos los españoles que eran de toda verdad sus amigos y que así mismo habían de estar obligados a salir todas las veces que se ofrecieren y fueren menester en cualquiera guerra que se ofrezca de indios que niegen la obediencia a su majestad llamándolos de parte de los señores, gobernadores, justicias y capitanes previniéndose luego para ello saliendo con la mayor brevedad que sea posible como leales vasallos y que así mismo se les dijo que viviesen en poblado y policía y cristiandad acudiendo a rezar la doctrina cristiana teniendo mucho respeto a los religiosos que se la dieren procurando hacer luego sus casas en que vivir y a su tiempo sembrar sus maíces y demás legumbres, criar gallinas y todo lo demás que las reales ordenanzas de su majestad en esta razón disponen. A todo lo cual estuvieron muy atentos y habiéndolo bien entendido mediate el dicho intérprete respondieron diciendo que así lo harían y cumplirían como se les mandaba y ordenaba por el dicho teniente de gobernador y capitán general y que estarían prevenidas para las ocasiones que se ofreciesen del servicio de su majestad y que de lo que les pesaba era que los daños que otros indios hacían y de otras naciones se lo achacaban a ellos a lo cual les respondió el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general que haciendo lo que les mandaba que era salir a aprehender a cualesquiera salteadores y quitarles la caballada o ganado que llevasen darían muestra de su lealdad y recuperarían la fama que tenían perdida; a que volvieron segunda vez a responder que así lo harían y que estaban muy contentos de dar la paz al rey nuestro señor y a su merced en su real nombre y que le rogaban mandara a los españoles no les hicieran mal y que de su parte no faltarían a la paz que al presente daban, lo cual les aseguró en nombre de su majestad y para mejor firmeza de ella, el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general los abrazó e hizo así mismo que los abrazasen los capitanes Baltasar de Ontiveros, Luis de Escobar, Gabriel de Galarza y el ayudante de sargento mayor Cristóbal de Navarrete, el alférez Bernardo de Sosa Ortiz, el alférez Alonso de Valenzuela, Pedro Alvarez Rico, y Manuel Gómez, los cuales fueron testigos de este asiento de paz y de como vinieron sin sus arcos y flechas a dar dicha paz habiéndolos dejado media legua de donde su merced estaba. Y para que en todo tiempo conste dicho asiento y paz con dichos indios tobosos el dicho señor teniente de gobernador y capitán general lo mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó con los dichos capitanes oficiales y soldados. Don Francisco Montaña. Baltasar de Ontiveros. Luis de Escobar. Cristóbal de Navarrete. Gabriel de Galarza. Bernardo de Sosa. Alonso de Valenzuela. Pedro Alvarez Rico. Manuel Gómez. Ante mí de que doy fe, Carlos Cedeño Santa Cruz, escribano de gobernación, justicia y guerra.

## Civilians Are Commanded to Make Donations to Support the Founding of the Presidio of Cerrogorordo

*The decision to establish a presidio at Cerrogorordo was made in 1645, but several months passed before work actually began to form the garrison. To support it financially the governor ordered merchants and other persons of means to make donations. These contributions were fairly asked of those who had the most to gain materially by the presence of a new presidio on the road to Durango, and it was some of these same persons who had led the clamor for additional soldiers. The men themselves were to be paid from the king's treasury, but as was the case here, royal allocations were insufficient to pay for the actual construction of the fort. Gifts of foodstuffs were asked to help to feed the soldiers and animals.*

*In Parral some donations were less than the expected twelve pesos by half, a third, or two-thirds. Other merchants offered goods in lieu of currency, and at least one had silver plate taken from him when he pled he did not have the money. Wealthier inhabitants of San Bartolomé contributed varying amounts of corn, wheat, and flour.*

**I**n Parral<sup>1</sup> on September 26, 1646, the respondent, Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, in compliance with the letter of his lordship, the governor and captain-general of this realm<sup>2</sup>—which is found in the back—went to the houses of the merchants of this *real* and explained the reason for the order given

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1. Mining of gold and silver in Chihuahua began in the 1560s at Santa Bárbara and expanded with discoveries at San Juan and Todos Santos. It was the first bonanza strike at San Joseph del Parral in 1631, however, that led to the naming of the Parral mining district, located between the Conchos and upper Florido rivers and including the province of Santa Bárbara. By 1632 some 400 claims had been staked at Parral and the population had swelled to 300. Subsequent bonanza strikes were made at San Diego de Minas Nuevas (today's Villa Escobedo) and San Francisco del Oro. Because of its importance, Parral became the residence of the governor in the second half of the seventeenth century, when it became the largest silver-producing area of Nueva Vizcaya.

2. The governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya at the time was Luis de Valdés, a native of Granada and a Knight of the Order of Santiago. Before his appointment in New

by his lordship for this purpose.<sup>3</sup> In obedience to the order, the persons listed below made donations for the formation of the presidio of Cerrogorordo,<sup>4</sup> each one giving 12 pesos for this purpose, and this was signed by:

Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés.<sup>5</sup>

Before me, Alonzo Morales García,<sup>6</sup> public scribe.

In Parral on September 26, 1646, Gonzalo Antuñez Horde<sup>7</sup> made a donation of 12 pesos to assist in the founding of Cerrogorordo and signed this.

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Spain, he was a member of the Council of War in Flanders. During his six-year tenure as governor (1642–1648) he led campaigns against the rebelling Tobosos, Conchos, Salineros, and others in 1644 and 1645. He should not be confused with Luis de Enciso y Valdés, the author of this document; see Note 5.

3. The fact that merchants were donors for the construction of the presidio of Cerrogorordo reflects their importance in the Parral mining district. Within six years of its founding, Parral had 37 shops and was the acknowledged commercial center of the district, serving not only the relatively small Spanish population of the town, but also the Indian and mestizo laborers and smaller neighboring reales. Shops offered sugar products and fruit from southern provinces, both domestic and European intoxicating beverages and textiles, metal bars and other hardware (mostly from Vizcaya), and luxury goods imported from both Europe and the Orient. This document lists 41 Parral merchants, an increase of only four from the year 1637.

4. Up until this time Chihuahua had a garrison stationed at Santa Bárbara and another at Parral to protect the mines and settlements. Merchandise was brought to the frontier by trains of oxen or mule-drawn, two-wheeled carts which returned to México laden with bullion from the Parral mining district. A provincial proclamation, issued the same year as this document, made it mandatory that all cart trains bearing bar silver being shipped from Parral have a military escort to halt plundering by the Tobosos. The Presidio de San Miguel de Cerrogorordo was proposed by Governor Valdés in the wake of the Toboso revolt and became the first of three new presidios to be established in order to protect a new more eastern route nearer the desert margin than the older camino real to the west.

Governor Valdés, sensitive to the crown's expenditure of 50,000 pesos in putting down the Toboso revolt, argued that the new presidio could be established without extra cost to the crown by garrisoning it with men from other presidios located in pacified areas of Nueva Vizcaya. Apparently the solicitations of funds from the merchants (who together with the mine owners had the most to lose) was another solution to saving the crown money. This document makes it clear that "donations" were not voluntary and that not all merchants were willing to share the cost equally.

5. Luis de Enciso y Valdés, herein identified as "capitán y sargento mayor" and "justicia mayor of these mining camps" had mining claims in Minas Nuevas in 1648 and Santa Bárbara in 1663. He was elsewhere identified as a captain of militia in Parral in 1666 and as general of militia in 1672.

6. Alonzo Morales García was a man of property who owned slaves, houses, and mine shares and who served in various official capacities. He is identified in the Parral Archives as a *letrado* (civil lawyer) and scribe as early as 1643 and continued in the office of public scribe while also holding the position of justicia ordinario in 1648. He was still identified as a public scribe in 1650. In 1654 he was appointed lieutenant alcalde mayor and war captain of Minas Nuevas, and he became alcalde mayor the following year.

7. Gonzalo Antuñez Horde was born in Fafe, Portugal, about 1580. He can be traced in the

Founding of the Presidio of Cerrogorido

Gonzalo Antuñez Horde.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Domingo Pérez<sup>8</sup> offered a donation of 12 pesos for the foundation of the presidio and signed this.

Domingo Pérez

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Francisco Muñoz Blanco<sup>9</sup> gave 12 pesos for the foundation and signed this.

Francisco Muñoz Blanco.

In Parral on September 26, 1646, the merchant Jusepe López<sup>10</sup> gave 12 pesos for the founding of the presidio and signed this.

Joseph López de Castro.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Domingo Lorenzo<sup>11</sup> gave 12 pesos for the founding of the presidio and signed this.

Domingo Lorenzo.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Juan Rodríguez Sánchez,<sup>12</sup> merchant, gave 12 pesos for the founding and signed this.

Juan Rodríguez Sánchez.

In Parral on the same day, Juan Alvarez,<sup>13</sup> merchant, gave 12 pesos in reales for the founding and signed this.

Juan Alvarez.

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Parral Archives as a merchant from 1635 through 1649 and was furthermore identified as a "caudillo" and miner in 1642. In that same year he was a widower with six children.

8. Domingo Pérez was a merchant until his death sometime prior to May 1657. He was listed on the muster rolls of Parral in 1648 and 1652.

9. Francisco Muñoz Blanco was both a merchant and miner through the 1640s and appeared on the muster rolls of Parral in 1643 and 1648.

10. Joseph López de Castro can be identified as a merchant from 1642 to 1649 and appeared on the Parral muster rolls in 1648 and 1652. His last will and testament, dated 1654, indicates he was one of the wealthier merchants, owning numerous black and mulatto slaves in addition to other wealth.

11. Domingo Lorenzo was among the wealthier prominent citizens of Parral. As a merchant, during the years 1646 to 1657, he sold wine, aguardiente, oil, and vinegar. He added to his wealth by seizing the Hacienda de Santo Domingo de Año Nuevo to satisfy a debt in 1654 and added mining shares in San Francisco del Oro to his other claims in 1660. He served as alcalde mayor and war captain of Santa Bárbara in 1656 and was elected alcalde mayor of San Francisco del Oro prior to 1665. He held the rank of alférez in the militia when he appeared on the 1643 muster roll.

12. Juan Rodríguez Sánchez was Portuguese and had been a resident of México. Born in 1604, he was married and had three daughters. He was a merchant in Parral in the 1630s and 1640s and was listed on the 1643 militia roll. He died prior to 1652.

13. The example of Juan Alvarez hints at the difficulties of maintaining business interests in multiple locales. Identified as a miner and merchant from 1640 through 1656, Alvarez had an estate in Parral which was forcibly sold in 1649 to satisfy debts. In 1654, when he was residing in México, he authorized a resident of Parral to collect his rents in the latter town, while in the same year he was ordered to sell some of his goods in Guadalajara to

On the same day, month, and year, Alonzo del Castillo,<sup>14</sup> merchant, gave 12 pesos in reales for the founding and signed this.

Alonzo del Castillo.

In Parral on the same day, Valentín de Vallejo,<sup>15</sup> merchant, gave 6 pesos in reales and charged the *alcalde mayor* to give what was required in the order of his lordship. He had a receipt for this from the *sargento mayor*, Don Luis de Enciso, and he signed this.

Valentín de Vallejo.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, the *sargento mayor* took from the merchant Fernando Martín<sup>16</sup> 6 varas of common cloth<sup>17</sup> for the 12 pesos, and he signed this by order of the *alcalde mayor*.

Fernando Martín.

Don Luis Enciso.

In Parral on the same day, September 26, the same year, the merchant Sebastián de Posadas<sup>18</sup> offered to give 12 pesos for the foundation and he signed this.

Sebastián de Posadas.

On the same day, month, and year, he gave a donation for the foundation of 12 pesos in reales and signed this.

Bernardo [illegible]

On the same day, month, and year, the *alférez*, Gaspar Rodríguez,<sup>19</sup> a merchant, gave 6 pesos in reales and signed this.

Gaspar Rodríguez.

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clear debts incurred there. He was still named as a merchant of Parral as late as 1657, when he sued to recover a debt. The frequency of suits brought by merchants to recover money owed them is indicative of their plight. Captain Alvarez was listed on the 1648 and 1652 Parral muster rolls. In the year of this document, he held the position of *alguacil* of Minas Nuevas and was *justicia mayor* in 1651.

14. Alonzo del Castillo was a controversial figure on the frontier. A lawsuit was brought against him in 1633 in which he was accused of stealing water and salting other stored water, thus interfering with mining activity. He participated in the war against the Tobosos in 1643 with the militia rank of captain. In 1646 Governor Luis de Valdés appointed him *visitador* to investigate complaints of exploitation and abuse of negroes, mestizos, mulattos, and Indians in charcoal works. He was identified as a merchant from 1639 through 1649.

15. Valentín de Vallejo was a merchant as early as 1640 and appears on the 1648 Parral muster roll.

16. Fernando Martín was listed as a merchant for the years 1644 and 1646.

17. Cloth was one of the most important items imported by the merchants. Many Indian laborers in the mines preferred to have their wages paid in cloth. Cheap, coarse woolens woven in New Mexico found a market in Nueva Vizcaya, as did cotton cloth from the south. Finer textiles were brought from Europe.

18. Sebastián de Posadas appears on the 1648 muster roll of Parral as an *alférez*.

19. Gaspar Rodríguez can be identified as an *alférez*, merchant, and resident of Parral through 1661. He had mining claims at Minas Nuevas at least until 1665.

In Parral on the same day, Fernando Rodríguez,<sup>20</sup> merchant, gave 8 pesos in reales for the foundation and signed this.

Fernando Rodríguez.

In Parral on the same day, the sargento mayor, Don Luis de Enciso, went to the shop of Simón Martín<sup>21</sup> and there his wife, Ana Quijada, offered 12 pesos.

On the same day, month, and year, the merchant Juan Alvarez<sup>22</sup> offered 12 pesos for the foundation. I say that he gave this amount,

Sebastián González de Valdés.<sup>23</sup>

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Francisco de Rosales<sup>24</sup> gave 8 pesos in reales for the formation and signed this.

Francisco Rosales.

In Parral on September 26 of the same year, Juan Bautista González,<sup>25</sup> acting for Juan Gómez García,<sup>26</sup> gave 12 pesos in reales for the foundation and signed this.

Juan Bautista González.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Lorenzo Rodríguez Soto<sup>27</sup> gave 12 pesos for the formation of the presidio and signed this.

Lorenzo Rodríguez Soto.

On the same day, month, and year, Jusepe Simois<sup>28</sup> gave 12 pesos for the formation and signed this.

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20. Fernando Rodríguez is identified in other documents from the Parral Archive as a merchant for the years 1644 and 1646.

21. Simón Martín is identified as a merchant and miner from 1638 through 1649 and as a militiaman from 1643 to 1652.

22. This is possibly the same individual covered in Note 13. If so, it would indicate that a single individual might have been expected to make a contribution to represent each separate business in which he was engaged.

23. Sebastián González de Valdés is known to have worked as a merchant from at least 1633 through 1649 and held mining claims at San Francisco del Oro, Parral, and Minas Nuevas from 1649 through 1669. He held an encomienda of Indians, owned a hacienda, and was a militiaman in the 1643, 1648, and 1652 musters. He held a *diputado* post in 1648.

24. Francisco Rosales can be traced from 1640 through 1649 as a merchant in Parral and as a militiaman on the 1648 muster roll.

25. This could be the same individual as the Juan González who was engaged in mining from 1633 through 1673 and had stores in Parral from 1661 through 1677.

26. Juan Gómez García was identified as a merchant from 1642 through 1649. In 1651, while serving as mayordomo on the hacienda of Captain Gregorio de Carbajal, he killed his employer in a dispute and was sentenced to the loss of his property and goods and two years' service as an ordinary soldier at the presidio of Cerrogorido.

27. Lorenzo Rodríguez Soto worked as both miner and merchant from at least 1638 through 1646. In 1649 he was unmarried and was identified as a miner and a militiaman in Santa Bárbara.

28. Joseph Simois (or Simoes) can be traced in contemporary documents as a merchant from 1642 through 1679 and had mining interests in addition. He appears on the 1648, 1652, 1666, and 1672 militia musters.

Joseph Simois.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Manuel Fernández de Ojeda,<sup>29</sup> merchant, offered to give 12 pesos for the formation.

Manuel de Ojeda.

In Parral on the same day, he offered to give 12 pesos in reales for the formation of the presidio and he signed this.

Francisco Morales de [illegible]

In Parral on the same day, Jusepe Gutiérrez de la Cruz,<sup>30</sup> merchant, offered to give 12 pesos in reales for the formation and he signed this.

Joseph Gutiérrez de la Cruz.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, he offered to give 12 pesos for the formation of the presidio.

Francisco López<sup>31</sup>

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, the sargento mayor, Don Luis de Enciso, by virtue of the same order, took 12 pesos in reales by force from Gonzalo Rodríguez Sanparo<sup>32</sup> for the formation, and he ordered a receipt to be given him and he signed this.

Don Luis de Enciso. Alonzo Morales García.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Pedro de Salvatierra<sup>33</sup> gave 8 pesos in reales and signed this.

Pedro de Salvatierra.

On the same day, month, and year he offered to give 8 pesos in reales for the formation and he signed this.

Francisco de Paredes. Francisco González.<sup>34</sup>

On the same day, month, and year, Lucas de Quesada<sup>35</sup> gave 6 pesos in reales for the formation and he signed this.

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29. Manuel Fernández is listed on the 1648 militia muster.

30. Joseph Gutiérrez de la Cruz owned mining interests in addition to being a merchant. He was listed as a militiaman in 1643. He died prior to June 1651, leaving a widow, Leonora.

31. Francisco López was a merchant from 1637 through 1655 and appeared on the 1648 militia muster.

32. Gonzalo Rodríguez Sanparo (or Sanpayo) was a Portuguese born in 1592. He married in Parral and fathered three sons. He was listed as a merchant in 1637 with mining interests as well. He was forced to sell his hacienda in 1645 to satisfy his debtors, and in 1657 he sued another merchant for payment of a debt. In 1642 he bore the title of captain, and his name appears on the muster rolls of 1652 and 1666.

33. Pedro de Salvatierra was engaged in mining and is listed on the 1648 Parral muster roll.

34. Francisco González was a merchant in Parral by 1644, had a store in Minas Nuevas in 1656, and was still listed as a merchant in Parral in 1662. He had mining claims in Minas Nuevas (1657) and San Francisco del Oro (1669). He held the rank of alférez in the militia.

35. Lucas de Quesada was a miner as early as 1635 and some years later is known to have had claims in both Parral and Minas Nuevas. He was identified as a merchant through 1657 and appeared in the militia muster for the years 1643, 1648, and 1652. In 1656 he was elected diputado for Minas Nuevas.

## Founding of the Presidio of Cerrogorodo

Lucas de Quesada.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, the alférez Manuel Jorge<sup>36</sup> gave 4 pesos in reales for the formation and he signed this.

Manuel Jorge.

On the same day, Diego Ramos<sup>37</sup> gave 12 pesos for the formation of the same presidio and he signed this.

Diego Ramos.

On the same day, month, and year, Diego Caballero,<sup>38</sup> merchant, gave 12 pesos for the formation and he signed this.

Diego Caballero.

In Parral on September 27, 1646, Miguel Alonzo de Ojeda,<sup>39</sup> who administers the hacienda of Rodrigo de Murrieta, gave 12 pesos for the formation of the presidio and signed this.

Miguel Alonzo de Ojeda.

On the same day, month, and year, Manuel de Mendoza,<sup>40</sup> merchant, gave 8 pesos for the aforesaid formation and signed this.

Manuel de Mendoza.

In Parral on the same day, the alférez, Marcos Rios, gave 12 pesos for the aforesaid formation.

Marcos Rios.

In Parral on the same day, month, and year, Captain Miguel Ruiz Gascón<sup>41</sup> gave 12 pesos for the formation, and he did not sign as he did not know how. I swear to this.

On the same day, month, and year, Gaspar López Torrijos<sup>42</sup> gave 8 pesos for the aforesaid formation and signed this.

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36. Manuel Jorge was born in Portuguese Tangier in 1592. He married in Parral and in 1642 had three sons. He was identified as a merchant as early as 1633, and in the year of this document he owned two stores in Parral. In spite of this he declared himself too poor to make a contribution for frontier defense in 1651. In 1664 he was listed as a miner. He held the rank of alférez of militia in 1648.

37. Diego Ramos was a miner in 1634 and within a year owned three mines. In 1637, he was convicted of selling wine and aguardiente to Indians, mulattos, and negroes and fined 100 pesos. He held the rank of alférez in the 1643 militia.

38. Diego López Caballero, like most other merchants, also engaged in mining. He appeared on the 1648 muster.

39. Miguel Alonso de Ojeda is listed as a miner as early as 1649 and was still a slave holder in Parral in 1653.

40. Manuel Mendoza was Portuguese-born near Coimbra in 1607. A bachelor in 1642, he worked as a merchant and saddle maker. Four years later he operated two stores in Parral and was listed on the 1643 militia roll.

41. Miguel Ruiz Gascón (or Garzón) can be traced as a merchant from 1638 through 1642. He is identified as a captain in 1641 and 1642.

42. Gaspar López Torrijos was working as a mayordomo for the family of Juan Pérez in 1651



On the same day, month, and year, the adjutant, Andrés Pérez Lora,<sup>43</sup> gave 6 pesos in reales for the aforesaid formation and signed this.

In Parral on September 29, 1646, Fabían Alvarez, merchant, offered to give 12 pesos in reales for the foundation and signed his name.

Fabían Alvarez.

On the aforesaid day, month, and year, Joseph de Madariaga gave 12 pesos in reales and signed his name, and he gave them in silk.

In Parral on September 9, 1646, Juan de Ugarte,<sup>44</sup> a charcoal maker, gave 12 pesos in reales for the founding of the presidio, and Don Luis de Enciso received them.

Juan de Ugarte.

On the aforesaid day, Pedro de Vargas<sup>45</sup> gave four pesos in reales.

All this took place before me and I swear to it.

Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In San Diego on October 1, 1646, Don Luis de Enciso, sargento mayor of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya, in obedience to the order of the governor and captain-general, took from the merchants and settlers of this real to assist in the expense of the presidio which is being built in Cerrogorro, the amount of pesos which follows.

First of all, Antonio Juan Márquez,<sup>46</sup> merchant, paid 12 pesos in reales for the construction of the presidio in accordance with the aforesaid order.

Antonio Pacheco,<sup>47</sup> merchant, gave 6 pesos in reales and he himself signed this.

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and was dealing in corn and wheat in 1654. In 1654 he gave his power of attorney to Lorenzo de Alvirde to conduct his corn and wheat business in Parral while he was away in México. His name appears on the militia rolls for 1643 and 1652.

43. Andrés Pérez de Lora began his career on the frontier as a miner and carpenter in the 1630s and early 1640s. By 1644 he was identified as a merchant and ayudante (to the alcalde mayor?), and his name appeared on the 1648 militia roll. He served two single-year terms as alcalde mayor of the Province of Sonora—1652–53 and 1654–55—during which he put down rebellions at Huásabas, Ures, and Tepache. He subsequently served as teniente de alcalde mayor.

44. In 1649 Juan de Ugarte was a member of the militia, a rancher and charcoal maker with a wife and eight children. In 1654 he was identified as a captain of militia as well as a resident of San Bartolomé. Apparently widowed, he married Petrona Hernández of Parral in 1656. He had mining interests in Parral and was serving as alcalde mayor of San Francisco del Oro in 1663.

45. Pedro de Vargas can be traced as a merchant from 1642 through 1663 and is listed on the 1648 muster roll.

46. Antonio Juan Márquez was born in Alcobaca, Portugal, in 1577. In 1642 he was a single merchant in Minas Nuevas, where he appeared on the militia muster seven years later.

47. Antonio Pacheco, born in Portugal in 1612, was an unmarried merchant of Minas Nuevas in 1642. He appeared on the militia rolls for 1643 and 1648 and was still in the area in 1651 when he sued to recover a debt.

Antonio Pacheco.

Juan de la Puente<sup>48</sup> gave 8 pesos and thus did a service to his majesty with them in helping to construct the presidio and he signed this.

Juan de la Puente.

In San Diego on the same day, month, and year, the sargento mayor, by order of the governor and captain-general, demanded that Pedro Alonzo,<sup>49</sup> a merchant in this real, give the 12 pesos in the aforesaid order to build the presidio of Cerrogorido as his majesty requests. After hearing the demand, he did not comply and said he did not have the pesos to give. For this reason, the sargento mayor ordered taken from him as a substitute a plate of silver which weighed 2 marcos less one ounce and 2 old tankards of silver which weighed 2 marcos less one ounce. The sargento mayor ordered these sold to cover the amount of his donation. Witness: Sebastián de los Ríos,<sup>50</sup> alguacil mayor of this real.

Don Luis de Enciso. Before me, Diego de Sabra, public scribe.

In San Diego on October 1 of the same year, the sargento mayor deposited the plate and the tankards with Sebastián de la Canal,<sup>51</sup> who received them and paid the 12 pesos for the deposit. I, the aforesaid receiver, swear and testify to this. Witnesses: Sebastián de los Ríos and Pedro de Amparán,<sup>52</sup> inhabitants of this real.

Don Luis de Enciso. Sebastián de la Canal.

Before me, Diego de Sabra, public scribe.

On October 3, 1646, Captain Juan Alvarez<sup>53</sup> give 15 fanegas of corn for the construction of Cerrogorido and in proof of this he signed his name.

Juan Alvarez, alguacil.

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48. Juan de la Puente was still listed as a merchant in Minas Nuevas in 1657 when he paid the quinto on a silver shipment.

49. Pedro Alonzo appears to have moved to Parral after this document was drafted because he is listed there as a resident and merchant in 1654. In June of that year he moved to México, giving power of attorney to two residents to collect debts owed him and to pay his own obligations. He was, however, doing business as a merchant in Parral as late as 1673. He appeared as a militiaman first in 1652 and again in 1666, when he was "more than 60 years old."

50. Sebastián de los Ríos was in the area as early as 1641, when he first appeared in the census. Sometime after serving as *alguacil mayor* (chief constable) of Minas Nuevas, he moved with his wife to Santa Bárbara, where he worked as a muleteer. He appeared on the militia rolls there in 1649 and 1652.

51. Sebastián de la Canal, a native of Burgos, Spain, is identified as a merchant and member of the militia in Minas Nuevas in 1649. He was single at the time.

52. Pedro de Amparán, a native of Vizcaya, did business in both Minas Nuevas and Parral, where he apparently not only had stores of his own but acted as a wholesaler and distributor for ore and dry goods from the 1640s through the 1670s. He was a member of the militia in 1649.

53. See Note 13. Alvarez, like Alonzo del Castillo listed after him, apparently paid twice because of doing business in two places.

In the pueblo and valley of San Bartolomé<sup>54</sup> on September 15, 1646, the sargento mayor, Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, in conformity and compliance with the order of the governor and captain-general, took from the inhabitants and workers of this same pueblo and vicinity of San Bartolomé, to assist in the cost of the presidio of Cerrogorordo—from each one—the wheat and corn which they gave as a donation for the formation of the presidio of Cerrogorordo. The persons who gave are each listed below, and this was signed by Don Luis de Enciso before me, Juan Muñoz, public scribe.

*Paid in Wheat.*

In the pueblo and vicinity of San Bartolomé on September 15, 1646, Captain Alonzo del Castillo<sup>55</sup> gave as a donation for the founding of the presidio of Cerrogorordo 10 fanegas of wheat and 10 of corn, which was collected from this inhabitant and he signed this.

He paid and signed. Alonzo del Castillo.

*Paid in Flour.*

In the vicinity of San Bartolomé on the same day, month, and year, Captain Pedro Ronquillo de Anaya<sup>56</sup> gave as a donation to his majesty to assist in forming the presidio of Cerrogorordo 10 quintales of flour and 10 fanegas of corn and he signed this.

Captain Pedro Ronquillo de Anaya. Sufficient.

*Paid in Flour*

In the same pueblo and its vicinity on the same day, month, and year, the alcalde, Diego del Castillo,<sup>57</sup> gave a donation of 10 quintales of flour and 15 of corn for the formation of the presidio and signed this.

He paid and signed. Diego del Castillo.

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54. San Bartolomé was 25 kilometers east of Parral on a tributary of the Río Florido. It was founded shortly after Santa Bárbara by Franciscan missionaries and by 1570 was an established Spanish settlement. It was located in a well-watered valley that contributed much of the produce that supported the surrounding mines. Since 1826 it has been known as Valle de Allende.

55. See Note 14.

56. In 1645 Pedro Ronquillo de Anaya (or Amaya) served as *procurador de las indias*, a special solicitor designated by the audiencia to defend Indian rights, but seven years later he himself was arrested for beating an Indian who had wounded his mulato slave. He had mining interests in Santa Bárbara in 1645 and in that year was identified as a captain. He died in 1654.

57. Diego del Castillo was working as a miner as early as 1633, owned mines in Minas Nuevas from the 1640s into the 1660s, and was a merchant in 1640. He fought in the war against the Tobosos in 1643 and held the rank of captain of militia in 1651. One document, dated 1646, identifies him as a cleric, farmer, and resident of San Bartolomé. In 1656 he was elected diputado for Minas Nuevas. A 1654 source records him as a resident and miner of Minas Nuevas, and in 1657 he held the position of alcalde mayor of that real. An undated

*Paid in Wheat*

In the same pueblo and vicinity on the same day, month, and year, Diego Gutiérrez<sup>58</sup> gave a donation of 6 quintales of flour and 6 fanegas of corn for the aforesaid formation and he signed this.

Diego Gutiérrez.

In the same pueblo and vicinity on the same day, month, and year, Gonzalo Fernández<sup>59</sup> gave a donation for the construction and formation of the presidio of 8 quintales of flour and 6 fanegas of corn and he signed this.

Gonzalo Fernández.

On the same day, month, and year, the alférez, Diego Martín,<sup>60</sup> gave a donation to his majesty of 8 quintales of flour and 8 fanegas of corn for the formation of the presidio of Cerrogorido and he signed this.

Diego Martín.

On the same day, month, and year, the alférez, Pedro Vásquez Cortez,<sup>61</sup> gave 10 quintales of flour and 10 fanegas of corn from his hacienda and that of his [illegible] for the construction and formation of the presidio of Cerrogorido and he signed this.

Pedro Vásquez Cortez.

In the same vicinity and on the same day, month, and year, Captain Juan Cobos<sup>62</sup> gave a donation of 10 quintales of flour for the aforesaid formation and he signed this.

Juan Cobos.

On the same day, month, and year, Nicolás Rodríguez<sup>63</sup> gave a donation of 15 fanegas of wheat and he signed this.

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document reveals that Regina Maldonado brought a criminal complaint of molestation against him, but it was she who was found guilty of attacking and attempting to kill him. It is likely that Diego and Alonzo del Castillo were brothers, and it appears that the two were sometimes confused in the documents.

58. Diego Gutiérrez was a shopkeeper in 1635. In 1654 he was identified as a farmer growing corn. He appeared on a list of hacendados drawn up in 1655 in response to the mobilization of all hacienda owners to help subdue rebellious Tobosos.

59. Gonzalo Fernández can be identified as a merchant in 1640.

60. By 1657 Diego Martín had achieved the rank of captain and was preparing to lead an expedition against the Tobosos. He had mining claims in the new strike at San Francisco de Oro in 1660.

61. In 1654 Pedro Vásquez Cortés had been promoted to captain and was identified as both a landowner and a holder of an encomienda of Indians. Two years later he negotiated the lease of another hacienda within the valley of San Bartolomé.

62. Juan Cobos was identified as a miner and landowner in the valley of San Bartolomé as early as 1633. He was elsewhere listed as a merchant in 1657 and as a resident and miner in 1662.

63. Nicolás Rodríguez was promoted in 1669 from sergeant to alférez of militia. In that same year he was identified as a university graduate (*bachillero*) and priest as well as a miner with claims at San Francisco del Oro.

On the same day, month, and year, Joseph de Salazar<sup>64</sup> gave a donation of 12 fanegas of corn for the foundation and he signed this.

Joseph de Salazar.

On September 16 of the same year, Captain Diego Sánchez de García<sup>65</sup> gave a donation of 6 fanegas of corn for the formation of the presidio of Cerrogorido and he did not sign this.

On the same day, month, and year, the alférez, Cristóbal Sánchez,<sup>66</sup> gave a donation of 6 fanegas of corn for the formation.

On the same day, month, and year, Captain Lope Hierro<sup>67</sup> gave for his own hacienda and the one his son has leased a donation of 8 quintales of flour for the formation of the presidio of Cerrogorido and he signed this.

Lope Hierro de Cerezeda.

On the same day, month, and year, Diego Subia<sup>68</sup> gave a donation of 12 fanegas of corn and 4 quintales of flour to his majesty for assistance in raising the presidio of Cerrogorido.

On the 16th of the same month and year, Juan de Bribiescas<sup>69</sup> gave a donation of 8 quintales of flour and 10 fanegas of corn to help in the aforesaid formation.

On the same day, month, and year, Captain Juan Gómez,<sup>70</sup> alférez, gave a donation of 9 quintales of flour for the formation of the presidio.

On the same day, month, and year, Captain Fernando Peinado<sup>71</sup> gave a donation of 20 fanegas of wheat for the formation of the presidio. This was for his haciendas: Navarrete, which he has leased, and the one of Río Florido.<sup>72</sup>

On the same day, month, and year, Juan de Oliva gave a donation of 5 fanegas of wheat for the formation.

On the same day, month, and year, Lucas de Bustillos<sup>73</sup> gave a donation of 13 fanegas of wheat and 7 of corn for the formation of the presidio.

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64. Joseph de Salazar was growing corn and wheat in the valley of San Bartolomé in 1654.

65. Diego Sánchez de García was identified as a merchant and captain in the early 1640s. He was among the encomenderos mobilized to fight the Tobosos in 1655.

66. Cristóbal Sánchez was identified as a miner in 1637 and as a merchant in 1640.

67. Lope Hierro de Cerezeda was working as a miner in 1633. He was still identified as a captain in 1651.

68. Diego Subia was the owner of hacienda Juana de Aldaz.

69. Juan de Bribiescas appears on the 1668 militia roll of Indé.

70. Juan Gómez is listed as a merchant as early as 1638. His identification as an alférez on the Parral muster of 1648 substantiates his status as a brevet captain only. By 1649 he was working as a freighter in Santa Bárbara and was single and a member of the militia there.

71. Fernando Peinado Manjón was a miner in Parral as early as 1633 and was still engaged in business there in 1642, at which time he held the rank of militia captain.

72. The Río Florido has its headwaters in the Sierra Madre Occidental in northern Durango and is the southernmost tributary of the Río Conchos.

73. Lucas de Bustillos was a captain of militia in 1649. In 1654 he was recognized both as a resident of San Bartolomé, where he leased an estancia, and as a resident and farmer of San Andrés. He apparently qualified as an encomendero since he appeared on the mobilization list of 1655 to fight the Tobosos.

## Founding of the Presidio of Cerrogorido

On the same day, month, and year, Captain Alonzo Bello<sup>74</sup> gave a donation of 6 fanegas of wheat to his majesty for the aforesaid formation.

In the aforesaid vicinity on the same day, month, and year, Captain Joseph de Barrios<sup>75</sup> gave a donation of 10 fanegas of corn and 10 quintales of flour to his majesty to assist the aforesaid presidio and its formation.

On the same day, month, and year, Antonio Saez gave a donation of 10 fanegas of corn to his majesty for the aforesaid formation.

On the same day, month, and year, Miguel Hernández gave a donation of 9 quintales of flour for the construction of the presidio.

On the same day, month, and year, Captain Pedro de Quesada<sup>76</sup> gave a donation of 6 fanegas of corn for the aforesaid structure.

On the same day, month, and year, Diego Romo de Ribas<sup>77</sup> gave a donation of 6 fanegas of wheat and 6 of corn for the formation of the presidio.

In the real of Parral on February 2, 1647, the captain and sargento mayor, Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, justicia mayor of these mining camps, after having inspected these records, said that he was sending them to his lordship, the governor and captain-general of this realm, and he signed this.

Don Luis de Enciso.

Before me, Alonzo Morales García

*From the microfilm copy of the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1646A, fr. 116-123*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n el Parral el 26 de septiembre de 1646 años, el señor respondiente, don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, en cumplimiento de la carta de su señoría el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino, que es la de atrás contenida, fue a las casas de los mercaderes de ese dicho real, y les propuso las razones de ella y de un mandamiento librado por su señoría en esta razón; y en cumplimiento de lo mandado fueron dando donativo para la formación del presidio del Cerrogorido las personas que van expresadas abajo, dando cada uno para la dicha formación doce pesos, y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés

ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el Parral en 26 de septiembre de 1646 años, dio donativo Gonzalo Antuñez Horde para ayuda a la fundación de Cerrogorido doce pesos y lo firmó.

Gonzalo Antuñez Horde.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, ofreció Domingo Pérez de donativo doce pesos para la fundación del dicho presidio y firmó.

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74. Alonzo Bello Montes de Oca held an encomienda of Indians at San Bartolomé in 1655 and 1657.

75. Joseph Barrios was one of four sons of Sebastián de Barrios, a native of Portugal who was a miner. In 1642 Joseph, who was born in San Bartolomé, was single and 26 years of age.

76. Pedro de Quesada was a miner as early as 1634.

77. Diego Romo was identified as a hacendado in 1654.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Francisco Muñoz Blanco para la dicha fundación doce pesos y lo firmó.

Francisco Muñoz Blanco.

En el Parral el 26 de septiembre de 1646 años, dio Jusepe López, mercader, por la dicha fundación del dicho presidio, doce pesos y lo firmó.

Joseph López de Castro.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Domingo Lorenzo para la fundación del dicho presidio doce pesos y firmó.

Domingo Lorenzo.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Juan Rodríguez Sánchez, mercader, para la dicha fundación doce pesos y firmó.

Juan Rodríguez Sánchez.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, dio Juan Alvarez, mercader, doce pesos en reales para la dicha fundación y lo firmó.

Juan Alvarez.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Alonzo del Castillo, mercader, doce pesos en reales para la dicha fundación y lo firmó.

Alonzo del Castillo.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, dio Valentín de Vallejo, mercader, seis pesos en reales con cargo que se le dé el alcalde mayor del auto proveído por su señoría, el señor gobernador de ese reino y con carta de pago de ellos del dicho sargento mayor, don Luis de Enciso y la firmó.

Valentín de Vallejo.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, el dicho sargento mayor sacó a Fernando Martín, mercader, seis varas de paño común por los doce pesos y lo firmó por mandado del alcalde mayor de ello.

Fernando Martín.

Don Luis de Enciso.

En el Parral en el dicho día 26 de septiembre del dicho año, Sebastián de Posadas, mercader, ofreció dar para la dicha fundación doce pesos y firmó.

Sebastián de Posadas.

En el dicho día, mes y años dichos, dio de donativo para la dicha fundación doce pesos en reales y lo firmó.

Bernardo [ilegible].

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, el alférez, Gaspar Rodríguez, mercader, dio seis pesos en reales y lo firmó.

Gaspar Rodríguez.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, dio Fernando Rodríguez, mercader, ocho pesos en reales para la dicha fundación y firmó.

Fernando Rodríguez.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, el dicho sargento mayor, don Luis de Enciso fue a la tienda de Simón Martín, y en ella ofreció para dicha fundación Ana Quijada, su mujer, doce pesos.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, ofreció Juan Alvarez, mercader, doce pesos para la dicha fundación. Digo que dio la dicha cantidad.

Sebastián González de Valdés.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Francisco de Rosales para la dicha formación ocho pesos en reales y firmó.

Francisco Rosales.

## Founding of the Presidio of Cerrogorodo

En el Parral en 26 de septiembre del dicho año, dio Juan Bautista González por Juan Gómez García doce pesos en reales para la dicha formación y firmó.

Juan Bautista González.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Lorenzo Rodríguez Soto para la dicha formación del dicho presidio doce pesos y firmó.

Lorenzo Rodríguez Soto.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos dio Jusepe Simois para dicha formación doce pesos y firmó.

Joseph Simois.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, Manuel Fernández de Ojeda, mercader, ofreció dar para dicha formación doce pesos.

Manuel de Ojeda.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, ofreció dar para dicha formación del dicho presidio doce pesos en reales y firmó.

Francisco Morales de [ilegible].

En el Parral en el dicho día ofreció dar Jusepe Gutiérrez de la Cruz, mercader, doce pesos en reales para dicha formación y firmó.

Joseph Gutiérrez de la Cruz.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, ofreció dar para dicha formación del dicho presidio doce pesos.

Francisco López.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, el dicho sargento mayor, don Luis de Enciso, en virtud del dicho mandamiento, sacó forciblemente de Gonzalo Rodríguez Amparo doce pesos en reales para la dicha formación y mandó se le dé testimonio y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Enciso

Alonzo Morales García.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Pedro de Salvatierra ocho pesos en reales y firmó.

Pedro de Salvatierra.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, ofreció dar para dicha formación ocho pesos en reales y lo firmó.

Francisco de Paredes

Francisco González.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos dio Lucas de Quesada seis pesos en reales para dicha formación y firmó.

Lucas de Quesada.

En el Parral, en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio para dicha formación el alférez Manuel Jorge cuatro pesos en reales y firmó.

Manuel Jorge.

En el dicho día, dio Diego Ramos para dicha formación del dicho presidio doce pesos y firmó.

Diego Ramos.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio Diego Caballero, mercader, doce pesos para dicha formación y firmó.

Diego Caballero.

En el Parral a 27 de septiembre de 1646 años, Miguel Alonzo de Ojeda, persona que administra la hacienda de Rodrigo de Murrieta, dio para la formación del dicho presidio doce pesos y firmó.



Miguel Alonzo de Ojeda.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, Manuel de Mendoza, mercader, dio para la dicha formación ocho pesos y firmó.

Manuel de Mendoza.

En el Parral en el dicho día, dio el alférez Marcos Ríos doce pesos para dicha formación.

Marcos Ríos.

En el Parral en el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio para la formación el capitán Miguel Ruiz Gascón doce pesos y no firmó por no saber. Doy fe.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos dio Gaspar López Torrijos ocho pesos para dicha formación y lo firmó.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos dio el ayudante Andrés Pérez Lora para la dicha formación seis pesos en reales y firmó.

En el Parral a 29 días del mes de septiembre de 1646 años, Fabián Alvarez, mercader, ofreció dar para dicha formación doce pesos en reales y firmó.

Fabián Alvarez.

En el dicho día, mes y año dichos, dio para la dicha fundación Joseph de Madariago doce pesos en reales y lo firmó y los dio en seda.

En el Parral a nueve de octubre de 1646 años, Juan de Ugarte, carbonero, dio para la dicha formación del dicho presidio doce pesos en reales y los recibió dicho don Luis de Enciso.

Juan de Ugarte.

En el dicho día, dio Pedro de Vargas cuatro pesos en reales. Todo lo cual pasó ante mí, de que doy fe.

Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En San Diego en primero de octubre de 1646 años, el señor don Luis de Enciso, sargento mayor de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, en conformidad del mandamiento del señor gobernador y capitán general, sacó de los mercaderes y vecinos de este real para ayuda del costo del presidio que se hace en el Cerrogorido, de cada uno los pesos que se siguen.

Pagó primeramente Antonio Juan Márquez, mercader, doce pesos en reales para la fábrica del dicho presidio conforme a la dicha orden.

Antonio Pacheco, mercader, mandó seis pesos en reales y lo firmó él mismo.

Antonio Pacheco.

Dio Juan de la Puente ocho pesos y sirvió a su majestad con ellos para ayuda de hacer el dicho presidio y lo firmó.

Juan de la Puente.

En San Diego en este dicho día, mes y año, el dicho señor sargento mayor requirió a Pedro Alonzo, mercader en este real, con el mandamiento del señor gobernador y capitán para que diese los doce pesos que contiene el dicho mandamiento para hacer el presidio del Cerrogorido en que su majestad pide ser servido; y habiendo oído el dicho requerimiento no obedeció el dicho mandamiento y dijo no tenía de que pagar dichos pesos; por cuya razón el dicho señor sargento mayor le mandó sacar un plato de plata quintada que pesó dos marcos menos una onza y dos tembladeras viejas de plata del rescate, que pesaron dos marcos menos onza que mandó vender para que de ello coste su ofrecimiento el dicho sargento mayor.

Testigo: Sebastian de los Ríos, alguacil mayor de este real. Don Luis de Enciso.

Ante mí, Diego de Sabra, escribano público.

En San Diego en primero de octubre del dicho año, el dicho señor sargento mayor puso en depósito el dicho plato y tembladeras en Sebastián de la Canal que las recibió y pagó los doce pesos por el dicho depósito de que yo he hecho fe y testimonio, el dicho depositario. Testigos: Sebastián de los Ríos y Pedro de Amparán, vecinos de este real.

Don Luis de Enciso. Sebastián de la Canal.

Ante mí, Diego de Sabra, escribano público.

En tres días de octubre de 1646 años dio el capitán Juan Alvarez quince fanegas de maíz para la edificación del Cerrogorordo y por ser verdad lo firmó de su nombre.

Juan Alvarez, alguacil.

En el pueblo y valle de San Bartolomé en 15 de septiembre de 1646 años, el señor sargento mayor, don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, en conformidad y cumplimiento del mandamiento del señor gobernador y capitán general, sacó de los vecinos y labradores de este dicho pueblo y valle de San Bartolomé por la ayuda y costo del presidio de Cerrogorordo de cada uno el trigo y maíz que fueron dando por donativo para la dicha formación del dicho presidio del Cerrogorordo las personas que irán expresadas abajo, dando cada uno para la dicha formación los siguientes y lo firmó. Don Luis de Enciso. Ante mí, Juan Muñoz, escribano público.

*Pagó el trigo.*

En el pueblo y valle de San Bartolomé en 15 de septiembre de 1646 años, dio de donativo el capitán Alonzo del Castillo para ayuda de fundación del presidio del Cerrogorordo, diez fanegas de trigo y diez de maíz para que se cobre a este dicho vecino y lo firmó.

Pagó y firmó. Alonzo del Castillo.

*Pagó la harina.*

En el dicho valle de San Bartolomé en dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio donativo a su majestad el capitán Pedro Ronquillo de Anaya para ayuda de formar el presidio del Cerrogorordo, diez quintales de harina y diez fanegas de maíz y lo firmó (pase entre renglones) el capitán Pedro Ronquillo de Anaya. Vale.

*Pagó la harina.*

En el dicho pueblo y valle en dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo el alcalde Diego del Castillo diez quintales de harina y quince de maíz para la dicha formación del dicho presidio y lo firmó.

Pagó y firmó. Diego del Castillo.

*Pagó el trigo.*

En el dicho pueblo y valle en dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo Diego Gutiérrez seis quintales de harina y seis fanegas de maíz para la dicha formación y lo firmó.

Diego Gutiérrez.

En el dicho pueblo y valle en dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo Gonzalo Fernández para la dicha fábrica y formación del dicho presidio ocho quintales de harina y seis fanegas de maíz y lo firmó.

Gonzalo Fernández.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo a su majestad el alférez Diego Martín, ocho quintales de harina y ocho fanegas de maíz para la dicha formación del dicho presidio de Cerrogorordo y lo firmó.

Diego Martín.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo a su majestad el alférez Pedro Vásquez Cortez por su hacienda y al de su [ilegible] diez quintales de harina y diez fanegas de maíz para la fábrica y formación del presidio del Cerrogorordo y lo firmó.

Pedro Vásquez Cortez.

En el dicho valle, día, mes y año dicho, dio donativo el capitán Juan Cobos diez quintales de harina para la dicha formación y firmó.

Juan Cobos.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, Nicolás Rodríguez dio de donativo para la fundación del presidio del Cerrogorordo quince fanegas de trigo y lo firmó.

Nicolás Rodríguez

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, Joseph de Salazar dio de donativo para la dicha fundación doce fanegas de maíz y lo firmó.

Joseph de Salazar.

En 16 de septiembre de dicho año, el capitán Diego Sánchez de García dio de donativo para la formación del presidio del Cerrogorordo seis fanegas de maíz y no firmó.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, el alférez Cristóbal Sánchez dio de donativo para la dicha formación seis fanegas de maíz.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, para la dicha formación del presidio del Cerrogorordo dio de donativo el capitán Lope Hierro por la hacienda que tiene su hijo arrendada ocho quintales de harina y lo firmó.

Lope Hierro de Cerezeda.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, Diego Subia dio de donativo a su majestad para ayuda de levantar el presidio del Cerrogorordo doce fanegas de maíz y cuatro quintales de harina.

En 16 de dicho mes y año dicho, dio de donativo Juan de Bribiescas para ayuda de la dicha formación del dicho presidio ocho quintales de harina y diez fanegas de maíz.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, el capitán Juan Gómez, alférez, dio de donativo para la dicha formación del dicho presidio nueve quintales de harina.

En el dicho día, mes y año dicho, el capitán Fernando Peinado dio de donativo para la dicha formación del dicho presidio veinte fanegas de trigo por las haciendas, por la de Navarrete que tiene arrendada y la del Río Florido.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo Juan de Oliva para la dicha formación cinco fanegas de trigo.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, Lucas de Bustillos dio de donativo para la formación del dicho presidio trece fanegas de trigo y siete de maíz.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo a su majestad para la dicha formación el capitán Alonzo Bello seis fanegas de trigo.

En el dicho valle en dicho día, mes y año dicho, el capitán Joseph de Barrios dio de donativo a su majestad para ayuda del dicho presidio y su formación diez fanegas de maíz y diez quintales de harina.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, Antonio Saez dio de donativo a su majestad para la dicha formación diez fanegas de maíz.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho, dio de donativo para la fábrica del dicho presidio Miguel Hernández nueve quintales de harina.

En dicho día, mes y año dicho para la dicha fábrica dio de donativo el capitán Pedro de Quesada seis fanegas de maíz.

## Founding of the Presidio of Cerro Gordo

En dicho día, mes y año dicho dio de donativo para la dicha formación del dicho presidio Diego Romo de Ribas seis fanegas de trigo y seis de maíz.

En el real del Parral en 2 de febrero de 1647 años, el capitán y sargento mayor don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, justicia mayor de estas minas, habiendo visto estos autos dijo que hacía e hizo remisión de ellos a su señoría del señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Enciso. Ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

## The Initial Recruitment for the Presidio of Cerrogordo

*To raise the stipulated complement of men for the new presidio of Cerrogordo, the governor sent his own scribe with militia recruiters to Parral, Durango, and several of the more important settlements south and west of Cerrogordo. The governor was quite willing to fill the ranks with vagabonds, if need be, and of the men his representatives signed up, two-thirds were illiterate, one was a murderer under sentence, and two were substituting for others.*

*The salary of a regular soldier had been allocated for the Concho chief, Joseph Juan, in effect to purchase his cooperation and allegiance. But Juan had been killed the previous year by Tobosos, and the 300 pesos earmarked for him were now unequally divided to buy the services of both a Salinero and another Concho chief.*

*Almost all these men can be additionally identified from tax and census rolls in the Parral Archive.*

### Roster of the Soldiers of Cerrogordo—1646

**I**n the presence of General Don Luis de Valdés, governor and captain-general of this realm. Juan de Herrera,<sup>1</sup> sargento mayor of the guard.

List of the mounted soldiers with bows and arrows who are being enlisted for the new presidio of Cerrogordo to defend the frontier by order of the most excellent Conde de Salvatierra,<sup>2</sup> viceroy of New Spain.

The cavalry commander, General Juan de Barraza,<sup>3</sup> with a yearly salary of 1,000 pesos in gold and silver.

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1. Juan de Herrera, who served as sargento mayor and royal scribe under Governor Luis de Valdés (1642–48), was a native of Valle de San Bartolomé. He was identified as a member of the Parral militia in 1643 or the Minas Nuevas militia in 1649. By then he held the rank of captain and was married.

2. García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, the Conde de Salvatierra and Marqués de Sabroso, served as viceroy of New Spain from 1642–48.

3. Juan de Barraza, former captain of the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes, also became the first commander of the the new presidio of Cerrogordo in 1646.

## Recruitment for the Presidio of Cerrogorido

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, the alférez Carlos de Barraza, native of Guanaceví in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, enlisted for the aforesaid presidio. He was the son of Juan de Barraza, twenty years of age, tall, with a large brown mole on the left arm. He was appointed alférez of the presidio of Cerrogorido. This was signed by the witnesses, Lucas de Guzmán, Don Luis de Enciso,<sup>4</sup> and Diego de Galarrita,<sup>5</sup> to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Carlos de Barraza, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Roque de Olivas,<sup>6</sup> a soldier of the presidio of Santa Catalina [de Tepehuanes], native of Culiacán and son of Juan de Olivas, enlisted for the aforesaid presidio. He was of dark complexion and twenty-six years of age. He signed his name. Witnesses are the above to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Roque de Olivas. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Francisco Vásquez, a soldier of the presidio of Santa Catalina, native of Culiacán, and son of Francisco Vásquez, enlisted for the aforesaid presidio. He was forty years of age, of medium stature, dark-complected, and had a mole on his right arm. He signed his name. Witnesses are those listed above to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Francisco Vásquez. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Pedro Núñez,<sup>7</sup> soldier of the presidio of Santa Catalina, son of Sebastián Ochoa, and native of the city of México, enlisted. He was twenty-six years of age and had a scar above the right eyebrow. Witnesses are the above, to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Pedro Núñez. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Nicolás de Silva y Salazar, a career soldier, enlisted for the aforesaid presidio. He was the son of Don Juan de Silva, native of the city of [Puebla de] los Angeles, and twenty-four years of age. The above are witnesses, to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Andrés Meléndez enlisted for the aforesaid presidio. He was a soldier of the presidio of Santa Catalina, son of

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4. See Notes 2 and 5 of the previous document.

5. Diego de Galarrita (or Galareta) was a merchant and farmer in Parral and had mining interests there and in Minas Nuevas.

6. The Spaniards described below were all listed at annual salaries of 300 pesos each.

7. Pedro Nuñez served only until December of this same year, when he was replaced by Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda. This case illustrates the flexibility of presidial make-up at this time in which a soldier could leave the company as long as there was a replacement to maintain the complement. Sickness, injury, or the need to protect one's family in the war zone may have been legitimate excuses for such changes. There are additional illustrations of this practice within the document.

Diego Meléndez, native of the presidio of [Catalina de] Tepehuanes, twenty-two years of age, of short stature, and had a mole on the left cheek. He did not sign. Witnesses are Don Luis de Enciso and Diego de Galarreta.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 17, 1646, Pedro Raymundo enlisted. He was the son of Pedro Raymundo, a native of Santiago, twenty years of age, slender, black-haired, and tall. He did not sign as he did not know how. Witnesses are the above mentioned to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 19, 1646, Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda, a soldier of the presidio of San Hipólito, enlisted for the aforementioned presidio. He was the son of Cristóbal Rodríguez and a native of the town of San Sebastián. He had two moles on the right cheek, was twenty years old, and did not sign as he did not know how. Witnesses are Don Luis de Enciso and Diego de Galarreta.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the pueblo of Tizonazo on August 19, 1646, Lorenzo de Avila, a soldier of the presidio of San Hipólito, enlisted. He was the son of Fernando de Avila and a native of Las Vírgenes de Cosalá. He was twenty-two years old, of dark complexion, and signed his name. Witnesses are as above, to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Lorenzo de Avila. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of Indé on September 28, 1646, in obedience to the orders of the most excellent Conde de Salvatierra, viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio, Indian governor of the Conchos, enlisted. He earns 200 silver pesos yearly, to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of Indé on September 22, 1646, Don Francisco el Hurto enlisted. He was a Salinero Indian, governor of a ranchería, and earns 100 silver pesos yearly, to which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of Indé on October 9, 1646, Gabriel de Alarcón enlisted to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogorido. He was a citizen of Parral, thirty-six years of age, and did not know how to sign his name. His lordship, Don Luis de Valdés, signed for him in my presence.

Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 9, 1646, Juan de Acosta enlisted to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogorido. He was the young son of Juan de Acosta, a settler in this camp. He had a dark complexion and a mole beside the right eye. He signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Acosta. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 9, 1646, Diego de Grajeda, son of Andrés de Grajeda, enlisted to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogorido. He was a native of the city of Guadalajara, a citizen of [Nueva] Galicia, twenty-four years of age, tall and dark-complected. He signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Diego de Grajeda. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

## Recruitment for the Presidio of Cerrogorido

In the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 9, 1646, Miguel de Morales enlisted to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogorido. He was the son of Juan de Acosta, a native of this same camp, twenty years of age, and did not sign his name as he did not know how.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 12, 1646, Cristóbal de la Torre, inhabitant of this camp, enlisted. He was thirty years of age and signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Cristóbal de la Torre. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 17, 1646, Julián de Samudio, a native of San Sebastián, appeared before me, the governor, for the crime of murder. He had been sentenced to three years of personal service without pay in the presidio. His lordship accepted him as a recruit and commuted the sentence of banishment and service without pay to only one year from this date, and he signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Julián de Samudio. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the town of Tizonazo on October 17, 1646, Joseph García enlisted. He was a soldier of the presidio of San Hipólito, tall, dark-complected, a native of Guatemala, and did not sign as he did not know how.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the post of Cerrogorido, presidio of San Miguel, on October 27, 1646, Captain Don Juan Calderón,<sup>8</sup> son of Don Juan Calderón and native of the kingdom of Castile, enlisted. He signed for Juan Rodríguez.

Don Luis de Valdés. Don Juan Calderón. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the town of San Juan del Río on December 20, 1646, Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda enlisted for the presidio of Cerrogorido of the fort of San Miguel in place of Pedro Núñez, whose name was ordered erased by order of the governor. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed it.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the city of Guadiana on March 17, 1647, Cristóbal de Anaya enlisted in place of Captain Don Juan Calderón. He is a native of New Mexico, of small body with a little mole on the left cheek. He signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Cristóbal de Anaya. Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

In the city of Guadiana on October 21, 1646, Fabián Vásquez, soldier of the presidio of San Hipólito, enlisted for the presidio of Cerrogorido in place of Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda and signed his name.

Don Luis de Valdés. Fabián Vásquez. Before me, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

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8. Juan Calderón was a captain in the Parral militia prior to enlisting at Cerrogorido. He retained his rank of captain.



Don Luis de Valdés, Knight of the Order of Santiago,  
of the council of war of Flanders, governor and captain-general  
of this realm and province of Nueva Vizcaya for his majesty.

Although I originally sent an order to the mining camp of Parral and other places to enlist soldiers for the new presidio of Cerrogorido with a salary of 350 pesos in silver annually, which the most excellent Conde de Salvatierra, viceroy of New Spain, was pleased to allocate from the royal treasury of this realm, it seems that this has not been done, and it is important to make hasty efforts to this end.<sup>9</sup> As a result of all this, I order Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento,<sup>10</sup> justice and war captain of the mining camp of San Joseph de Parral, and also the captain and sargento mayor, Don Luis de Enciso y Valdés, to enlist twelve soldiers.<sup>11</sup> In case this is not possible, they should take action against vagabonds and others who serve no purpose in the republic other than to corrupt it; these should be ordered according to military custom to serve personally in the presidio of Cerrogorido with the aforementioned salary, since this is proper in the service of his majesty and for the peace and quiet of this realm. The pertinent decrees should be issued by the foresaid justice, and I expect both of the above to obey this order. Done in the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 1, 1646.

Don Luis de Valdés. By order of his lordship, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

Don Luis de Valdés, Knight of the Order of Santiago,  
of the council of war in the states of Flanders,  
governor and captain-general of this realm  
and province of Nueva Vizcaya for his majesty.

Because it has been decided to form the presidio of Cerrogorido with twenty-four soldiers and one captain and in order to be able to do this and find personnel for it, together with some other commissions, I have dispatched orders to carry this out in the name of the king our lord. I hereby order Gabriel de Alarcón,<sup>12</sup> a soldier of the presidio of Cerrogorido, to enlist as many as ten soldiers from the mining camp of San Joseph del Parral and from Minas Nuevas and Valle de San Cosme. He should record their names, parents, and descriptions. He is to do this before the scribes of those jurisdictions. When finished, he is to bring the enlistees with him to the presidio. I order all justices of his majesty not to impede him in any way but rather to give him the help he may request. Done in the mining camp of San Juan de Indé on October 9, 1646.

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9. According to the foregoing document, twelve men, including two officers and two Indians, had been recruited for Cerrogorido between August 17 and September 22, but Governor Valdés apparently had not received the roster. The soldiers, as indicated above, were recruited with promised salaries of only 300 pesos.

10. Bartolomé Sarmiento owned mines in Parral as early as 1633. He died in 1655.

11. According to this document an additional eight men, including one criminal, were recruited between October 9 and 27 for a total of 20 of the 25 men intended for the new presidio.

12. Alarcón himself enlisted on this same date.

Don Luis de Valdés, by order of his lordship. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

Order Given by Your Lordship to Gabriel de Alarcón  
to Enlist Ten or Twelve Soldiers

In the mining camp of Parral on October 13, 1646, before Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento, justice of these mines, and before the Alférez Gabriel de Alarcón, contained in [illegible] he said in the [illegible] of this order, Jusepe de Páez enlisted as a soldier to serve in the presidio of Cerrogrande. He is a Spaniard, resident in Nombre de Dios,<sup>13</sup> son of Francisco Páez and María de Luna, of average build with a mole on the right side of his face. He enlisted in conformity with the order founding the presidio and signed his name, to which I swear, and stated he was twenty-three years of age.

Jusepe de Páez.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García,<sup>14</sup> notary public.

In Parral on October 13, 1646, Juan Pérez, a native of the mining camp of Indé, enlisted as a soldier for the presidio. He was the son of Guillermo de Alarcón and María Pérez; he was black-haired with no beard, of medium stature, and was nineteen years of age. He enlisted to serve in the presidio in conformity with the order founding it and did not sign his name because he said he did not know how. Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento signed for him as justice of these mines and the enlistment was made, to which I swear.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In the mining camp of Parral on October 13, 1646, Juan Navarro, twenty-one years of age, appeared before Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento, justice of this realm, and enlisted as a soldier to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogrande. He was a native of San Juan de Indé, son of Nicolás Navarro and María Morales; he was of short stature, beardless, and had a scar above the right eyebrow. He enlisted in conformity with the order founding the presidio and did not sign his name because he said he did not know how. The justice signed for him.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García.

In Parral on October 13, 1646, Miguel Gutiérrez Caburrado appeared before Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento, justice of these mines. He was the son of Juan Gutiérrez<sup>15</sup> and Francisca de Lara, a native of this valley, eighteen years of age, with a small mole on the right side of his chin, beardless. He enlisted to serve his majesty in the presidio of Cerrogrande in conformity with the order to found it. He did not sign because he said he did not know how. The justice signed for him.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García.

In Parral on October 12, I mean 7, 1646, Bernardo de Villavicencio appeared before Captain Bartolomé, justice of these mines. He was a native of the Villa of Sinaloa, son of Pedro de Villavicencio and Mariana de Grijalva, twenty years of

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13. Nombre de Dios is 50 kilometers southeast of the city of Durango.

14. Alonso Morales García was also a Parral merchant and a captain in the militia.

15. Gutiérrez was a miner in Parral.

age. There was the scar of a wound beside his mouth on the right cheek. He enlisted as a soldier to serve his majesty in the new presidio of San Miguel de Cerrogor do just as the others had enlisted for the same presidio in conformity with the order founding it. He did not sign as he said he did not know how. The aforesaid captain and justice signed for him, to which I swear.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In Parral on October 13, 1646, Luis de Montalbán,<sup>16</sup> native of the city [of Puebla] de los Angeles, son of Pedro de Montalbán and Magdalena de la Paz, twenty-three years of age, fair, well built, with a mole on the chin, enlisted as a soldier to serve his majesty in the new presidio of Cerrogor do in the same way as others had done. He appeared before Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento, justice of these mines, and did not sign because he said he did not know how. The alcalde mayor signed for him to which I swear.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In the mining camp of Parral on October 13, 1646, Domingo de Escobedo<sup>17</sup> appeared before me, Captain Bartolomé, justice of these mines, and enlisted to serve as a soldier in the new presidio of Cerrogor do in the same way as the other soldiers had done. He was a native of the mines at the pass, son of Sebastián de Escobedo and Inéz de Vargas Maquea, thirty years of age, well built, with a scar of a wound below his chin and a red beard. He did not sign because he said he did not know how. The justice signed for him, to which I swear.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García.

In Parral on October 13, 1646, Ignacio Sánchez<sup>18</sup> appeared before the captain and justice and enlisted as a soldier to serve his majesty in the aforesaid presidio. He was a native of Indé, son of Nicolás Sánchez and Mariana de Espinoza, twenty-six years of age, well built, of ruddy complexion, and with black hair. He did not sign because he said he did not know how. Then the aforesaid justice signed for him. I swear to this.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García.

In Parral on October 13, 1646, Diego de Alarcón,<sup>19</sup> native of Indé, son of Guillermo López and Isabel de Alarcón, twenty-seven years of age, I mean twenty-four, dark-complected and husky of body, with the scar of a wound above the right eyebrow, enlisted to serve his majesty as a soldier in the presidio of San Miguel del Cerrogor do in accord with the signed orders. He did not sign his name because he said he did not know how. The justice signed for him, to which I swear.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In Parral on the 15th of the current month [October] 1646, Captain Bartolomé Sarmiento, justice of these mines, sent this list of soldiers of the presidio of Cerrogor do to his lordship, the governor and captain-general of this realm, so that his lordship might be informed, and signed it.

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16. Montalbán was listed as a miner the previous year.

17. Escobedo remained on active duty at Cerrogor do until 1653.

18. Sánchez was still on active duty at Cerrogor do in 1653.

19. Alarcón had been promoted to alférez by 1653.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Before me, Alonzo Morales García, notary public.

In the locality of Cerrogorordo and at the fort of San Miguel on October 17, 1646, the governor, after seeing the foregoing list, which was sent to him, declares that all the aforementioned are enlisted as of the date given for each one, both the captain and the Spaniards and Indians. And in order that they may be paid, the list is to be notarized and sent to the official royal judges, and Don Luis de Valdés signed before me, Juan de Herrera, notary public.

In the locality of Cerrogorordo and at the fort of San Miguel on October 17, 1646, the governor said that because the most excellent Conde de Salvatierra, viceroy of New Spain, had assigned 300 silver pesos to this presidio annually for Don Joseph Juan, Indian governor of the Conchos who was killed in the uprising,<sup>20</sup> and since it seems proper to his lordship, he replaced him with the two Indians<sup>21</sup> contained in this list, and to make sure of this he ordered it confirmed by a decree and he signed it.

Don Luis de Valdés. Before me, to which I swear,  
Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.

*Microfilm of the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1646A, fr. 212–222*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

### Lista de los soldados del Cerrogorordo—1646

**A**nte el general, don Luis de Valdés, gobernador y capitán general de este reino Sargento mayor, Juan de Herrera.

Lista de los soldados arcabuceros de a caballo que con orden del excellentísimo señor conde de Salvatierra, virrey de la Nueva España, se conducen para el presidio nuevo del Cerrogorordo y defensa de sus fronteras.

Capitán de a caballo, el general Juan de Barraza con mil pesos de oro común en plata de salario en cada un año.

En el pueblo de Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646 años, alistó plaza para dicho presidio el alferez Carlos de Barraza, natural de Guanaceví, reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, hijo del señor Juan de Barraza, de edad de 20 años, alto de cuerpo, con un lunar pardo grande en el brazo izquierdo, nombrado nuevamente por alferez de dicho presidio del Cerrogorordo, y lo firmó testigos Lucas de Guzmán, don Luis de Enciso y Diego de Galarrita, de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Carlos de Barraza. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646 años, alistó plaza para dicho presidio Roque de Olivas, soldado del presidio de Santa Catalina [de Tepehuanes], natural de Culiacán, hijo de Juan de Olivas, moreno de rostro, de edad de 26 años y lo firmó. Testigos los dichos, de que doy fe.

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20. See Note 11 of the Toboso document, this chapter.

21. The Salinero, Francisco el Hurto, and the Concho, Antonio, were governors of their respective rancherías.

Don Luis de Valdés. Roque de Olivas. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646 años, alistó plaza para dicho presidio Francisco Vásquez, soldado del presidio de Santa Catalina, natural de Culiacán, hijo de Francisco Vásquez, de edad de 40 años, mediano de cuerpo, moreno de rostro con un lunar en el brazo derecho y firmó. Testigos los dichos de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Francisco Vásquez. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el dicho pueblo del Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646, alistó plaza Pedro Núñez, soldado del presidio de Santa Catalina, hijo de Sebastián Ochoa, natural de la ciudad de México, de edad de 26 años, con una señal de herida sobre la deja derecha y lo firmó. Testigos los dichos, de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Pedro Núñez. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo de Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646, alistó plaza para dicho presidio Nicolás de Silva y Salazar, soldado de campaña, hijo de don Juan de Silva, natural de la ciudad de [Puebla de] los Angeles, de edad de 24 años y son testigos los dichos, de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646, alistó plaza para dicho presidio Andrés Meléndez, soldado del presidio de Santa Catalina, hijo de Diego Meléndez, natural del presidio de [Santa Catalina de] Tepehuanes, de 22 años, pequeño de cuerpo, con un lunar en el carrillo izquierdo y no lo firmó. Testigos, don Luis de Enciso, Diego de Galarreta.

Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 17 de agosto de 1646, alistó plaza Pedro Raimundo, hijo de Pedro Raimundo, natural de Santiago, de edad de 20 años, cenceño, pelinero y espigado y no firmó por no saber, siendo testigos los dichos de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 19 de agosto de 1646, alistó plaza de soldado de dicho presidio Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda, soldado del presidio de San Hipólito, hijo de Cristóbal Rodríguez, natural de la villa de San Sebastián, con dos lunares en el carrillo derecho, de edad de 20 años, y no firmó por no saber, siendo testigos don Luis de Enciso, Diego de Galarreta.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Tizonazo en 19 de agosto de 1646 años, alistó plaza Lorenzo de Avila, soldado del presidio de San Hipólito, hijo de Fernando de Avila, natural de Las Vírgenes de Cosalá, de edad de 22 años, moreno de rostro y lo firmó siendo testigos los dichos de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Lorenzo de Avila. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real y minas de Indé en 28 de septiembre de 1646 en conformidad de lo dispuesto por el excelentísimo conde de Salvatierra, virrey de la Nueva España, alistó plaza don Antonio, indio gobernador de los conchos y gana 200 pesos en plata al año, de que doy fe.

Don Luis de Valdés. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real de Indé en 22 de septiembre de 1646 años, alistó plaza don Francisco el Hurto, indio salinero, gobernador de una ranchería y gana de sueldo cien pesos en plata al año de que doy fe.

Don Luis Valdés. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real de minas de Indé en 9 de octubre de 1646 años, alistó plaza para servir a su majestad en el presidio del Cerrogorordo, Gabriel de Alarcón, vecino del Parral, de edad de 36 años y no firmó por no saber. Firmolo su señoría don Luis de Valdés ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real de minas de San Juan de Indé en 9 de octubre de 1646 años, alistó plaza para servir a su majestad en el presidio del Cerrogorordo, Juan de Acosta el mozo hijo de Juan de Acosta, vecino de este dicho real, moreno de rostro con un lunar junto al ojo derecho y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Acosta. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real de minas de San Juan de Indé en 9 de octubre de 1646 años, alistó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en el presidio del Cerrogorordo, Diego de Grajeda, hijo de Andrés de Grajeda, natural de la ciudad de Guadalajara, vecino de la Galicia, de edad de 24 años, espigado, moreno de rostro y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés. Diego de Grajeda. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real y minas de San Juan de Indé en 9 de octubre de 1646 años alistó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en el presidio del Cerrogorordo, Miguel de Morales, hijo de Juan de Acosta, natural de esto dicho real, de edad de 20 años y no firmó por no saber.

Don Luis de Valdés. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real y minas de San Juan de Indé en 12 de octubre de 1646, alistó plaza de soldado Cristóbal de la Torre, vecino de este real, de 30 años de edad y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés. Cristóbal de la Torre. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el real y minas de San Juan de Indé en 17 de octubre de 1646 años, ante el señor gobernador se presentó Julián de Samudio, natural de la villa de San Sebastián, por un delito de muerte y está sentenciado en tres años de servicio personal sin sueldo en un presidio y su señoría le tuvo por presado y le conmutó el destierro y servicio sin sueldo en un año preciso desde hoy día de la fecha y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés. Julián de Samudio. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo de Tizonazo en 17 de octubre de 1646 años, alistó plaza Joseph García, soldado del presidio de San Hipólito, alto de cuerpo, moreno de rostro, natural de Guatemala y no firmó por no saber.

Don Luis de Valdés. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo del Cerrogorordo, presidio de San Miguel [del Cerrogorordo], en 27 de octubre de 1646 años, alistó plaza de soldado el capitán don Juan Calderón, hijo de don Juan Calderón, natural de los reinos de la Castilla y lo firmó en lugar de Juan Rodríguez.

Don Luis de Valdés. Don Juan Calderón. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En el pueblo de San Juan del Río, en 20 de diciembre de 1646, Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda alistó plaza para el presidio del Cerrogorordo del fuerte de San Miguel en lugar de Pedro Núñez, que se le borró por mando del señor gobernador, y no firmó por no saber. Firmólo su señoría. Don Luis de Valdés. Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

En la villa de Guadiana en 17 de marzo de 1647, alistó plaza para el presidio del Cerrogorordo en lugar del capitán don Juan Calderón, Cristóbal de Anaya, natural del Nuevo México, pequeño de cuerpo con un lunar en el carrillo izquierdo pequeño, y lo firmó. Cristóbal de Anaya Don Luis de Valdés. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de gobernación.

En la villa de Guadiana en 21 de octubre de 1646, alistó plaza para el presidio del Cerrogorordo, Fabián Vásquez, soldado presidiario del de San Hipólito y fue en lugar de Juan Rodríguez de Sepúlveda y firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés. Fabián Vásquez.

Ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

Don Luis de Valdés, caballero del orden de Santiago, del consejo de guerra en los estados de Flandes, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad.

Por cuanto tengo despachada primera orden al real y minas del Parral y otras partes para que se alisten algunas plazas en el nuevo presidio del Cerrogorordo con el sueldo de 350 pesos en plata al año, que el excelentísimo señor conde de Salvatierra, virrey de la Nueva España, fue servido de situar en la real caja de este reino; y parece que no ha surtido efecto, y conviene con toda brevedad hacer apretadas diligencias; en cuya virtud ordenó al capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor y capitán a guerra del real y minas de San Joseph del Parral y al capitán y sargento mayor don Luis de Enciso y Valdés procuren se alisten hasta 12 plazas voluntarias; y en caso que no se pueda, se la hagan causas a los vagabundos y personas que no sirven en la república de nada, antes la inficionan; y se les ordene, a usanza de guerra, con autos sueltos, a servicio personal en dicho presidio de Cerrogorordo con el sueldo dicho, por convenir tanto al servicio de su majestad, paz y quietud de esto reino. Y los autos, los hará el dicho justicia mayor y ambos cumplirán esta orden como espero de sus personas. Hecho en el real y minas de San Juan de Indé en primero de octubre de 1646 años.

Don Luis de Valdés.

Por mando de su señoría. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

Don Luis de Valdés, caballero de la orden de Santiago, del consejo de guerra en los estados de Flandes, gobernador y capitán general de esto reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad.

Por cuanto está dispuesto el formar el presidio del Cerrogorordo con 24 plazas y un capitán; y para poderlo hacer y que haya gente para ello, sin embargo de algunas comisiones que tengo despachadas para conducirla en nombre del rey nuestro señor, doy comisión a Gabriel de Alarcón, soldado del dicho presidio del Cerrogorordo, para que en el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral, Valle de San Cosme y

Minas Nuevas, aliste hasta diez plazas de soldados, tomando razón de sus nombres, padres y señas. Lo cual hará ante los escribanos de dichas jurisdicciones; y hecho, los traerá consigo al dicho presidio. Y mando a todos y cualesquier justicias de su majestad, no le pongan impedimento alguno, antes le den el favor y auxilio que les pidiere. Hecho en el real y minas de San Juan de Indé en 9 de octubre de 1646 años.

Don Luis de Valdés, por mando de su señoría.  
Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

(Orden que vuestra señoría da a Gabriel de Alarcón para que aliste hasta 10 o 12 soldados).

En el real del Parral en 13 de octubre de año de 1646, ante el capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de estas minas y ante el alférez Gabriel de Alarcón contenido en [ilegible] dijo en el [ilegible] de esta dicha parte, se alistó plaza de soldado para servirla en el presidio de Cerrogorido, Jusepe de Páez, español, vecino de la Villa del Nombre de Dios, hijo de Francisco Páez y de María de Luna, mediano de cuerpo, con un lunar en el rostro y al derecho; la cual dicha plaza asentó en la conformidad de que sea formado dicho presidio y lo firmó, de que doy fe y declaró tener 23 años de edad.

Jusepe de Páez.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el Parral a 13 de octubre de 1646 años, asentó plaza de soldado para dicho presidio Juan Pérez, natural del real de Indé, hijo de Guillermo de Alarcón y de María Pérez, sin pelo de barba, cabello negro, y mediano de cuerpo, de edad de 19 años. La cual dicha plaza sentó para servirla en el dicho presidio en la conformidad que sea mandado formar y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo el capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de estas minas y se sentó la plaza de que doy fe.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el real del Parral, en 13 días del mes de octubre de 1646 años, ante el señor capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de ese real, pareció Juan Navarro de edad de 21 años, natural de San Juan de Indé, hijo de Nicolás Navarro de María de Morales, pequeño de cuerpo y desbarbado con una señal de herida sobre la ceja derecha asentó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en dicho presidio de Cerrogorido. Y asentó la plaza de tal soldado en la conformidad que sea formado dicho presidio y no firmó porque dijo no saber, firmólo el dicho justicia mayor.

Bartolomé Sarmiento. Ante mí, Alonzo Morales García.

En el Parral, en 13 de octubre de 1646 años, ante el señor capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de estas minas, pareció Miguel Gutiérrez Caburrado, hijo de Juan Gutiérrez y de Francisca de Lara, natural del valle, de edad de 18 años con un lunar pequeño en el lado derecho de la barba, desbarbado; y asentó dicha plaza para servir a su majestad en dicho presidio de Cerrogorido en la conformidad que se ha mandado formar y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo dicho justicia mayor. De ello doy fe. Bartolomé Sarmiento. Ante mí, Alonzo Morales García.

En el Parral en 12 días, digo en 7 días, del mes de octubre de 1646, ante el capitán Bartolomé, justicia mayor de estas minas, pareció Bernardo de Villavicencio,



natural de la villa de Sinaloa, hijo de Pedro de Villavicencio y de Mariana de Grijalva; de edad de 20 años, que le apunta el boco con una señal de herida en el rostro en el lado derecho; y asentó plaza de soldado par servir a su majestad en el nuevo presidio de San Miguel del Cerrogordo en conformidad que ha sentado otras plazas para dicho presidio y conforme se ha mandado formar; y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo el dicho capitán, justicia mayor, de que doy fe Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el Parral a 13 de octubre de 1646 años, Luis de Montalbán, natural de la ciudad [de Puebla] de los Angeles, hijo de Pedro de Montalbán y de Madalena de la Paz, de edad de 23 años, de color rubio, con un lunar en la barba, buen talle de cuerpo, sentó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en el nuevo presidio de Cerrogordo según y como están sentadas otras en él, ante el señor capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de las minas y no firmó porque dijo no saber; firmólo el dicho alcalde mayor de que doy fe.

Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el real y minas de Parral en 13 días del mes de octubre de 1646, ante el señor capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de estas minas pareció Domingo de Escobedo, natural de las Minas del Paso, hijo de Sebastián de Escobedo y de Inéz de Vargas Maquea, de edad de 30 años, de buen cuerpo con una señal de herida debajo de la barba, barba rubia, asentaba plaza de soldado para servir en el nuevo presidio de Cerrogordo, según y como los demás soldados que han asentado plazas; y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo dicho justicia mayor por ello de que doy fe.

Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí, Alonzo Morales García.

En el Parral en 13 días del mes de octubre de 1646 años, ante el dicho capitán y justicia mayor, sentó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en dicho presidio, Ignacio Sánchez natural de Indé, hijo de Nicolás Sánchez natural de Indé, hijo de Nicolás Sánchez y de Mariana de Espinoza, de edad de 26 años, de buen cuerpo colorado, pelinegro y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo diende el dicho señor justicia mayor. Doy fe Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí, Alonzo Morales García.

En el Parral, en 13 de octubre de 1646 años, Diego de Alarcón natural de la villa de Indé de Dios, hijo de Guillermo López y de Isabel de Alarcón, de edad de 27 años, digo de 24, moreno de rostro y rehecho de cuerpo, con una señal de herida sobre la ceja derecha. Y asentó plaza de soldado para servir a su majestad en el presidio de San Miguel del Cerrogordo en la conformidad que se ha firmado. Y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmólo dicho señor justicia mayor de que do fe.

Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el Parral en 15 días del corriente de 1646 años, el señor capitán Bartolomé Sarmiento, justicia mayor de estas minas, hizo remisión de esta lista de soldados del presidio de Cerrogordo a su señoría del señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino, para que a su señoría le conste y lo firmó.

Bartolomé Sarmiento ante mí, Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el paraje del Cerrogordo y fuerte de San Miguel en 17 de octubre de 1646, el señor gobernador, habiendo visto la lista de atrás y la que se le remitió, declara que los susodichos todos gozen de plaza desde el día de la fecha de cada uno, así capitán como españoles e indios, y para que se les pague se saque testimonio de la lista y se remita a los jueces oficiales reales y lo firmó don Luis de Valdés ante mí, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

## Recruitment for the Presidio of Cerrogorido

En el paraje del Cerrogorido y fuerte de San Miguel en 17 de octubre de 1646, el señor gobernador dijo que por cuanto el excelentísimo señor conde de Salvatierra, virrey de la Nueva España, sitió en este presidio 300 pesos en plata cada año a don Joseph Juan, gobernador de los conchos, el cual en el alzamiento lo mataron, y por parecer conveniente su señoría commutó dicha plaza en los dos indios contenidos en la lista y para que conste mandó asentar por auto y lo firmó.

Don Luis de Valdés ante mí,

Doy fe, Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor de guarnición.

## A Militia Muster in the Town of Parral

*In response to the ominous rumblings of the Tarahumaras to the north and west, Alcalde Mayor Fernández de Carrión of Parral commanded the men of his town to present themselves in military fashion. This was just hours before the Tarahumara rebels struck San Felipe, beginning their revolt of 1648. No armed Spanish force stood between Parral and the rebellious groups on the northern horizon, and in the absence of presidial soldiers the municipal militia formed the next level of defense. As the metropolis of the north, Parral easily turned out 150 armed men overnight, more than five times the standing strength of the nearest presidio, Cerrogordo. In the days ahead Cerrogordo Commander Juan de Barraza would take charge of these men, pressing some into wartime service in his own force while leaving the others in Parral as a rear guard under Fernández de Carrión.*

In the town and mines of Parral on the 1st of June of the year 1648:

**G**eneral Juan Fernández de Carrión,<sup>1</sup> chief justice and military commander-in-chief of this town and the province of Santa Bárbara for his majesty, issues the present order. All the inhabitants of this town who are currently living in it, of whatsoever status, quality, or condition, are to appear tomorrow afternoon, which is the second of this month, in person and according to military custom with their firearms and whatever other weapons they may have to be registered. This is in the service of his majesty and in obedience to the orders issued by the government, according to which this review is to be held before the regular magistrate of this town. From today on, all the aforesaid inhabitants shall be present with their weapons according to military usage as long as his grace, exercising his authority as war captain, shall desire, or until other orders are issued. This shall be done under pain of a fine of 100 pesos in Spanish coinage by order of his majesty for legal expenses. In order that this may come to the notice of all and that no one may plead ignorance, the governor orders that this shall be announced in a loud voice according to military custom in the public plaza and on

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1. Fernández de Carrión was born in Burgos, Spain, in 1604. He became alcalde mayor of Parral in 1648 and during the next four years led campaigns against the rebelling Tarahumaras. From 1654 to 1660 he was lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya. He served again as alcalde mayor of Parral in 1664, dying in 1667.

## Militia Muster in Parral

the streets and corners of the town as is usual, and this same muster shall be carried out in the whole district in this month and year.

Before me,  
Juan Fernández de Carrión  
Alonzo Morales García, regular magistrate.

In the town and mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the 2nd of June, 1648:

This announcement was made in Spanish in the public plaza of this town and in other places in it to the sound of a war drum and in a loud and intelligible voice in obedience to the orders given, by the crier named Felipe. I swear to this. Witnesses are Sergeant Pedro Carranza, Juan Francisco, and Antonio de Torres, who were all present.

Alonso Morales García, ordinary magistrate.

Muster roll:

In the town of Parral on the 2nd day of the month of June 1648, in obedience to the decree and proclamation above, the men who were its inhabitants appeared before General Juan Fernández de Carrión, chief justice and military commander of this aforesaid town, and reported their weapons as follows:

1. Captain Diego de Alarcón Fajardo,<sup>2</sup> deputy of this town, appeared before his grace with his sword, dagger, arquebus, powder, balls, leather jacket and coat of mail and his armored horse for whatever might be needed in this town.
2. Sebastián González de Valdés,<sup>3</sup> deputy and encomendero for his majesty, appeared with armored horse, leather jacket and coat of mail and the other necessary weapons.
3. Sargento Mayor Juan Pérez de Vergara<sup>4</sup> appeared in person with armored horse, all his weapons, leather jacket, coat of mail and arquebus for whatever service they might be for his majesty.
4. Jacinto, horseman, with arquebus, sword and dagger.<sup>5</sup>
5. Captain Lucas Mejía de Aguilar appeared with arquebus, leather jacket and coat of mail, sword and dagger and the other weapons needed in the service of his majesty.
6. Captain Don Alonso Botello appeared in person with leather jacket, arquebus and the other weapons needed.
7. Captain Alonso Muñoz de Rivera appeared in person with leather jacket, shield, sword, dagger and the other arms needed.
8. Alférez Gregorio de Urbalejo, with sword, dagger, arquebus, horse and shield.

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2. Alarcón Fajardo, a native of San Clemente, Spain, came to Mexico as a young man and early on established himself at Parral as a landowner and miner. In 1649 he was appointed alcalde mayor of Sinaloa. He returned to Parral in 1654 and served as lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya. He died in Parral in 1673.

3. González de Valdés arrived in Parral soon after its founding and became a successful miner and merchant.

4. Pérez de Vergara was in Parral by 1633 and was also listed on the 1643 militia muster.

5. From census and tax rolls in the Parral Archives, practically all of the remaining men on this list can be identified as current residents in the Parral area. The majority were either merchants or miners, or both.

## Mid-Century Challenges and Realignment

9. Alférez Toribio de Ebía appeared in person with sword and dagger, leather jacket and shield and the other things needed.
10. Joseph de las Marinas appeared in person with leather jacket and shield, sword and dagger, armored horses and the other things needed.
11. Rosales appeared in person with sword and dagger.
12. Alonso González appeared in person with sword, dagger and arquebus.
13. Manuel Pereira appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
14. Cristóbal de Aguilera appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
15. Alférez Juan Gómez Garro appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
16. Don Francisco de Bustamante appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
17. Martín de Coicochea appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
18. Valentín de Vallejo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
19. Juan Alvarez appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
20. Domingo Pérez, a gunner, appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
21. Simón Martín with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
22. Joseph Simois appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
23. Francisco Muñoz Blanco, sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
24. Diego de Urrea appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
25. Juan Alvarez de Loya appeared with arquebus and firing match, sword and dagger.
26. Antonio Gutiérrez appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.
27. Felipe Catalán appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
28. Juan Sánchez de Ruiz Estrada appeared with sword and arquebus.
29. José Pérez de Morales appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
30. Nicolás de Lombardo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
31. Pedro Lucas appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
32. Gaspar López Torrijos appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
33. Alonso Sánchez Talavera appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
34. Tomás de Aspariegos appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
35. Matías de Zamorano appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
36. Matías de Ibarguen appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
37. Juan del Castillo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
38. Pedro de Vargas appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
39. Antonio de Vargas appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
40. Cristóbal Díaz appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, arquebus and other necessary things.
41. Alférez Pasqual de Nájera appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
42. Pedro Ruiz Tarife appeared with sword, dagger, shield, arquebus and other things needed.
43. Joseph de Pernía appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield, armored horse, arquebus and other things needed.
44. Nicolás de Balderrama appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
45. Alférez Nicolás de Urbalejo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
46. Andrés de Arriaga appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield and arquebus.
47. Alférez Simón de Meras appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield and arquebus.
48. Hernando Rodríguez, sword, dagger and arquebus.

## Militia Muster in Parral

49. Juan de Vega appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
50. Juan Esteban de Fagua appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, arquebus and shield.
51. Domingo de la Rea appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
52. Adjutant Bernardo de Sasa appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield, arquebus and other things needed.
53. Juan Bautista de Aguilar appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
54. Diego de Baltasar, sword and dagger.
55. Juan de Losoya appeared with sword and dagger.
56. Rodrigo del Río, sword, dagger and arquebus.
57. Captain Baltasar Caldera appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield, arquebus and armored horse.
58. Sargento Mayor Juan de Unurcio appeared with sword, dagger, shield and arquebus.
59. Lucas de Villamonte appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
60. Diego de Arballo appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, arquebus, horse and other things needed.
61. Nicolás García appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
62. Alférez Manuel Jorge appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
63. Francisco de Salvatierra appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
64. Pedro de Salvatierra appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
65. Gonzalo Rodríguez Sampayo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
66. Gregorio de Ansaldo appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
67. Lucas de Quisada appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
68. Juan García Barroso appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
69. Miguel de Aranda appeared with sword and dagger.
70. Nicolás de Solis, sword and dagger.
71. Alférez Manuel de Salinas appeared with sword and dagger.
72. Blas Pantoja appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
73. Gonzalo Alvarez appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
74. Francisco de Molina appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
75. Alférez Francisco Moreno de Esquivel appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
76. Andrés Gómez de Honorio appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
77. Joseph de los Santos appeared with sword and arquebus.
78. Gerónimo de Cuencas appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
79. Alonso Benites, sword, dagger and arquebus.
80. Francisco de Lima, sword, dagger and arquebus.
81. Sebastián de Alvarado appeared with sword and dagger.
82. Juan Guillén appeared with sword and dagger.
83. Fernando Lobato appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
84. Esteban de Berdiguel, sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
85. Joseph López Noble appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
86. Luis de Morales appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.
87. Manuel Fernández, sword, dagger and leather jacket.
88. Juan Fajardo, sword and dagger.
89. Diego de Llanos appeared with sword.
90. Andrés de Niebla appeared with sword and dagger.

## Mid-Century Challenges and Realignment

91. Diego de Haballos appeared with sword and dagger.
92. Pedro Martín appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, arquebus and shield.
93. Sebastián Domínguez appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
94. Pablo de Molina, sword, dagger and arquebus.
95. Alonzo Esteban de Acevedo appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and other things needed.
96. Andrés López Samorano appeared with sword, dagger and leather jacket.
97. Francisco Chaparro appeared with sword and dagger.
98. Pedro de Bojórquez appeared with sword and dagger.
99. Alonzo de Peñalba appeared with sword and dagger.
100. Juan Ponce appeared with sword and dagger.
101. Juan Bautista de Garnica appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
102. Captain Toribio Fernández Arnero appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, leather jacket, shield, armored horse and powder and balls.
103. Manuel de Ojeda appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and the other necessary weapons.
104. Alférez Diego Carrasco appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
105. Melchor de Aguilera appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield and arquebus.
106. Antonio de Talavera appeared with sword and dagger.
107. Diego de Galaretta appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
108. Antonio de Torres appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
109. Joseph López de Castro appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, leather jacket, shield, powder and balls.
110. Juan Bautista Múgica appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
111. Don Martín Manríquez Esquivel appeared with arquebus.
112. Antonio de Villalengua appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.
113. Alférez Sebastián de Posadas appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket and arquebus.
114. Sebastián Fernández Arnero appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket and arquebus.
115. Adjutant Andrés Pérez Lora appeared with sword, dagger, shield and arquebus.
116. Martín Pérez de Beingolea appeared with sword, dagger and shield.
117. Juan Moreno Piedrahita appeared with sword, dagger and shield.
118. Captain Domingo de la Barreda Ceballos appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield and arquebus.
119. Manuel de Frías appeared with sword and dagger.
120. Juan de Santa Cruz appeared with sword, dagger, leather jacket, shield, arquebus, armored horse, powder and balls.
121. Francisco López appeared with sword and dagger.
122. Andrés Pérez, sword, dagger and shield.
123. Nicolás Márquez appeared with sword and dagger.
124. Sergeant Juan de Loya appeared with sword and dagger.
125. Diego de Frías, sword, dagger, arquebus, shield and horse.
126. Diego Morán de la Cerda appeared with sword and dagger.
127. Cosme Román appeared with sword and dagger.

### Militia Muster in Parral

128. Cristóbal Gómez appeared with sword and dagger.
129. Don Pedro de Torres Quijada appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
130. Diego Rodríguez Galván appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
131. Hernando García appeared with sword and dagger.
132. Diego de Astorga appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
133. Juan de Galdos appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
134. Antonio Pacheco appeared with sword, dagger and arquebus.
135. Antonio de Barrios appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, three leather jackets, coat of mail, horse, powder, balls and three oval leather shields.
136. Diego Caballero appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.
137. Alonso Lovato appeared with sword and dagger.
138. Diego de Arate appeared with sword and dagger.
139. Juan Francisco appeared with sword and dagger.
140. Captain Manuel de Coi appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus and shield.
141. Pedro de Bojórquez, the elder, appeared with sword and dagger.
142. Julián de Valdés appeared with his valuable sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.
143. Sargento Mayor Francisco de Suasti, sword, dagger, leather jacket, horse, arquebus, powder and balls.
144. Luis Subriel de Morese: two arquebuses, his sword and dagger.
145. Gaspar Rodríguez appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, shield, powder and balls.
146. Francisco de Osorio appeared in person with sword and dagger.
147. Juan de Arteaga appeared with sword and dagger.
148. Pedro Gómez appeared with sword, dagger, three arquebuses, shield, leather jacket, horse, powder and balls.
149. Juan Martínez Orejón appeared with sword, dagger, arquebus, powder and balls.

*Microfilm of the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1648, fr. 181-187*

### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Autos y lista de los vecinos de este real hecha por la junta ordinaria de este año de 1648 años.

**E**n el real y minas del Parral en primero de junio de 1648 años, el general Juan Fernández de Carrión, justicia mayor y capitán a guerra de este dicho real y provincia de Santa Bárbara por su majestad, por el presente manda a todos los vecinos de este real estantes y habitantes en él de cualquier estado, calidad o condición que sean, que mañana en la tarde que se cuenten dos del corriente, parezcan ante su majestad en cuerpo y a usanza de guerra con sus armas de fuego y las demás que tuvieren para tomar razón de ellas, por cuanto así concierne al servicio de su majestad en confirmación de los mandamientos que por gobierno están proveídos en que se manda hacer dicha reseña ante la justicia ordinaria de este real; y todos los dichos vecinos desde hoy, dicho día, en adelante, anden en



cuerpo con sus armas y a usanza de guerra, en el ínterin que su merced lo anduviere y con bastón de tal capitán de guerra, o se provee otra cosa. Y lo cumplan pena de cien pesos en reales que aplica de por mitad la manda de su majestad y gastos de justicia. Y para que llegue a noticia de todos y ninguno pretenda ignorancia, mando se pregone de alto a usanza de guerra en la plaza pública de este real y en las calles y esquinas acostumbradas; y lo confirmo y que la misma reseña se haga en el valle de este año y mes.

Ante mí,  
Juan Fernández de Carrión  
Alonzo Morales García, escribano público.

En el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral en 2 de junio de 1648 años, estando en la plaza pública de este real y en otras diferentes partes de él se pregonó estando de esta otra parte en altas e inteligibles voces al son de una caja de guerra por voz de [ilegible] llamado Felipe en lengua Castellana; de que doy fe, siendo testigos el sargento Pedro Carranza, Juan Francisco, Antonio de Torres—presentes.

Alonso Morales García

Reseña:

En el real del Parral en 2 días del mes de junio de 1648 años, en cumplimiento del auto y bando de la otra parte y el general Juan Fernández de Carrión, justicia mayor y capitán a guerra de este dicho real, parecieron las personas y vecinos de él y manifestaron las armas que tuvieron, en la manera siguiente:

1. El capitán Diego de Alarcón Fajardo, diputado de este real, se manifestó ante su merced el cual espada y daga, arcabuz, pólvora y balas, cuera y cota, y su caballo armado, para las refacciones que se ofrecieren en este real.
2. Sebastián González de Valdés, diputado y encomendero por su majestad, manifestó su persona, caballo armado, cota y cuera y las demás armas necesarias.
3. El sargento mayor, Juan Pérez de Vergara manifestó su persona y un caballo armado, de todas armas, cota, cuero y arcabuz para las ocasiones que ofrecieren del servicio de su majestad.
4. Jacinto, caballero, arcabuz, espada y daga.
5. El capitán Lucas Mejía de Aguilar, manifestó su persona y arcabuz, cuera y cota, espada y daga y las demás armas necesarias para el servicio de su majestad.
6. El capitán don Alonso Botello, manifestó su persona, cuera y arcabuz y las demás armas necesarias.
7. El capitán Alonso Muñoz de Rivera manifestó su persona, cuera y chimal, espada y daga y las demás armas necesarias.
8. El alférez Gregorio de Urbalejo, espada y daga, arcabuz, caballo y chimal.
9. El alférez Toribio de Ebía manifestó su persona, espada y daga, cuera y chimal y los demás necesario.
10. Joseph de las Marinas manifestó su persona, cuera y chimal, espada y daga, y caballos de armas y lo demás necesario.
11. Francisco Rosales manifestó su persona, espada y daga y arcabuz.
12. Alonso González manifestó su persona, espada y daga y arcabuz.
13. Manuel Pereira manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz.
14. Cristóbal de Aguilera manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz.
15. El alférez Juan Gómez Garro manifestó espada, daga y arcabuz.
16. Don Francisco de Bustamante, espada y daga y arcabuz.
17. Martín de Goicochea, espada y daga y arcabuz.

18. Valentín de Vallejo, espada y daga y arcabuz.
19. Juan Alvarez manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
20. Domingo Pérez, arcabucero, manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
21. Simón Martín, espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
22. Joseph Simois manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
23. Francisco Muñoz Blanco, espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal.
24. Diego de Urrea manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
25. Juan Alvarez de Loya manifestó arcabuz de cuerda, espada y daga.
26. Antonio Gutiérrez manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
27. Felipe Catalán manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
28. Juan Sánchez de Ruiz Estrada manifestó espada y daga.
29. José Pérez de Morales manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
30. Nicolás de Lombardo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
31. Pedro Lucas manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
32. Gaspar López Torrijos manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
33. Alonzo Sánchez Talavera manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
34. Tomás de Aspariegos manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
35. Matías de Zamorano manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
36. Matías de Iburguen manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
37. Juan del Castillo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
38. Pedro de Vargas manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
39. Antonio de Vargas manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
40. Cristóbal Díaz manifestó espada y daga, cuera y arcabuz y lo demás necesario.
41. En alférez Pasqual de Nájera manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
42. Pedro Ruiz Tarife manifestó espada y daga, chimal y arcabuz y lo demás necesario.
43. Joseph de Pernía manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y caballo armado y arcabuz con lo demás necesario.
44. Nicolás de Balderrama manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
45. El alférez Nicolás de Urbalejo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
46. Andrés de Arriaga manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
47. El alférez Simón de Meras manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz.
48. Hernando Rodríguez, espada y daga y arcabuz.
49. Juan de Vega manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
50. Juan Esteban de Fagua manifestó espada y daga, cuera y arcabuz y chimal.
51. Domingo de la Rea manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal.
52. El ayudante Bernardo de Sasa manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz y lo demás necesario.
53. Juan Bautista de Aguilar manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
54. Diego de Baltasar espada y daga.
55. Juan de Losoya manifestó espada y daga.
56. Rodrigo del Río espada y daga y arcabuz.
57. El capitán Baltasar Caldera manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz y caballo armado.
58. El sargento mayor Juan de Inurcio manifestó espada y daga, chimal y arcabuz.
59. Lucas de Villamonte manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
60. Diego de Arballo manifestó espada y daga, cuera y arcabuz, caballo y todo lo demás necesario.
61. Nicolás García manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.

62. El alférez Manuel Jorge manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
63. Francisco de Salvatierra manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
64. Pedro de Salvatierra manifestó espada y daga y chimal.
65. Gonzalo Rodríguez Sampayo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
66. Gregorio de Ansaldo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
67. Lucas de Quisada manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
68. Juan García Barroso manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
69. Miguel de Aranda manifestó espada y daga.
70. Nicolás de Solís, espada y daga.
71. El alférez Manuel de Salinas manifestó espada y daga.
72. Blas Pantoja manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
73. Gonzalo Alvarez manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
74. Francisco de Molina manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
75. El alférez Francisco Moreno de Esquivel manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
76. Andrés Gómez de Honorio manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
77. Joseph de los Santos manifestó espada y arcabuz.
78. Gerónimo de Cuencas manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
79. Alonso Benites, espada y daga y arcabuz.
80. Francisco de Limo, espada y daga y arcabuz.
81. Sebastián de Alvarado manifestó espada y daga.
82. Juan Guillén manifestó espada y daga.
83. Fernando Lobato manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal.
84. Esteban de Berdiguel, espada y daga y arcabuz.
85. Joseph López Noble manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
86. Luis de Morales manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
87. Manuel Fernández, espada y daga y cuera.
88. Juan Fajardo, espada y daga.
89. Diego de Llanos manifestó espada.
90. Andrés de Niebla manifestó espada y daga.
91. Diego de Haballos manifestó espada y daga.
92. Pedro Martín manifestó espada y daga y cuera y arcabuz y chimal.
93. Sebastián Domínguez manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
94. Pablo de Molina, espada y daga y arcabuz.
95. Alonso Esteban de Acevedo manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y todo lo demás necesario.
96. Andrés López Samorano manifestó espada y daga, cuera.
97. Fernando Chaparro manifestó espada y daga.
98. Pedro de Bojórquez manifestó espada y daga.
99. Alonso de Peñalba manifestó espada y daga.
100. Juan Ponce manifestó espada y daga.
101. Juan Bautista de Gárnica manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
102. El capitán Toribio Fernández Arnero manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz, cuera y chimal y caballo armado y pólvora y balas.
103. Manuel de Ojeda manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y las demás armas necesarias.
104. El alférez Diego Carrasco manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
105. Melchor de Aguilera manifestó espada, daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz.

106. Antonio de Talavera manifestó espada y daga.
107. Diego de Galarreta manifestó daga, arcabuz de cuerda, pólvora y balas y lo demás necesario.
108. Antonio de Torres manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
109. Joseph López de Castro manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz, cuera y chimal, pólvora y balas.
110. Juan Bautista Múgica manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
111. Don Martín Manríquez Esquivel manifestó arcabuz.
112. Antonio de Villalengua manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
113. El alférez Sebastián de Posadas manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz.
114. Sebastián Fernández Arnero manifestó espada y daga, cuera y arcabuz.
115. El ayudante Andrés Pérez Lora manifestó espada y daga, chimal y arcabuz.
116. Martín Pérez de Beingolea manifestó espada y daga, cuera y arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
117. Juan Moreno Piedrahita manifestó espada y daga y chimal.
118. El capitán Domingo de la Barreda Ceballos manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal y arcabuz.
119. Miguel de Frías manifestó espada y daga.
120. Juan de Santa Cruz manifestó espada y daga, cuera y chimal, arcabuz y caballo armado y pólvora y balas.
121. Francisco López manifestó espada y daga.
122. Andrés Pérez, espada y daga y chimal.
123. Nicolás Márquez manifestó espada y daga.
124. El sargento Juan del Hoyo manifestó espada y daga.
125. Diego de Frías, espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal y caballo.
126. Diego Morán de la Cerda manifestó espada y daga.
127. Cosme Román manifestó espada y daga.
128. Cristóbal Gómez manifestó espada y daga.
129. Don Pedro de Torres Quijada manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz y chimal.
130. Diego Rodríguez Galván manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz.
131. Hernando García manifestó espada y daga.
132. Diego de Astorga manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal.
133. Juan de Galdos manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz.
134. Antonio Pacheco manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz.
135. Antonio de Barrios manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz, tres cueras, cota y caballo, pólvora y balas y tres adargas.
136. Diego Caballero manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
137. Alonso Lovato manifestó espada y daga.
138. Diego de Arate manifestó espada y daga.
139. Juan Francisco manifestó espada y daga.
140. El capitán Manuel de Coi manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz y chimal.
141. Pedro de Bojórquez, el viejo, manifestó espada y daga.
142. Julián de Valdés manifestó su preciosa espada y daga, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.
143. El sargento mayor Francisco de Suasti, espada y daga, cuera, caballo, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

### Mid-Century Challenges and Realignment

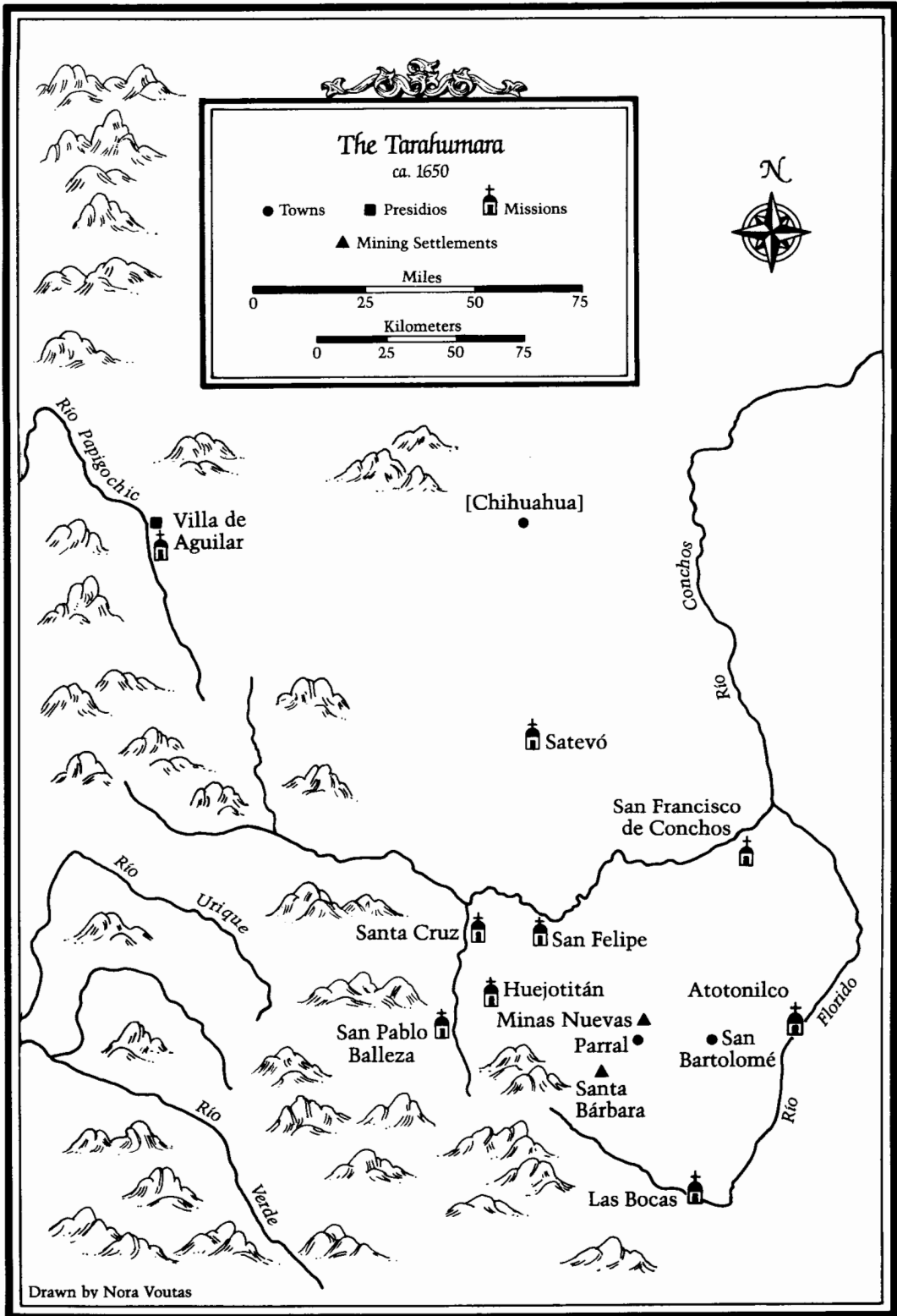
144. Luis Gabriel de Morese, dos arcabuzes y su espada y daga.
145. Gaspar Rodríguez manifestó espada y daga, arcabuz, chimal, pólvora y balas.
146. Francisco del Osorio manifestó su persona, espada y daga.
147. Juan de Arteaga manifestó espada y daga.
148. Pedro Gómez manifestó espada y daga, tres arcabuces, chimal, cuera y caballo, pólvora y balas.
149. Juan Martínez Orejón manifestó espada y daga y arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

## Rebellions in the Tarahumara

*The Tarahumara were the most populous native group the Spaniards encountered along the central corridor from Durango to Santa Fe. The Jesuit martyr Juan Fonte brought Catholic teachings to them in 1607. He was warmly received, and for the next forty years successive missionaries made unhindered, if unspectacular, progress in establishing new centers of evangelization. The discovery of silver at Parral in 1631 began the process which would contribute to five Tarahumara rebellions in the seventeenth century—in 1648, 1650, 1652, 1690, and 1697. As the mines in and around Parral grew, pressures on the natives and natural resources increased dramatically. Labor demands forced Spaniards to seek Tarahumaras for a variety of tasks. Aside from work in the mines themselves, Indians were used in the refining process and to cut the wood needed to fuel the smelters. Vast areas around Parral were denuded of their scrub woodland to keep pace with the demand for charcoal, and the resulting impact on the plant and animal life was felt by the natives.*

*The first revolt came in 1648, and the commander of the Parral militia, Juan Fernández de Carrión, was quickly called to send some of his force to the points of attack. This was followed by the arrival of the new garrison of Cerrogordo, led by the veteran Juan de Barraza. Barraza had previously commanded the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes and before being transferred north had seen action against Tepehuanes, Tobosos, and Salineros. While larger than the other outbreaks he had dealt with, this revolt he viewed as being no different in needing a strong application of force. This approach initially made matters worse, and he was restrained somewhat by the new governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Diego Guajardo Fajardo.*

*Together the governor and presidial captain won a shaky peace which Guajardo attempted to shore up in 1649–50 by placing a new presidio and Spanish settlement in the valley of the Río Papigochic. Named Villa de Aguilar, this new incursion into Tarahumara lands was on the northern fringe of their territory in rich grasslands. Lacking mining prospects, Spanish settlers were slow at first in coming to the new villa, but when they did, bringing herds of cattle, the response of the Indians was fast and furious. The mission and then the presidio and settlement were burned and destroyed, and lengthy campaigns were needed to search out the various renegade bands. It was necessary to defeat some but others could be won over and cajoled into peace with promises of lenience and better treatment; only their leaders were physically punished or executed. As part of these tactics, the Spanish commanders also became more adroit at playing warring factions off against each other, especially effective against the Tarahumara, who recognized only chiefs from their own locales.*



An account of the missions taken from the report of Padre José Pascual<sup>1</sup>

**T**he reduction of the Tarahumara nation began in 1639 and succeeded admirably until 1648. A great number of adults, as well as all their children, were converted to our sacred faith, learned its prayers and mysteries, and received the water of Holy Baptism. They were gathered into towns, whereas previously they had been scattered in eight villages. Three missionaries worked among them<sup>2</sup>; and after the Indians were somewhat pacified, churches were built and dedicated. The common enemy,<sup>3</sup> however, could hardly bear to see so many souls escape from its claws, for the remainder of the Indians who lived in the mountains far removed from the reductions asked for priests to come and work among them. Father Cornelio Godínez responded to this call and prepared to go into the interior to gather, instruct, and baptize the inhabitants who lived amongst the canyons, hills, and peaks. This priest was a native of Gravelines who had worked in his province of Flanders, and had only recently come from México to help these poor souls.<sup>4</sup>

While the padre was preparing himself by learning the language of the native, the common enemy rebelled, led by four captains from the interior. One of these captains was Sopegion, a man feared and respected by all the nation. These captains and agents of evil encouraged those who were Christians to apostatize their faith, kill their ministers, burn the churches, profane all that is sacred, and to deny the allegiance they had sworn to our king. All contact with the interior was not lost during the uprising; word leaked out as God always permits, and the padres were able to supply the governor with complete reports on the situation. Although the padres appealed to him to apply the needed remedy, he did not. He did some good, however, by hanging some conspiring souls from the interior and the cacique of San Pablo [Balleza], a Tepehuan. With the death of the cacique, the Tepehuanes, who had been allies of the common enemy, were quieted. The Tarahumaras, however, were not quieted and continued their tlatoles. They conspired to set a day on which to attack San Felipe, the key village of the nation, and kill the minister and other Spaniards in the area. The mission of San Felipe had as a visita San Francisco de Borja,<sup>5</sup> which has good lands and water. Being thus well situated for the raising of livestock and the growing of grain, the padre stored supplies there and maintained a herd. There was also a house there and a church in which to administer the sacraments. News of the enemy's approach arrived on the

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1. A Spaniard from Valencia, Pascual was a recently ordained priest when he arrived in the Tarahumara in 1639.

2. These missionaries were Pascual, Gerónimo de Figueroa, and Gabriel Díaz.

3. The "common enemy" is the devil.

4. This was Cornelio Beudin known in the Spanish documents as Godínez; he hispanicized his name to circumvent the prohibition against foreigners in the Spanish colonies.

5. San Francisco de Borja was northwest of San Felipe on the Río de San Pedro; beginning in 1642, it was visited by the missionary at San Felipe, but this practice ceased in 1653 due to hostilities. Not until 1676 was it permanently established as a mission.



day of Corpus [Cristi].<sup>6</sup> After the mass and the procession, the padre sent five Spaniards and fifty Tarahumaras to gather up the livestock and other supplies. The party arrived at night, however, and hence could do nothing that day. The next day they set to work, but not with the haste the occasion demanded. The night again caught them and they were surrounded by the enemy. The battle began at dawn.

The Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries fought as best they could, wounding and killing many of the enemy. Infuriated, the enemy tightened their blockade and encircled the house until finally they sealed it. Once in control of the roof, they dug holes in it and set it afire. The resulting flames and smoke forced the defenders to leave the building and renew the fight outside. They were fatigued, however, and could not resist the attackers. Thus the Spaniards, as well as forty Indians of another nation, died at the hands of these barbarians. None of the Tarahumara auxiliaries were killed, or even called enemy by the rebellious Tarahumaras, because the attackers did not want to alienate the loyal Tarahumaras of San Felipe. The enemy plan was for the Tarahumaras of San Felipe to kill the minister themselves, burn the church and house of the padre, profane the sacred vestments, and thus take control of the land. The plan did not succeed because the cacique of San Felipe, Don Pedro el Colorado, and his people were faithful and refused to allow the tlatole of the rebels. Instead, they prepared themselves for the defense of the village and their minister. The latter speedily sent for help from the justicia of the Real del Parral, General Don Juan Fernández de Carrión. He in turn dispatched ten Spaniards and their leader; they arrived that same afternoon. The faithful were of course overjoyed to see help arrive. However, more than half the villagers had joined the tlatole, and were led by a principal Indian. The traitor was hung a few days later for having tried to argue for the death of the padre and the Spaniards who had come to help.

During the night almost all of the village had come to the padre's house. Some had come with the intent to defend themselves; others planned to end it all. The padre moved through the entire gathering, learning what the Indians were discussing among themselves. While the padre was moving among them, in the most dangerous places, he overheard at midnight one of them speak of a war cry which would begin the fight. The Indian stopped speaking when he noticed the padre. The padre then told the leader of the Spanish soldiers that it would be best to send the Indian archers outside and to put the women and the remainder of the crowd into the corral. This was done and the plot was foiled; those who had joined the tlatole were afraid of harm coming to their women and children. Thus the enemy, who had destroyed everything at San Francisco de Borja, did not march on San Felipe. They returned to their lands with much livestock and everything they could take or rescue from the fire at the house. Had the enemy not been stopped, they would surely have killed the padre at San Felipe, the two padres who were, as

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6. In 1648 this day would have been June 11.

7. Satevó is 85 kilometers north of San Felipe; it was first established by Pascual in 1640 but was abandoned 12 years later and not reopened until 1674.

was later discovered, at San Francisco Javier de Satevó<sup>7</sup>, and the padre at San Gerónimo Huejotitán.<sup>8</sup>

Because of what had happened, the justicia of Parral decided to punish the rebels promptly. A force of one hundred Spaniards was mobilized and began marching to San Gerónimo Huejotitán. I joined them there and advised them against continuing without Indian auxiliaries. Indian allies are indispensable in these wars; when supported by the Spaniards, their archery is invaluable. I knew the strength of the enemy and realized that they hoped to trap the Spaniards on rough terrain, where the latter could not maneuver their horses or use their weapons. The expedition saw my reasoning and took on one hundred Sinaloa Indians as auxiliaries.<sup>9</sup> These came from Parral, where they had been working. A few more Indians were taken on from other villages, but most had already joined the enemy.

Once the auxiliaries were taken on, the march resumed. I joined the expedition first because I had visited the lands many times, and second because I knew the language. I was a great help with my knowledge of the country, and I also kept the expedition supplied with provisions and war stores. We lacked nothing until our return to Parral.

God saved this company from a potentially fatal event by allowing our vanguard to take the crest of a hill the enemy had hoped to occupy. The enemy, seeing they could do nothing, retired to defend their women and children. This crowd was enormous, and since it was the rainy season, they left an obvious trail behind them, a trail so clear it looked like a road used for many years. We continued our march until we neared Fariaguiqui, the place where the captain-general of the rebelling Tarahumaras resided.<sup>10</sup> We had stopped in a well-defended place when an alarm was sounded. One of the principal Indians who was on his way to join the enemy found himself among us. He pretended to be joining our camp and his pretense succeeded because he was known by sight to many; in years past he had entertained many of us in his house.

The governor, who had orders to gently reduce the Tarahumara nation without violence, ordered a squadron to proceed to Fariaguiqui after exhorting them not to harm the Indians or destroy their property. This squadron did not obey orders; instead they did all the damage they could, burning huts, cabins, and fields. The Indians, even the earliest Christians, generally live in these cabins so they can better attend their fields. The previous day the priest had sent two Indians to the enemy camp with an offer of peace and amnesty. The peace was about to be effected when the rebel leaders climbed a hill from which they saw what the fire had done and the destruction of their crops. When they returned from the hill, they called the Spaniards and the Indian ambassadors traitors. After all, they

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8. Huejotitán (also sometimes spelled Huejotitlán) is 50 kilometers southwest of San Felipe; it was founded by Figueroa about 1640.

9. It is not clear what group this might be. Many Indians from Sonora and Sinaloa crossed the Sierra Madre to work in the mines of the Parral district.

10. This site has not been positively identified.

asked, who were the Spaniards to offer peace while at the same time laying waste to the fields and homes? They also said they did not kill the emissaries on the spot because they would kill them the next day. They wanted the ambassadors to take the message to their captain that they would do battle and then get their revenge by killing all of them. Such was the aggravation caused by the burning of their homes and fields.

The next day, just after receiving an order to move our camp to a better place, a war cry was heard, the signal to attack among these barbarians. Upon hearing it, the Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries took their positions, the cavalry mounted, and the battle began. Great bravery was shown by many during the fight. Two of the enemy fell within sight of our lines. A short time later one of the bodies was dragged away by our allies, causing it to fall apart. These Indians have not forgotten their ancient barbarity and ferocity; some of them burned the dismembered body while others danced around a bonfire to the accompaniment of drumbeats and chanting. The enemy then retreated, undoubtedly spurred by several volleys of musketfire discharged by those who have become adept at the use of that powerful weapon. The battle lasted almost two hours. With the enemy dispersed, our captain ordered us to pack our baggage and resume the march. A vanguard and a rearguard were formed so that the enemy would find us well defended, should they decide to attack. When we reached a place with abundant pasture and water we halted. The rest of the day and night was spent observing enemy movements. The enemy did not attack but shot arrows from a distance. These did not harm because at this point the Tarahumara did not use poisoned arrows; in the other two later wars they did, causing us great harm.

The poison they use is so effective that the arrow itself has only to break the skin. Many of our people have died a horrible death from this poison; others, whom I have seen, have lost control of their senses because of it. Thus, our people dreaded fighting the Tarahumara until God sent us a Tarahumara with the antidote. After that, none of our people died from the poison.<sup>11</sup>

The captain then began his march to Parral because the company was formed of volunteers, an undesirable state of affairs in this war or any other. We reached Babonoyaba, a place where a religious of the Seraphic order resides.<sup>12</sup> He had left the parish, however, because of the imminent danger. We then went on to San Javier de Satevó, where we found Padre Virgilio Máez<sup>13</sup>; Padre Cornelio Godínez had gone to San Felipe to care for the mission. Our captain ordered Padre Máez also to go to San Felipe, for the danger to his life was evident. The padre agreed and went with us to San Felipe. When we got there, the captain continued his march to Parral after leaving us with an escort of soldiers.

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11. Yerba de la Flecha (*Sebastiana* sp.) seems to have been the most common plant used by the Tarahumara in making arrow poisons. An antidote described more than a century later contained lime and caused the victim to vomit and perspire.

12. A Franciscan priest. Babonoyaba, 15 kilometers north of Satevó, was not permanently established by the Franciscans until 1665.

13. Máez was born in Dunkirk, France, in 1611. He later became Jesuit Provincial of México.

The governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya, a devout and pious man, sought to bring the Tarahumara once again under the control of our king; he realized that their friendship is necessary for the survival of the entire district of Parral.<sup>14</sup> Even in bad years, which are the rule in this kingdom, the Tarahumara keep us supplied, and scarcity of provisions is rarely experienced. To accomplish this he sent General Juan de Barraza, who was in charge of the presidio of Cerro Gordo, and all of his troops to bring the Tarahumara under control.<sup>15</sup> The general had orders neither to harm nor coerce the natives, but he disobeyed. In the three wars we have had with the Tarahumara nation they have never acted treacherously; they have never ambushed us nor have they set out to rob and kill as have other nations. Rather, the Tarahumara have only defended what they consider theirs and have revenged themselves on Spaniards who have harmed them.

When General Juan de Barraza reached San Felipe, the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya ordered two more people to help him in the reduction of the rebellious Tarahumara. The general had promised to accomplish this if he received permission to enter Tarahumara lands. The permission was granted without considering the resulting disservice to their majesties' interests. Considerable confusion resulted when General Barraza and two others began pacifying the Tarahumaras with the governor's authorization. The general attended only to the well-being of the kingdom while the other two pursued their own ends. Even the natives were confused because they did not know whom to obey. Fearing a bad outcome, I resolved to walk 200 leagues—which I accomplished in a few days—to propose a plan to the governor which would best serve the interests of their majesties, whom I appreciate and esteem highly. The governor saw the merit of my plan and revoked his previous orders so that only General Barraza would be responsible for the pacification of the Tarahumara. The general with his new orders went into the interior with his men and Padre Máez in pursuit of the enemy. They suffered much but never engaged the enemy because the latter had retreated to some well-defended rocky areas. The general was thus forced to retreat to a suitable place and wait for reinforcements and supplies.

A new governor had arrived from Spain, Don Diego Guajardo Fajardo.<sup>16</sup> He was a great gentleman and a true son of Mars. When he arrived and saw the state of affairs caused by the Tarahumara uprising, he put all other matters aside—even though he was recently married—and went in search of General Barraza. Finding the general, he joined forces with him and continued the pursuit of the enemy. An enemy fortification was found on a well-defended summit, and although the Indians resisted valiantly, they were dislodged and put to flight. The Indians recognized the bravery of the new governor and sued for peace. As emissary, they sent one Don Pablo, who has been faithful to us ever since. He and the governor arranged the terms of the peace, by which the four principal leaders of the rebellion

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14. The governor of Nueva Vizcaya at this time was Luis de Valdés y Rejano.

15. Previously, Barraza had been commander of the presidio of Tepehuanes (Santa Catalina) and alcalde mayor of Parral.

16. A Knight of the Order of Santiago, Guajardo Fajardo was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1648 to 1653.

were to be executed. Don Pablo and a considerable number of his people who desired peace hunted down these leaders, killed them, and brought back their heads.

Once the rest of the Tarahumaras had sworn obedience to his majesty, a new town, named Villa de Aguilar, was established.<sup>17</sup> It is well situated and abundantly supplied with land, water, firewood, and pasture and located near the center of the Tarahumara. The governor stationed some soldiers with a corporal at Villa de Aguilar while he returned to Parral to recruit settlers. The governor met with little success, however, because the villa is isolated and has no potential for silver mining; only the attraction of silver will induce Spaniards to settle in a faraway and uncomfortable place. Finally, four settlers went, two of them with some means of their own. The settlers duly registered their lands and head ditches; these are now carrying a good current. The governor asked Padre Cornelio Godínez to go to the new villa to administer the sacraments, for the padre had come with the intention of going into the interior. I agreed with the governor, first so that Padre Godínez could aid the settlers and soldiers, and also so that he could establish a mission in the Papigochic valley. There a pleasant river flows through the valley, populated by many Tarahumaras. Padre Godínez followed my order as superior and set off from San Felipe; he accomplished the trip with notable speed, much to the comfort of his soul.

He soon reached the Villa de Aguilar and began, with the help of the principal people of the valley, work on the construction of the mission. The padre built a church, a house, and although poor did quite well. He instructed the Indians in the faith and baptized many—both adults and young children. However, once the padre's work began to go well, the devil began sowing cockleburrs in the hearts of his instruments. That is to say, some of the Spaniards began to vex the Indians. Feverishly, the padre worked to remedy the situation but received no hearing from those involved or from the local administrator of justice. The Spaniards accused the padre of neglecting them and being preoccupied with making conversions. This was far from the truth, for the padre loved everyone compassionately. Things became so bad that one dissolute and insolent Spaniard tried shamelessly to stab the padre, who would have been executed had it not been for a divine rescue by a loyal soldier. In a few days the assailant and the others who did not heed the wholesome advice of the padre were to pay for it with their lives.

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards did not change their ways and had resorted to grudges against the padre, began to think that he loved them less than the Spaniards. As a result they began to hate him and try to free themselves from the vexation they believed was killing them. Although the Indians had some reason for complaint, there was no way legally to redress their grievances. Hence the Indians took things into their own hands and held *tlatoles*. *Hechiceros*, of whom there are many in the Tarahumara nation, fomented discontent and encouraged rebellion, with the end result that it was decided to kill the padre and all the Spaniards.

Since the padre lived apart from the town, the Indians easily surrounded his house and entered it by breaking through the bedroom window. The soldier assigned to defend the padre grabbed his arms, but the padre realized God sought to

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17. Guajardo Fajardo decided to establish this town early in 1649. The site was in the grassy valley of the Río Papigochic, at or near present-day Ciudad Guerrero. The mission

reward him for his glorious labors, which had been made unspeakable by those who thought themselves injured by his residence among them. He told the soldier not to fire under any condition, and the two prepared themselves to die, the padre confessing the soldier. Once this was done, they opened the door. The Indians tied a rope around the padre's neck and dragged him toward the church, shooting him full of arrows and clubbing him all the while. The soldier was next, joining the padre in death. The Indians then flung the two at the foot of the cross the padre had erected in the cemetery, the padre to the right and the soldier to the left. Both were stripped, but, thank God, the Indians did not dismember them for use in one of their barbarous and inhuman dances. The surrounding homes and ranchos were attacked at the same time. Some of the defenders were killed while others escaped after being wounded by arrows, only to die later.

Those who remained in Villa de Aguilar were stricken with fear and sent word of their plight to this house, which arrived in two days. I in turn relayed the message to the governor in Parral. The governor then ordered General Juan de Barraza to leave his presidio, and go to the aid of those at the villa. This he did without delay. But the governor was not satisfied with this action, and ordered another captain and his troops to join forces with Barraza. This accomplished, they resolved in compliance with their orders to seek out the enemy. According to our spies, the Indians had fortified themselves on a large and defensible height surrounded by two fine streams. When our troops neared the enemy camp, the captain from Parral announced that he would go in front, while General Barraza took up the rear to prevent any trouble. The captain and his men proceeded to the prominence only to find it too well defended, and the captain had little experience in Indian warfare. Nonetheless, he engaged the enemy at dawn and the battle lasted until afternoon. Some of our soldiers and friendly Indians were wounded. The captain, finding it impossible to storm the rock, was forced to retreat to where General Barraza had thrown up some fortifications around the baggage. The night was passed with sentries posted. Meanwhile the enemy sent to neighboring rancherías for reinforcements. Our men prepared themselves for any outcome, and so that God would favor us, Padre Virgilio Máez said mass. The mass over, the rebels came down from the cliff and attacked us; the battle again lasted until the afternoon. The same occurred each day for the next six days; the enemy always gave warning of their attack and always allowed the padre to say mass.

One day the enemy set up an ambush in which some of our men were trapped. Had it not been for two brave soldiers mounted on armored horses, the captain and the other soldiers would surely have been killed. One of our soldiers was taken alive, only to be killed within sight of our lines. Some say the Indians roasted and ate him that night.<sup>18</sup> When their predicament became apparent, our men decided to retreat to Villa de Aguilar, but the enemy would not allow it. They came down from their peñol and renewed the battle with the intent of finishing

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founded in conjunction with the villa was known as Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Papigochic.

18. As Pascual indicates, this was hearsay evidence. No verified account of Tarahumara cannibalism exists; nevertheless, its occurrence is not impossible, especially in the case of an enemy Spanish soldier. Scattered reports do exist which tell of the ritualistic eating of slain or captured Spanish soldiers by the more primitive and nomadic groups living east

us. Their numbers were constantly swelling with reinforcements, while in our camp there were always fewer due to losses in battle. God finally came to our rescue by providing a cold and rainy night under whose cover our men could escape. A ruse was devised to cover the retreat, by which the auxiliaries built fires and danced around them while the Spaniards packed up and escaped with the baggage. Once they were safely away, the auxiliaries followed, as had been ordered.

That night our troops marched more than ten leagues and at dawn found themselves in the valley of Papigochic, where they gave thanks to God for having saved them from such grave danger. The next day they reached the villa, still thanking God. Had not He provided a dark and rainy night all would surely have perished the next day. The night of the escape more than 1,000 enemy reinforcements arrived to help the enemy forces already numbering more than 1,600, whereas there were only fifty Spaniards and little more than 200 auxiliaries. Our men were fatigued by the battles; the bad days and the worse nights at the peñol had depleted their gunpowder and munitions.

Also, prior to the retreat, the rebels had raided the town for horses. Although help had been sent from Parral and though the locals had defended the herd valiantly, more than half of the unguarded horses were taken. The Indians on horseback divided into two groups while those on foot headed straight for the houses and attacked them. These were met with arquebus fire and destroyed. But then the vicious nature of the war became apparent; those who had been pierced by enemy arrows began to feel the poison; by morning they were dead.

When the governor heard news of all this, he decided to direct the revenge personally. To accomplish this, he assembled a group of Spaniards and outfitted them—something which had not been done for the first group. I went out to meet the company to see if I could serve them in any way. They asked me to join them, which I did, unable to resist first because of my duty as a missionary and second because Padre Máez had left the troop and returned to his mission. We reached the villa, where we rested for several days until it was decided to attack the enemy on their fortified summit. When we arrived, one of the arroyos had risen considerably but nevertheless we were able to cross it. The enemy, who were fewer than before, retreated to the most defensible position and the captain-general led our troops in an attack. The enemy resisted so well, however, that we gained no ground and many of our men were wounded, both Spaniards and auxiliaries. The day was thus spent in battle. That night the governor ordered another attack, but it, too, failed because there were so many of the enemy and so few of us.

The next day a two-pronged attack on the rock was ordered, but the enemy repelled it as well as previously; this time even their women fought. Some of the rebels were killed, including their leader, the cacique who had murdered Padre Godínez. Finding themselves leaderless, the enemy fled that night under cover of darkness and rain. They retreated without sentiment, but we were left grieving the loss of three brave soldiers as well as the wounds suffered by the governor and the death of some of our auxiliaries.

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and south of the Tarahumara in the region of the Bolsón de Mapimí. Some of these groups occasionally came in contact with Tarahumaras living along the eastern margins of the Sierra Madre.

Although wounded, the governor was determined to pursue the enemy, but we were impeded by heavy rains. Nonetheless, we got to Tomochic,<sup>19</sup> but the river there was so high we could not approach the enemy on the other side. The next day we held a council of war at which it was unanimously decided that the governor should return to the villa. He did not want to, though, for he said he would rather die at the hands of these barbarians than turn his back on them. Finally I convinced him with some effective arguments, not the least of which was the fact that the enemy arrows need only scratch the skin in order to kill. The governor finally decided to return to the villa, where he was forced to spend several days in bed recovering from the wounds he had received assaulting the enemy. He would surely have died had he not been saved by an Indian of this village and by the help of our heavenly Father, to whom I had entrusted the expedition. A sacred portrait of Our Lord, placed at the foot of a devotional image of La Concepción, was observed to shed tears at the precise moment of the battle. Even my own life had been in peril; I had to pull an enemy arrow out of the man next to me.

When the governor returned to the villa, peace overtures were made to the sacrilegious rebels. A prominent principal ally was sent to convey the governor's earnest desire for peace, and he was well received. Prisoners captured by scouting parties were sent back to their people as emissaries of peace. Bit by bit the enemy slowly came in to surrender, but it was all trickery and pretense. The enemy goal was to raze the villa, which they indeed accomplished a few months later. When news of the peace and Padre Godínez's death reached México, Padre Jácome Antonio Básile, a Neapolitan, offered to replace him. Básile hoped to continue the work of Godínez. His superiors sought to block the appointment because Padre Básile had an extensive knowledge of the Mexican language and was therefore very useful in that province. He prevailed upon them, and they finally granted him license to leave.<sup>20</sup> He arrived soon thereafter and went on to the villa to administer the sacraments to the populace and soldiers, and to reestablish the ruined mission. He spent several months at this, much to the edification of both the Spaniards and the Indians. Meanwhile, the latter made plans to attack the villa, kill the inhabitants, the newly arrived priest, and raze every building so that Spaniards would never again live there. Such was the hatred the Tarahumaras had for the Spaniards.

The day arrived when their awful plan was to be executed. At dawn the villa was surrounded by a great number of the enemy led by a capable and vigorous captain named Tepórac,<sup>21</sup> which means "the Axeman." He was cruel, as will be seen, and also empowered by God with a rare gift for rhetoric.<sup>22</sup> He was able to win over to his side people who had no intention of rebelling. As had been demon-

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19. Tomochic was 40 kilometers southwest of Villa de Aguilar in a region that had yet to be missionized.

20. The 41-year-old Básile had studied at the Jesuit college in México.

21. The name is sometime rendered as Tepórame or Tipórac.

22. The Tarahumara still revere today leaders who are forceful and magnetic speakers. The "sermons" given by their community leader are important in maintaining social control and behavioral guidelines.



strated in past wars, they served him faithfully and valiantly and fought and killed many of their own nation. Thus it was that only Don Pablo, who has been mentioned previously, remained faithful to the padres and the Spaniards. Such was the hatred that Tepóraca and his rebels had for him that they attacked and burned his ranchería. He would surely have died had not the natives of these villages, who were yet faithful, come to his aid.

The captain of the villa realized that the Indians surrounding it had evil ideas and accordingly ordered his soldiers out to investigate their intentions and request peace. They had not come in peace, for as soon as the soldiers were within range, the Indians began shooting their arrows at them; the Spaniards returned fire with arquebuses. The skirmish lasted for almost half an hour, according to the account Padre Básiile sent me in care of a Tarahumara. Had the Indian not been sent—he lived and still lives in Satevó—we would have known nothing at all about it. While the skirmish continued, the rest of the Indians rounded up all the livestock, including the mules, mares, and horses, leaving the defenders with nothing to eat and no means of escaping from the infernal fury of the attack. With this done, the Indians retired for the day to eat, rest, and wait for reinforcements. These arrived soon and in a festive spirit to kill the padre and the Spaniards and raze the entire town.

Once assembled, the Indians moved toward the houses and stationed themselves against the walls, from whence they could not be dislodged. This was because defensive towers, which should have been built first at such a dangerous outpost, had not been erected; God, for His own glorious ends, allowed them at daybreak to make holes in the walls with their digging sticks<sup>23</sup> and thus to set the house on fire. The bedrooms, which stood apart, had already been burned.

That night the survivors counted themselves among the dead and thus spent the night cleansing their consciences and performing acts of contrition which preceded confession, all in an effort to prepare for death. Some armed themselves while others did not. Those who were armed went out and fought until their wounds forced them to retreat. The rest continued to plead for mercy and for pardon of their guilt and sins, all the time weeping profusely. If men acted thus, then what of the women who were there? I leave it to the consideration of the reader so as to continue with the narration of this terrible tragedy. Finally the fire engulfed the house, and those who were yet inside were forced to flee the flames. They did not escape the wrath of these barbarians, however, who like rabid wolves fell upon these poor forsaken sheep, tearing them to pieces. The captain was killed and two others were hanged. Padre Básiile, with a faithful Tarahumara, Don Felipe, a native of San Miguel de las Bocas<sup>24</sup> who served as an interpreter, retired to the church to prepare themselves for the last moments of life. The padre went out and exhorted the rebels not to kill him, for he wished to spend his life helping them; besides he had never offended them and had always aided and comforted them. However,

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23. Digging sticks were designed for planting; they consisted of nothing more than a hardwood stick the height of a man and with a pointed end.

24. San Miguel de las Bocas was established in 1630 for the Tepehuan and Tarahumara; located on the Río Florido in extreme northern Durango, it is known today as Villa Ocampo.

they were deaf to these counsels for they listened only to their caudillo the Axeman, and they began shooting arrows. The faithful Indian was killed first. The padre, wounded, went toward them to die in the name of Christ, for whose love he was there in the first place. They grabbed him and having wounded him in various places with their darts and clubs, they finally killed him by hanging him from one arm of the cross, the same cross for whose virtues the padre had crossed the ocean and come so far to extol them.

Divine mercy permitted the onlookers, who were many, to see a beautiful child come from the padre's mouth and ascend to heaven. Being barbarians, they explained it by saying that the priest gave birth when he died. This miracle did not make them desist from what both they and the devil desired, which was to kill all padres among them. Some of the priests had already been ordered by the governor to leave for safer places. When the rebels arrived at the villa they found the town deserted, and they burned the church and houses of the padres, as well as the houses the padres had in the villages. This completed, they returned to their lands and began sending messages to San Felipe and San Gerónimo Huejotitán to foment rebellion. They were unsuccessful even though the townspeople, who were relatives of the rebels, were threatened with a crueler death than had been given in the villa. The villagers continued to resist and informed the four padres who were in the two villages—two in each one.

Seeing this resistance, the enemy resolved to come in great numbers and kill the padres and their parishoners. The governor later wrote a report on this matter; God never ceased to aid him in preventing us from losing everything to this Tarahumara nation. At this point the governor received orders to punish the Tobosos with the people he had at hand—both Indians and Spaniards. The Tobosos had caused grave damage to this kingdom as well as that of [Nueva] Galicia for many years.<sup>25</sup> Knowing the extent to which the governor would have to go in this campaign, I petitioned the governor to leave sufficient protection, or the padres would have to leave the Tarahumara, which is exactly what the natives desired. For without our presence, the Tarahumara would feel themselves lords of all their lands plus those populated by Spaniards. The governor could not spare enough men but he told me to contact Juan Fernández de Carrión,<sup>26</sup> his lieutenant. The latter assured me that he would do his best. With this I returned somewhat consoled and resolved to resist the advances of the enemy. The other padres joined me in the effort, as they had done in the past.

When the enemy realized that the governor had directed all his forces against the Tobosos, they resolved to destroy once and for all these villages as well as the

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25. Of all the nomadic, warlike tribes in Nueva Vizcaya, probably the most infamous were the Tobosos. They ranged widely, from the sierra foothills around Chihuahua and Parral in the northwest, out across the deserts of the Bolsón, and into Coahuila and Durango. This document even claims they raided as far south as Nueva Galicia (probably Zacatecas). They were fierce, cunning, and cruel. Little is known of them ethnographically, but beginning with Spanish contact they became a dreaded threat to commerce and poorly-defended settlements for a century and a half. They staged their most intensive uprising in 1644. See the previous document.

26. This is the justicia of Parral, mentioned earlier. See also the previous document.

churches and homes belonging to the fathers. To accomplish this they had brought together more than two thousand Indians in the then-destroyed ranchería of Don Pablo, which lies about twelve leagues distant from here by both roads and trails. This group waited for the Axeman and his people, since he was the primary mover of the rebellion. However, the governor, after righteously punishing the Tobosos at the rock outcrop of Nonolat,<sup>27</sup> resolved to move against the Tarahumara for their many crimes of burning churches, murdering of padres, and profanation of all that is sacred. He moved swiftly into their lands, and upon reaching the territory of those who were involved in the tlatoles of Tepóracá, he struck against them, killing some and capturing others. Encountering little resistance, he moved toward the land of the Axeman. The chief, realizing the damages his people could suffer—he was an expert and valiant leader—sent word to those who had gathered at the ranchería of Don Pablo to prepare for the defense. Meanwhile the Axeman prepared for a valiant and resolute defense. The governor occasionally encountered the Axeman's people, but never with the satisfaction he desired.

I will give only two accounts that testify to Tarahumara bravery and valor. A captain was sent to the rancherías of Tomochic with fifty Spaniards armed with both offensive and defensive weapons with which to punish the enemy. However, the Indians fell upon them with greater strength than anticipated; their numbers were indicated by the loudness of their war cries. The captain, realizing he was outnumbered and surrounded, ordered his men to prepare for their defense and a retreat on foot. He managed to hurry the retreat so as to pass a very dangerous place where a canyon was on one side and the mountainside was on the other; the enemy could have used this to their advantage. Our men managed to get past this place before the enemy caught up with them, but later they were engaged in battle for the rest of the day. Night finally brought an end to the fighting, but as the two groups were within bowshot of each other, the night was passed anxiously and in a state of readiness by all. The battle was renewed at dawn. Our men continued their retreat on foot while the battle raged, now one side attacking and then the other. Darkness again brought an end to the fighting and the night was passed cautiously, everyone eager to renew the fray at dawn. Deriving strength from his weakness, the next morning one of the enemy singly led a charge, encouraging his fellows with war cries. A brave soldier recognized the imminent threat; at the sound of his arquebus the charging Indian fell to the ground. Had he not taken this action, many of our men would have been in grave danger. With the death of this man the tempo of the barbarian attack slackened but they did not retreat, continuing to fight the remainder of the day. That night the lines were separated by only an arquebus shot. Our men had no idea how they were to combat the enemy on the next and fourth day, for they had exhausted their ammunition and powder. God provided that the company should not perish at the hands of these cruel barbarians; the enemy force retreated as did ours, which had lost two Spaniards and some Indian allies. The company then quickly reported to the governor, who was much distressed by this unfavorable turn of events.

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27. This site has not been positively identified.

Having received news that a considerable number of Indians had fortified themselves on a hill called Pisaqui,<sup>28</sup> the entire Spanish force proceeded to the spot and engaged them in battle. The enemy fought valiantly and resisted so well that in a little more than two hours they had wounded forty-two of our men, some of them seriously. The governor saw all this but did not lose heart. Being a true soldier, he reconnoitered the mountain, oblivious to enemy arrows, so as best to determine the site for the next day's attack, even though it would entail losses. An Indian named Don Diego de Lara, a leader of the rebels, was on the hill with a number of followers. In years past he had been faithful and trusted by our governor. When he saw the governor, he ordered his forces to cease firing and that night he withdrew his men from the fray. The Spaniards thanked God for this, seeing themselves freed of one less danger inherent in the projected assault.

What with these and other unpleasant incidents, which for brevity's sake I omit, the governor was at a loss as to how to punish the delinquents and bring peace to the innocents. At this time the forces that had been left in the land of the Tobosos returned, having carried out their orders to kill or capture all Tobosos encountered. The Tarahumaras of these villages joined this force; previously they had not been able to join the governor, who was more than fifty leagues distant, because the enemy controlled the roads. With these reinforcements, our camp fared much better. The Tarahumara auxiliaries proved invaluable, for being of the same stock as the enemy, they could advise us how to use the terrain to our advantage.<sup>29</sup> A valiant and expert captain, Cristóbal de Narváez, led a campaign during which he engaged the enemy, killing some and capturing others. The prisoners were sent back to their people with overtures of peace. They were well received because the Tarahumara as well as the Spaniards were tired of fighting, and the governor, who has always loved and cared for the Tarahumara because of their good nature and utility, was also pleased. The governor established the only condition, that Tepóracá be punished for all the harm he had caused. He dispatched Captain Narváez to the many and various parts of the land to promulgate the conditions of the peace. The prisoners who had been sent to their people to communicate the terms of the peace all returned saying that their people endorsed it. Thus men, women, and children came down and surrendered; they were welcomed and were given what was available for their sustenance. These people said that the others wanted peace also but were too far away to come. Hearing this, the governor sent captains to many parts of the land to receive them in the name of his majesty. At this time it happened that the governor walked several leagues to where the instigator of the rebellion had been captured. He was sentenced to die, and the army chaplain tried to perform his duty, but could not because the rebel leader refused to prepare himself, confess, or repent; rather, he was vexed that his people had surrendered. Obstinate, he was taken to a tree and hanged. No sooner

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28. The location of this site is not positively known.

29. Because of the complex terrain it would have been impossible for the Spaniards to carry out an effective campaign against the Tarahumara without the service of native Indian auxiliaries.

had his soul flown to Satan than the auxiliaries began shooting him full of arrows. Finally a bloody pulp remained, many an arrow and ball pierced his body entirely. With this happy and longed-for event over, our camp began its march to Parral. Meanwhile, those who surrendered suffered punishment from heaven; such a severe plague fell upon them that in many rancharías not a single living person remained. The Tarahumara were decimated, and will surely never revolt again.<sup>30</sup>

San Felipe, June 29 [1652]

José Pascual

*Original is in the Archivo General de la Nación, Historia 19. A Spanish transcription with some errors is printed in Documentos para la Historia de México, 4th Series, Vol. III, pp. 179–209 (México: 1857).*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

##### Noticias de las misiones sacadas de la anua del Padre José Pascual

**H**abiéndose dado principio a la reducción de la nación tarahumara en el año de 1639 que proseguíose en ella con muy felices sucesos hasta el año de 1648, pues se convirtieron a nuestra santa fe gran número de adultos. Reciben la agua del santo bautismo, así ellos como todos sus hijos, aprendiendo todos ellos las oraciones y misterios de nuestra santa fe, reduciéndose a poblaciones que antes vivían uno apartado de otros en ocho pueblos en que estaban ocupados tres padres que haciéndolos algo domésticos, se resolvieron a fabricar templos a la Majestad Divina como los hicieron y dedicaron y no pudiendo sufrir el común enemigo que se escapasen de sus infernales garras tanto número de almas, porque los demás de esta nación que vivían en los montes apartados de estas poblaciones solicitaron padres que hicieran en ellos lo mismo que habían hecho en los suyos, los padres se ocuparon gloriosamente en esta reducción y venido de facto de México el padre Cornelio Godínez que poco antes había venido para emplearse en ayuda de estas pobres almas de la provincia de Flandes, era el padre natural de Gravelingas, para ayudarles y entrar mas adentro y hacer en sus moradores lo mismo, reduciendo a poblaciones los que vivían en cañadas, montes y picachos, enseñarlos y bautizarlos.

Estándose disponiendo para ello, y aprendiendo su indiana que es el medio más eficaz para conseguirlo, insistió el común enemigo, cuatro capitanes de los de la tierra adentro; uno de ellos era muy temido y respetado de toda la nación llamado Sopegion; estos anduvieron dando sus fatales a los que eran ya cristianos para que todos apostataran de la fé, mataran a sus ministros, quemaran a las iglesias, profanaran todo lo sagrado y negaran la obediencia que habían dado a nuestro rey. No se dejó de saber en los que andaban de tierra adentro: llegó saberse por medio de uno de ellos, que siempre hay alguno que avisa permitiéndolo así Dios para que se prevenga la noticia de todo a los padres que acudieron al señor gobernador de este reino para que lo remediase, que no se persuadió era tanto como se le avisaba con que no puso el remedio que se necesitaba si bien remedió algo ahorcando almas

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30. The disease was probably smallpox or measles.

confidentes de los de la tierra adentro que era el cacique de San Pablo [Balleza] tepehuan de nación, con cuya muerte los tepehuanes se aquietaron que ya estaban confederados con ellos.

Pero los tarahumares no, antes viendo lo que les había sucedido al que venía en todo con ellos, apretaron más con sus tlatoles, señalaron día en que habían de venir al pueblo de San Felipe, que es la llave de toda la nación, a matar al ministro que allí estaba y los vecinos españoles que allí estaban de la jurisdicción.

Tenía esta misión una visita llamada San Francisco de Borja; en ella tenía el padre librado el sustento de su casa, socorro y alivio de ella, por ser puesto muy a propósito para criar cualquiera género de ganado y coger lo necesario de semillas de todo género por el agua y tierras que hay, con que tenía casa fundada e iglesia en que administrar los sacramentos. Habiendo, pues, llegado la nueva de la marcha del enemigo el día de Corpus, después de haberse acabado la misa y procesión, despachó el padre cinco españoles y en su compañía cincuenta tarahumares para que recogieran el ganado que había y lo demás perteneciente a la casa. Llegaron de noche, y así aquel día no pudieron hacer cosa; el día siguiente lo recogieron pero no con la diligencia que el caso pedía y así les anocheció y los enemigos que eran muchos los cercaron en la casa, y al amanecer empezaron la pelea.

Resistieron los españoles y los indios fieles todo cuanto pudieron, matando e hiriendo muchos de los enemigos con que se enfurecieron más y apretaron el cerco de modo que se llegaron a la casa que escalaron, y viéndose dueños de las azoteas, las cavaron y dieron fuego que prendió de modo que las llamas y el humo les obligó a salir de la casa y empezar de nuevo la pelea; pero como estaban ya cansados y fatigados no pudieron resistirles; con que murieron a manos de estos bárbaros y con ellos otros cuarenta naturales de distinta nación. De los tarahumares no mataron ninguno aunque algunos estuvieron muy fieles y nunca les dieron del designio del enemigo porque no querían que se disgustaran los de San Felipe que siempre procuraron traerlos a su voluntad y que ellos mismos mataran a su ministro, quemaran a la iglesia y casa, profanaran las vestiduras sagradas y con eso quedar apoderados de toda la tierra; que no consiguieron porque el cacique de este pueblo que se llamaba don Pedro el Colorado, y todos sus parientes estuvieron muy fieles y nunca admitieron el tlatole de los alzados. Antes se pusieron en alarma para defenderse y defender a su ministro que a toda diligencia había enviado a pedir socorro a la justicia del real del Parral que lo era el general don Juan Fernández de Carrión que envió a toda diligencia diez españoles con su cabo que llegaron la misma tarde; con que los que estaban fieles se alegraron con el socorro y los que habían admitido el tlatole que eran mitad del pueblo con un indio principal que ha pocos días ahorcó la justicia por haberle averiguado la traición aunque lo disimularon por ver si aquella noche podían concluir con el padre y los españoles que habían venido al socorro.

Hubiéranlo conseguido a no andar diligente el padre, procurando estar en todas partes y saber lo que trataban entre sí los que se habían acogido a la casa que fue casi todo el pueblo, unos con ánimo de defenderse y otros con designio de acabar con todo: andando el padre visitando a los puestos más peligrosos a media noche, oyó a unos de ellos que les decía, al tiempo del alarido que es la seña que ellos tienen para embestir y comenzar la pelea; habiéndolo oído el padre y que no continuaba la plática el indio por haberlo contenido, dijo al cabo de los soldados españoles que convenía ordenase a todos los de arco y flecha que salieran fuera de la

casa, y las mujeres y demás chusma que las encerraran en el corral. Todo se ejecutó con lo que no consiguieron el intento que tenían los que habían admitido el tlatole; antes desistieron de él porque no peligrasen sus mujeres e hijos, y los enemigos que habían acabado con todo lo que había en la visita de San Francisco de Borja, no continuaron con la marcha hacia San Felipe, antes volvió a su tierra llevándose mucho del ganado que allí había y todo lo que pudieron llevar o escapar del fuego de la casa que de no haber sucedido esto, sin duda hubieran muerto al padre que estaba en San Felipe y a dos padres que estaban en San Francisco Javier de Satevó como se supo después, y al padre que estaba en San Gerónimo Huejotitlán.

Con la razón de lo sucedido, determinó la justicia del Parral salir al castigo de los agresores, juntó para el efecto cien españoles, marchó con ellos hacia San Gerónimo Huejotitán, a quien fui a ver en dicho pueblo, y hecho capas del intento que traía, le dije desistiera de él si no llevaba en su compañía indios amigos porque estos son los que más ofenden y estas guerras, amparados de los españoles por ser ellos muy ligeros y presta y muy cierta la arma de que usan de arco y flechas y que se exponía a peligro, le propuse tan lucida compañía. Sabía muy bien la fuerza del enemigo y su designio que era aguardar a los españoles en las cuestas, en donde apenas se pueden valer de sus caballos y maniobrar por consiguiente sus armas los españoles, con la experiencia lo ha demostrado, con que se detuvo y juntó de los indios sinaloas que trabajaron en el Parral ciento y de estos pueblos, otros tantos de ellos. No había mucha satisfacción, pues muchos se habían ido con los enemigos.

Cuando los tuvo juntos emprendió su viaje; fui en su compañía, lo uno porque los años antecedentes había entrado muchas veces a sus tierras y lo otro por saber su lengua; les serví de bastante ayuda en esta jornada por la práctica que tenía ya adquirida de aquellos terrenos y por el socorro que les di de municiones de boca y guerra para que llevásemos en nuestra ida y vuelta cuyo regreso se verificó sin escasearnos nada hasta el Parral.

Libró Dios a toda esta compañía de un evidente riesgo de la vida, disponiendo que anticipara la marcha un día y ganara la vanguardia la cumbre de una cuesta que el enemigo venía a ocupar, y viendo que los nuestros habían ya pasado y que no los podían ofender en tal mal puesto se retiraron para defender su chusma; venían en tan gran número que con ser tiempo de aguas por donde pasaban dejaban camino abierto, de modo que parecía camino usado de muchos años. Prosiguióse con la marcha y habiendo llegado cerca de Fariagiqui, puesto donde residía el capitán general de los alzados tarahumares, y habiendo hecho alto pasado el real en un puesto a propósito para todo, se tocó a la alarma.

La ocasión fue dar con el campo un indio principal que venía a incorporarse con el enemigo y viéndose entre los españoles, fingió que venía en busca de ellos para ayudarles y lo hizo creíble el modo con que se había portado con todos en los años antecedentes, de que hubo testigo de vista que a todos recibía y agasajaba en su casa, y por su mano negociaban y expendían la ropa que traían comprando con ella el frijol, maíz y gallinas; tienen librado su modo de vivir entrando y saliendo en su tierra y a los tarahumares se les sigue también un grande beneficio pues con esto tienen expendido de sus frutos y se visten así ellos como ellas decentemente, y si acaso no les alcanza la ropa que les traen los españoles, suplen la falta de ellos con sus tejidos que son muchos los que las indias hacen, y algunos muy curiosos que los más son de lana que para tenerla, tienen y conservan sus chinchorros de

ganado menor, y para multiplicarlos no matan nunca a una hembra siquiera para su alimento ni menos la venden aunque les den por ella mucho más de lo que vale; pero si venden a precio acomodado los carneros que crían que no es pequeño socorro a los que entran a tratar y contratar con esta nación que son muchos los que lo hacen.

Habiéndose agasajado el indio referido todo lo posible y pedídole viniese con cantidad de los suyos para que nos ayudasen y prometido hacerlo así para continuar en su disimulación se fue muy contento al parecer, pero dentro de dos días vino con los suyos y peleó con los nuestros, que a algunos les pareció que no habían de acometer al real cuantos tarahumares había. El que gobernaba nuestra gente, por los despachos que había recibido de su gobernador en que le ordenaba que no peleara con los tarahumares, sino que los procurase reducir con medios suaves; ordenó a una escuadra que fuese al puesto referido ya y lo visitase y que de ningún modo hiciese mal a cosa de los indios ni menos quemasen sus ranchos. No le obedecieron e hicieron todo el daño posible, quemando todas las chozas y barracas que es donde viven de ordinario, aun los muy antiguos cristianos, talando sus sementeras. El día antes había despachado por medio de religiosos dos indios de la nación para cumplir con el orden que le había venido de su gobernador, el que gobernaba a llamarles de paz y que se les perdonarían los delitos cometidos con tal que se asentasen y no continuaran en su maldad. Venían ya para efectuar la paz y hallándose en una sierra desde donde se divisaba el puesto de su morada, viendo lo que el fuego obraba y el destrozo de sus sementeras, se volvieron a los embajadores y les dijeron que como eran traidores los españoles y ellos también, que cómo quemaban sus casas y talaban sus milpas habiéndolos llamado de paz. Que el no matarlos la causa era porque la harían el día siguiente y porque fuesen a avisar a su capitán y le dijeran vendrían a pelear con él y con eso vengarían, quitando la vida a todos, el agravio recibido de la quema de sus casas y talamiento de sus sementeras.

Hiciéronlo así, pues habiéndose dado ya orden de que empezasen a cargar para mudar el campo a puesto mas cómodo para cualquier suceso, dio el enemigo el alarido que es señal de acometer en estos bárbaros con que los indios amigos y españoles acudieron a sus puestos señalados y los que habían de pelear con los caballos de armas subieron en ellos, con que se empezó la pelea, mostrando los unos y los otros mucho valor. Cayeron a vista de los nuestros dos de los enemigos, en breve rato que el uno de ellos lo trajeron arrastrando los amigos y haciéndolo pedazos no olvidados en su barbaridad y fiereza antigua; parte de ellos quemaron y parte los empezaron a bailar alrededor de la hoguera que habían hecho al son de sus tambores y vocería con que los enemigos empezaron a mainar y retirarse a que ayudó no poco algunos mosquetazos que les tiraron los que hallaron diestros en el uso de esta poderosa arma. No obstante, duró la pelea cerca de dos horas y al fin dejaron los enemigos la campaña poniéndose en huida. Viendo el capitán lo sucedido ordenó la marcha, con que se empezó a cargar el bagaje, y concluído dispuso la vanguardia o batallón y retaguardia, de modo que si el enemigo intentase embestir hallase la resistencia necesaria; caminó el campo con este orden aquel día, y habiendo llegado a un puesto abundante de pastos y agua, mandó hacer alto y pasóse lo restante del día y toda aquella noche aguardando por instantes el acontecimiento del enemigo, que no intentó otra cosa por entonces, contentándose con el empleo de sus flechazos que emplearon en algunos españoles y amigos, que



el no haber peligrado ni muerto ninguno, la causa fue que aún no usaba esta nación del veneno en las flechas, que después usó en las otras guerras que tuvieron muy reñidas con los españoles.

Es tan eficaz el veneno que usan que no necesita para matar a uno que llegue a sacar sangre la flecha, y como es muy fácil el hacerlo, nos mataron muchos después que morían rabiando, algunos los privaba luego de los sentidos de que fui testigo de vista. Causa era ésta del horror que todos tenían a estas guerras, que para quitarlo dispuso Dios que un indio tarahumar diese la contraseña, con que después que la enseñó y dio, no murió ninguno de los nuestros de los heridos de sus flechas. Continuó el capitán con su marcha hacia al Parral el día siguiente porque la gente que había sacado para esta jornada era voluntaria, que no es a propósito para esta ni otra alguna guerra; llegóse a Babanoyaba, puesto en donde residía un religioso de la seráfica orden, que ya había salido de su doctrina por el riesgo que tenía; de allí se pasó a San Javier de Satevó, donde está el padre Virgilio Máez, que el padre Cornelio Godínez ya había ido a San Felipe a cuidar de la misión. Ordenóle al padre el capitán se retirara también a San Felipe, porque el riesgo de la vida en que estaba era evidente; vino el padre en ello porque reconocía lo mismo, con que nos venimos juntos a San Felipe, donde fue fuerza que el capitán de este cuerpo, llegado que fue de la jornada del Parral, enviase escolta de soldados para resguardo de todo.

Continuó esta escolta por muchos meses, con que túvose mucho que ofrecer a Dios en buscar lo necesario para todos, y fue de modo la diligencia que puse, que concurrió Dios a ello con su liberalidad infinita, de modo que nadie necesitó de cosa de que siempre he vivido muy reconocido a tan singular favor, y más cuando me cerraron las puertas de sus casas algunos amigos que juzgaba las tendría siempre muy abiertas en cualquier suceso, habiéndoles enviado a pedir emprestado algunas fanegas de maíz y quintales de harina que me negaron, que me fue preciso volver los ojos a Dios y suplicarle a la madre de las misericordias fuese mi intercesora para con su divina majestad y me alcanzase lo preciso necesario para el sustento de todos como lo alcanzó, pues el bastimento que había en casa, aunque poco, duró hasta que hubo de nuevo, y esto no porque se diese escasamente, sino para que se reconociese ser don y dádiva de Dios, alcanzada para los siervos de su Madre, de quien hay una devota y milagrosa imagen en esta iglesia; así la apellidan sus devotos, por los socorros experimentados muchas veces, y yo entre ellos.

El pío y ansias del gobernador de la Vizcaya era atraer a los tarahumares a la obediencia de nuestro rey, y en orden a esto no dejará piedra por mover, viendo la importancia para el socorro de toda la comarca del Parral de su amistad, pues mediante ella apenas experimenta necesidad aunque los años sean estériles como lo son de ordinario en este reino. Envió luego al general Juan de Barraza que tenía a cargo el presidio de Cerrogordo con toda su compañía para que procurase atraerlos y de no que se contuvieran en sus puestos y no salieran a hacer daños a los que habían quedado en estos puestos como lo hizo, si bien se ha experimentado de la nación en las tres guerras que ha tenido el no ser los de ella traidores ni pretender salir a robar ni saltar ni matar como lo han hecho tantos años las demás naciones de él, sino sólo defender lo que juzgaban ser suyo y vengar en sus puestos los agravios que presumían haber recibido de los españoles que tantos han perecido a sus manos, y todos están enterrados en esta iglesia, como también los que han muerto las demás naciones alzadas cerca de esta misión, con que se ofrecen al

padre muchas ocasiones de ejercer la caridad, propia de la compañía, enterrándolos con toda solemnidad, cantándoles su misa y responso, todo de gracia. Lo mismo se ha usado con otros difuntos españoles que han muerto en las estancias cercanas, que todo sirve para aumentar la estima que tienen de los de la compañía en estas partes, habiéndoles acudido primero con la administración de los demás sacramentos para poderlo hacer sin ocasión de discordia, sus párrocos tienen concedida licencia para ello el ministro de esta doctrina, que nunca ha perdonado a trabajo en ocasión alguna, aunque acabado de caminar las diez o doce leguas, lo enviasen a llamar los enfermos de las estancias referidas.

Habiendo, pues, llegado a este pueblo de San Felipe el general Juan de Barraza, envió orden también el gobernador de la Vizcaya a otras dos personas para que ayudasen a conseguir su intento, que era reducir a los alzados tarahumares, habiéndole ofrecido el conseguirlo sin falta si les enviara orden para poder entrar. Envióselo sin atender a lo que pudiera resultar de deservicio de ambas majestades, que o no siempre se ordena a él lo propuesto por algunas personas y más en partes tan remotas. Tratábase en la ocasión presente con la autoridad de gobernador para bajar de paz a los tarahumares las dos personas y el general Juan de Barraza; éste sólo atendía al bien del reino, las otras dos atendía también a otros fines con que no se convenían y ya había diversidad de opiniones en los naturales, causa de muchísimos daños entre ellos y reconocidos ya porque no sabían a quien habían de obedecer, temiendo los inconvenientes futuros procuraron al remedio anticipado. Me resolví a caminar doscientas leguas como las caminé en breves días sólo por ver al gobernador y proponerle lo que conducía a ambas majestades, que aprecio y estimo mucho. Consintió a lo que le propuse y así envió o revocó las órdenes dadas y ordenó que sólo el general Juan de Barraza entrase y los procurase aquietar. Recibida esta orden entró a tierra adentro, fue en su compañía el padre Virgilio Máez, y ambos con la gente que llevaba, padecieron mucho; anduvo buscando al enemigo, no pudo dar con él porque se había retirado en varios peñoles fuertísimos por naturaleza, y para embestirles necesitaba de fuerza de españoles e indios amigos, con que se retiró a puesto a propósito y de allí envió pedir socorro de gente y bastimento de que carecía.

Ya había en esta ocasión venido gobernador nuevo de España a este reino, llamado don Diego Guajardo Fajardo, caballero de muchas partes, e hijo, digámoslo así, de Marte; como tal, sabiendo lo que pasaba y la rebeldía de los inobedientes sin atender a otra cosa ni a ser recién casado, lo dejó todo, levantó gente, y teniéndola junta, entró en busca del general Barraza, y habiéndose juntado con él, fue en demanda de los peñoles donde el enemigo se había fortificado; llegó a uno de ellos muy fuerte, y aunque los indios se resistieron valerosamente, los desalojó del puesto y se pusieron en huida. Reconociendo el valor del nuevo gobernador trataron y procuraron la paz, y para conseguirla despacharon a uno de los suyos llamado don Pablo, que desde entonces ha sido muy fiel; éste trató con el gobernador los medios de paz en que se convino, con tal que habían de morir los cuatro principales motores. Aceptó el partido el dicho don Pablo, y para ejecutar la orden del gobernador, juntó de los que deseaban la paz buen número y fueron en busca suya y los mataron y trajeron sus cabezas, y los demás se rindieron a la obediencia de su majestad, y para que no se apartasen de ella en lo de adelante, dispuso una nueva población que intituló la Villa de Aguilar en un puesto abundante de tierras, aguas, leña y pastos y está en el riñon de la Tarahumara.

Dejó en este puesto algunos soldados con su cabo; vino al Parral de donde deseaba enviar buen número de gente para que fuesen pobladores de aquella villa que no consiguió por estar tan apartado y no haber en él el atractivo de la plata, que es la que obliga a los españoles a poblar puestos muy incómodos. Con todo fueron unos cuatro, dos de ellos de algún caudal, con que registraron sitios y sacas de aguas que poblaron, y estando ya con algún corriente, pidió el gobernador que el padre Cornelio Godínez fuese a administrar los santos sacramentos supuesto que había venido por entrar a la tierra dentro. Vine en ello lo uno para que socorriese el padre a los pobladores y soldados de aquella villa en lo que se les ofreciera y también para que fuese disponiendo una misión en el Valle de Papigochic, por donde corre un río muy ameno, con que estaba poblado de muchos tarahumares; el padre me obedeció y ejecutó la orden mía como de superior, disponiendo su viaje desde San Felipe, donde se hallaba, con notable brevedad y consuelo de su alma. En breve llegó a la Villa de Aguilar y luego empezó a tratar con los principales de aquel valle el fundar la nueva misión, como la fundó e hizo iglesia y casa aunque pobre y fue la alzando como pudo; industriólos en los misterios de nuestra santa fe, bautizó muchos, así adultos como pequeños párvulos, y estando así el padre como los indios muy gustosos y contentos por ver que los más habían recibido ya el agua del bautismo, empezó el demonio a sembrar su cizaña, tomando por instrumento algunos de los españoles que empezaron a vejar a los naturales. Acudió al reparo el fervoroso ministro que nunca fue oído ni de los particulares ni del que administraba en aquel puesto la justicia, antes atribuían lo que les decía en orden a la conservación de aquella villa y aumento de la nueva cristiandad al odio que decían tenía a los españoles, cosa ajena de verdad, porque el padre los amaba y quería tiernamente. Y anduvo uno de ellos tan atrevido y disoluto que fue a la casa del padre, y habiéndosele desvergonzado, echó mano a la daga por darle de puñaladas, que a no tener el padre un buen soldado en su compañía que acudió a las voces, lo hubiera ejecutado; pero en breves días así él, como los que no habían admitido los saludables consejos del padre, lo pagaron con la vida como se referirá.

Viendo los indios que los españoles no se enmendaban y que ellos habían acudido con sus quejas al padre, empezaron a presumir que el padre no los amaba más a ellos que a los españoles, con que empezaron a aborrecerlo y trataron de librarse de la vejación que se les hacía matándolos a todos. Y aunque hubo razón de ello y se acudió al remedio, no se puso, porque los que fueron enviados no pudieron averiguar cosa jurídicamente, con que se volvieron, contentándose con haberles dado muy saludables tlatoles a todos los de aquel valle. Los hechiceros, que no faltan entre esta nación, como ni en aquel valle la suya, fomentaba los descontentos, y fueron reduciendo a los demás a que lo estuvieran también, con que los unos y los otros unánimes resolvieron de matar al padre y sus españoles. Y como el padre vivía apartado de ellos en la misión que había fundado, lo consiguieron luego cercándole la casa, haciéndole pedazos la ventana del aposento y entraron en ella. El soldado que tenía en su compañía acudió a sus armas para defenderse y defender al padre, que juzgando ser llegada ya su hora en que Dios quiso premiar sus gloriosos trabajos, que fueron indecibles los que padeció en los pocos meses que vivió en aquella misión, le dijo al soldado que de ningún modo disparase sino que vivió en aquella misión, le dijo al soldado que de ningún modo disparase sino que se dispusiera a morir con él, quien obedeció y se confesó, y estando ya los dos dispuestos para morir, abrieron la puerta, y saliendo de ella, le echaron una soga al cuello

del padre y lo llevaron arrastrando hasta la iglesia, dándole flechazos y macanazos, con que el soldado seguía al padre haciéndole compañía hasta la muerte, que se la dieron finalmente viéndolos arrojar al pié de la cruz, que el padre había enarbolado en el cementerio de la iglesia, quedando el padre a la derecha y el soldado a la izquierda desnudos; si bien permitió Dios que ni al padre ni a su compañero les cortaran parte alguna de su cuerpo, para celebrar sus bárbaros e inhumanos bailes como lo hacen con los demás. Al mismo tiempo dieron en los puestos y estancias pobladas en el ameno y fértil valle de villa y pelearon con los moradores de ella, quitando la vida a algunos, y otros se escaparon flechados, de que vinieron a morir.

Los que quedaron en la villa, atemorizados del susto, y considerando el peligro en que estaban, despacharon aviso de lo sucedido, que llegó dentro de dos días a esta casa, y yo les despaché con la misma diligencia al gobernador que residía en el Parral que por la posta envié a llamar al general Juan de Barraza que estaba en su presidio para que viniese a socorrer a los de la villa como lo ejecutó puntualmente. Pero no contento el gobernador por el conocimiento que tenía ya de la nación; despachó a otro capitán con los españoles que pudo juntar en dicho real a la villa, y habiéndose juntado, los dos determinaron por la orden que tenían de su capitán general ir en busca del enemigo, que sabían por las espías nuestras estaba fortificado en un grande y fuerte peñol que está en medio de dos hermosos arroyos que los rodean y ciñen; marcharon así al puesto del enemigo, y estando cerca de él dijo el capitán que había sido enviado del Parral, que a él tocaba aquel día la vanguardia y así que se quedase el general Barraza en la retraguardia con algunos soldados para que atendiese a todo. Vino en ello, por evitar alguna pesadumbre, el general Juan de Barraza, y el capitán enviado con los demás soldados se fue para el peñol, en donde halló la resistencia que no pensaba, como poco experimentado en la guerra de estos naturales. Empezóse la pelea al amanecer y duró hasta la tarde; en el discurso de ella nos hirieron algunos soldados y también algunos amigos, y no habiendo podido ganar el peñol, que lo defendieron valorosamente los alzados, se vio obligado a retirarse donde estaba ya el general Barraza con el bagaje, fortificado del modo que pudo. Pasaron aquella noche los unos y los otros en vela, los enemigos despacharon por socorro a las rancherías de los suyos, que les vino de continuo, y los nuestros se dispusieron para cualquier resulta, que para que fuese feliz ofreció la misa al siguiente día a la Majestad Divina el padre Virgilio Máez, que había ido en su compañía. Acabada que fue la misa, los enemigos bajaron de su peñol y vinieron a donde estaban los nuestros y empezaron a pelear, duró la pelea hasta la tarde, y lo mismo hicieron los seis días siguientes, y primero prevenían a los nuestros y siempre dejaron decir la misa al padre.

Un día dispusieron los enemigos una emboscada y su retirada siempre la hacían así a donde estaba, con que empeñándose los nuestros cayeron en ella, y a no hallarse dos soldados de a caballo en caballos armados y ser ellos de valor, se hubieran llevado vivo al capitán enviado y a otros soldados que lo habían seguido; con todo, se llevaron un español, que a vista de todos nosotros lo mataron, y se dijo que aquella noche lo asaron y comieron. Lastimados del suceso todos nuestros y considerado el riesgo en que se hallaban, determinaron retirarse otra vez a la Villa de Aguilar, pero los enemigos no lo consintieron. Y así viendo que cargaban ya, bajaron de su peñol y trabaron la pelea de nuevo con los nuestros; porque eran ya muchos los enemigos y cada día se aumentaba el número de ellos, y esto no

sucedía en nuestro campo que siempre iba a menos, ya por los muertos ya por los heridos. Socorriólos Dios en este trabajo disponiendo con su clemencia infinita enviarles un día llovisoso y frío, y al anochecer ordenaron los cabos a los naturales hicieran las lumbradas acostumbradas y ocuparan la noche en sus cantos, los enemigos hacían lo mismo en su peñol. Los soldados se daban prisa en ensillar y cargar el bagaje, acabado se empezó con todo cálculo la marcha. Los amigos para disimular continuaron en sus cantos sin desamparar el puesto, y al cabo de un rato lo dejaron de hacer y siguieron a los españoles como se les había ordenado.

Caminaron en aquella noche más de diez leguas y al amenecer se hallaron en el valle de Papigochic de que dieron gracias a Dios por haberlos sacado y librado de tan gran peligro, y el día siguiente llegaron a la villa muy temprano, continuando en dar gracias a Dios por haberlos librado de la muerte, que a no haberlos socorrido Dios con la lluvia y noche tenebrosa, hubieran muerto sin duda al día siguiente, pues aquella noche les vinieron de socorro mil indios a los enemigos y ellos eran más de mil seiscientos. Los nuestros eran cincuenta españoles y poco más de doscientos indios amigos, todos cansados ya y fatigados de las peleas y de los malos días y peores noches que tuvieron en el peñol y ya sin pólvora y munición con que pelear por haberla gastado en los siete días que pelearon con ellos.

Había ya precedido este suceso de la retirada de los nuestros la muerte que los tarahumares habían dado a unos que venían de la provincia de Sonora con cantidad de ganado, cargas de sal y sebo con alguna plata y a los que habían ido a socorrer desde la villa dando sobre ellos una madrugada en un puesto llamado Tomochic, donde sólo escaparon cuatro y uno de ellos muy mal herido que hasta el día de hoy lasta de la herida que le dieron en una pierna, y si los tarahumares amigos no los hubeiran socorrido dentro de dos días y llevado bestias con que pudieran salir, hubeiran muerto con los demás; pero dejaron en poder del enemigo el ganado que traían, carga y recuas; sólo sacaron una carguilla de plata. Había precedido también el acontecimiento que hicieron a los de la villa en donde intentaron llevar la caballada que había y es de ponderar que no ignoraban el haber sido ya socorridos desde el Parral que no lo consiguieron porque los que la guardaban la defendieron con valor; pero de la que estaba sin guardia a sus aventuras llevaron más de la mitad. A esta facción concurrieron los de a caballo que se dividieron en dos escuadras para dar a un mismo tiempo en dos puestos donde corría; los de a pie enderezaron hacia a las casas y embistieron a ellas. Saliéronlos a recibir algunos arcabuceros que los destruyeron e indios amigos y estos empezaron a experimentar la violencia del terreno; pues los que fueron heridos o mejor decir rasguñados de las enemigas flechas antes del amanecer ya habían muerto.

Con el aviso que recibió de todo lo sucedido, el gobernador se resolvió salir a la venganza en persona y para hacerlo juntó otros españoles a quienes socorrió para que se aviasen ya que no lo había hecho con los primeros que envió. Salíle al camino para ver si se le ofrecía alguna cosa en que servirle y con eso cumplir con la obligación de superior y misionero antiguo; pidióme lo acompañase en la jornada que hacía. Vine en ello, lo uno para poder resistirle, poner ya misionero antiguo y a superior algunas revoluciones que su natural bélico le dictaba y lo otro porque el padre Virgilio Máez volviese a su casa y el trabajo se repartiera entre los dos. Llegamos a la villa y habiendo descansado algunos días, dispuso volver al peñol de donde se había retirado los puertos; llegado que fue al paraje, el uno de los arroyos venía crecido; lo pasó y a su ejemplo lo pasaron los que venían en su com-

pañía. Empezáronlo a subir y el enemigo que entonces no era en mucha cantidad, se retiró a lo más fuerte de él, en donde los nuestros embistieron siguiendo a su capitán general que siempre iba por delante; pero los enemigos resistieron de modo que los destruyeron sin dejarles ganar ninguna trinchera del peñol y nos hirieron muchos así españoles como indios. Con esto se pasó el día y a la noche dispuso el gobernador los cercasen que no pudo conseguir por su grandeza y ser pocos los amigos y españoles que llevaba.

El día siguiente ordenó fuese asaltado el peñol por dos partes, defendiéndole los enemigos como el día antecedente, y sus mujeres les ayudaron a ello si bien con muerte de alguno de los suyos y el cacique que mató al padre Cornelio Godínez; éste era el que los gobernaba. Viéndose ya sin el amparo de su capitán se pusieron en huida aquella noche; la agua y la oscuridad de ella les ayudó, con que se fueron sin ser sentidos aunque nos dejaron lastimados por la muerte de tres soldados valerosos, y heridas del gobernador y otros, y muerte de algunos amigos.

No obstante el estar herido determinó ir en seguimiento el gobernador; el cielo lo contradecía con lluvias continuas. No obstante llegó el campo al puesto de Tomochic cuyo río venía muy crecido, con que no nos dejó pasar a donde el enemigo estaba. El día siguiente hizo junta de guerra, y en ella todos fueron de parecer que el gobernador se volviese a la villa, que no quería hacerlo diciendo que se había de decir de él que más quería morir a manos de estos bárbaros que volver el pie atrás. Vine a reducirlo con razones que le propuse que fueron muchas y eficaces a que no ayudó poco el temor que todos tenían a las flechas de los enemigos que para matar a uno no era menester más que darle un rasguño; de esto eran todos testigo de vista y así todos les temían como a la misma muerte. Resolvió en fin el volver a la villa en donde tuvo algunos días de cama el gobernador por las heridas que había recibido en los asaltos que dio en el peñol, en donde si no hubiera sido socorrido de un indio de este pueblo hubiera muerto, sino es que lo atribuía a las súplicas y ruegos de nuestro santo padre a quien le había encomendado esta jornada de mis sacrificios y oraciones; pues un retrato suyo que está a los pies de un devoto retrato de la Concepción de María Señora Nuestra en este día los que estaban en casa lo vieron llorar lágrimas al tiempo conforme el cómputo que se estaría peleando, y yo me ví en evidente riesgo de la vida pues una flecha se la quitó a uno que estaba a mi lado. Con la vuelta del gobernador a la villa, se empezó a abrir camino a los tratados de paz con los rebeldes sacrilegios a quienes se les envió a un indio principal de la nuestra nación éste dijo y comunicó el deseo grande que tenía el gobernador que era el recibirlos de paz; fue muy bien recibido de ellos este mensajero.

De las presas que habían hecho hay escuadras que se habían despachado para explorar la tierra se enviaron otros; a estos les aseguró el gobernador que si la conseguían dejaría a los demás libres y sin castigo. Fueron y volvieron con el sí: con que se los fueron enviando poco a poco y los enemigos bajando a dar la paz; pero todo fue con ardid y maña, disimulando el intento que tenían que por entonces no podían conseguir que era arrasar la villa como lo hicieron pocos meses después.

Llegó la noticia de la muerte dichosa del padre Cornelio a México, y también que los indios estaban de paz ya; ofrecióse para la misma empresa a los superiores el padre Jácome Antonio Basilio, napolitano de nación, deseoso a mi ver de conseguir lo que el padre Cornelio había alcanzado en tan breves días, y aunque los superiores dificultaron el enviarlo porque el padre era muy necesario en la provin-

cia por ser eminente lengua mexicana, les propuso tales razones que obligaron a los superiores a darle licencia. Con ella se vino con notable consuelo de su espíritu. Pasó a la villa administrar los sacramentos a los vecinos y soldados de ella y volver a poblar la misión asolada y destruída del bárbaro furor. En esto gastó algunos meses con notable edificación de todos, así españoles como naturales; en ellos a lo disimulado los naturales de aquel valle efectuaron el dar sobre la villa, matar a los moradores de ella y también al padre que de nuevo les había llegado, quemar y abrasar sus edificios para que no quedara en donde en lo de adelante pudiese vivir ningun español, que aborrecían su vecindad en extremo.

Llegóse el día de la ejecución de su depravado intento; amanecieron a vista de la villa gran número de enemigos acaudillados por un valiente y esforzado capitán llamado Tepóracá, que quiere decir el hachero, que lo fue bien cruel como se verá, a quien Dios había dotado de una singular y rara retórica, con que pudo atraer a su voluntad los que no la tenían de alzarse, y en las guerras pasadas se habían mostrado muy fieles y peleado contra los suyos y muerto a muchos de ellos. Y fue de modo de los de tierra adentro, quedando fiel únicamente don Pablo de quien arriba se hace mención, y por serlo vinieron a su ranchería, lleváronle cuanto en ella tenía y se la quemaron toda, y si no hubiera sido socorrido de los naturales de estos pueblos que en este último alzamiento estuvieron muy fieles, lo hubieran muerto con todos los suyos por el odio que le tenían por ser tan amigo de los padres y de los españoles.

Habiendo reconocido el capitán de la villa que los indios que habían amanecido sobre ella no venían de buenas, dispuso sus soldados que al instante fueron a reconocerlos y requerirlos de paz; pero prevenidos con sus armas no dieron lugar los enemigos a parlamentos. Sobre esto, pues, luego que vieron que los tenían a tiro los empazaron a flechar, y los españoles a corresponderles con sus arcabuces; esto duró cerca de media hora, conforme la relación que hizo del caso el padre Basilio con un papel que me escribió con un tarahumar que acaso había sido enviado del padre que residía aun en Satevó que a no haber ido en muchos días no se hubiera sabido nada. Mientras estos peleaban otros arrearon con todo el ganado mayor y menor, mulas, yeguas y caballos; con que los dejaron sin tener con que comer, ni con que escapar de tan infernal furia. Con lo hecho se contentaron aquel día, retirándose para descansar y comer, como para esperar también a los demás que habían de concurrir a la muerte del padre y españoles, y al asolamiento de la villa, que llegaron aquel día con rara diligencia y voluntad como si vinieran a ganar un jubileo plenísimo que por tal tenían el verse libres de los españoles que en todas partes, entre estas naciones bárbaras habían de procurar el ganarles y no perderles, como lo hicieron algunos de la villa con lo que usaron con los circunvecinos de ella y así les dieron el pago de todo el día siguiente.

Viéndose ya todos juntos dieron cerco a las casas, arrimáronse contra las paredes de ellas por aquella noche de donde no los pudieron desviar por no haber hecho en tan largo tiempo dos torreones encontrados que es lo primero que se hace en puestos peligrosos como lo era éste; permitiéndolo Dios así por sus altos fines con que al amanecer empezaron con sus palos que para sus siembras los tienen muy duros a agujerear las paredes por donde empezaron a dar fuego a dicha casa; ya habían quemado los aposentos que estaban apartados.

Luego se tuvieron por muertos todos los que allí había, y así aquella noche toda la gastaron en limpiar sus conciencias, haciendo actos de contrición que pre-

cedieron a la confesión y juzgo sería general dispuestos ya a morir, algunos de los que allí había tomaron las armas, otros no lo hicieron. Los que las tomaron salieron a fuera y pelearon hasta que no pudieron más de las heridas recibidas; los otros continuaron en pedir misericordia y perdón de sus culpas y pecados, virtiendo muchas lágrimas de dolor, y si los hombres hacían esto ¿qué harían las mujeres que allí había? Déjolo a la consideración de cada uno para no quedar corto en la narración de tan lastimosa tragedia. En fin, el fuego abrasó toda la casa con lo que los que quedaban vivos salieron de ella por librarse de las llamas; pero no se libraron de estos bárbaros que, como lobos rabiosos, les cayeron a una sobre estas pobres y desamparadas ovejas que las hicieron pedazos, y al capitán de la villa le acabaron de quitar la vida y a otros dos poniéndolos en una horca.

El padre con un indio muy fiel y tarahumar de nación, vecino del pueblo de San Miguel de las Bocas, llamado don Felipe, que por serlo lo tenía en aquella villa para intérprete el señor gobernador, se había retirado a la iglesia para disponerse para aquel último trance y disponer al indio para lo mismo. Salió afuera y les empezó a hablar y a exhortarles a que no se acabasen de perder y que no le quitasen la vida que deseaba emplearla en su ayuda pues no los había ofendido en cosa alguna, antes sí ayudado, agasajado y socorrido con lo que tenía. Tenían ya tapados los oídos con lo que les había predicado y dicho con su retórica su caudillo el Hachero, y así no oyeron consejos tan saludables, antes empezaron a flecharlo. A esto ya habían muerto al indio fiel; viéndose el padre flechado se fue hacia ellos para recibir la muerte por Cristo por cuyo amor estaba en aquel puesto; con que lo cogieron a mano y habiéndolo herido en varias partes con sus dardos y macanas, para acabarle de quitar la vida, lo ahorcaron en el brazo de la cruz que para ensalzarla entre estas bárbaras naciones, había el padre Basilio surcado las aguas del mar y venido de tan lejanas tierras.

Al espirar permitió la bondad divina que los circunstantes que eran muchos vieran salir de la boca del padre un hermoso niño y que se fue subiendo a esos cielos como lo certificaron después muchos de los que lo vieron y se explicaban como bárbaros diciendo que el padre al morir había parido. Pero no por eso desistieron de lo que el demonio deseaba y ellos también que era concluir con todos los ministros de su nación. Algunos de ellos ya se habían puesto en salvo por orden del gobernador que se lo requirió para que lo ejecutaran. Vinieron desde la villa para ejecutarlo y viendo que ya se habían retirado quemaron las iglesias y casas de los padres, y las que en sus pueblos de visita tenían. Con lo hecho se volvieron a sus tierras, y desde allí empezaron a enviar mensajeros al pueblo de San Felipe y al de San Gerónimo Huejotitán para atraer a sus moradores a su voluntad que no consiguieron aunque los amenazaban con la muerte, que se la habían de dar más cruel que la que dieron a los de la villa aunque eran sus parientes, a que resistieron siempre, dando aviso de todo a los cuatro padres que estaban en estos dos pueblos, dos en cada uno.

Viendo la resistencia que les hacían determinaron venir por cinco veces en gran número para quitar la vida a los padres y a sus feligreses de que hizo información después el gobernador que siempre desbarató Dios para que no se perdiera de todo punto la nación tarahumara. En este tiempo le vino orden al gobernador para que entrase con la gente que se había levantado de guerra, así españoles como indios, al castigo de los tobosos, capa única de todos los males que se han hecho por tantos años en este reino y el de la Galicia; otras dos también de nuestras naciones



con capa de tobosos. Sabiendo yo la marcha a la tierra de los tobosos, requerí al gobernador por ser todavía superior de la misión no dejase estas fronteras sin suficiente resguardo, porque de no dejarlo mandaría a los padres salieran de ellas, cosa notablemente deseada de los enemigos, que si no vieran fuera se juzgaran señores de toda su tierra y aun de la que tienen poblada los españoles con sus estancias y reales términos. No pude conseguirlo de la gente pagada, pero me aseguró que acudiría con toda presteza al que dejaba en su lugar, como lo había hecho en todos los sucesos pasados que era el general Juan Fernández de Carrión, su teniente, a quien fui a ver sobre el caso y me aseguró también de ello; con que me volví consolado y resuelto a resistir en lo de adelante al designio del enemigo. Lo mismo hacían los demás padres como hasta aquí se había hecho.

Sabida de los enemigos la ida a Tobozo del gobernador, pusieron todo su esfuerzo para venir a concluir con estos pueblos, iglesias y casa de los padres. Habíanse ya juntado unos dos mil indios en la ranchería quemada de don Pablo, distante de este puesto como doce leguas para sus caminos y veredas. Esperaban al Hachero con todos los suyos que era el nervio principal del cuerpo del enemigo que quiso venir a juntarse y la causa fue porque el gobernador, habiendo hecho un singular castigo de los tobosos en el peñol de Nonolat, sabiendo de los delitos cometidos por los tarahumares, la quema de iglesias, muerte de los padres y profanamiento de todo lo sagrado, deseaba castigarlos como lo tenían merecido. Y con toda diligencia se volvió y entró por sus tierras y habiendo llegado a los puestos de los que habían venido a los tlatoles del Hachero, empezó a darles albazos y matar y prender algunos, y no hallando que hacer caminó con su gente hacia los puestos donde vivía el Hachero. Recelóse éste de los daños que podían sobrevenir a los suyos, no los desamparó; antes los capitaneó como valiente y experto capitán, y envió un indio a que avisase a los que se habían juntado en lo de don Pablo para que se previnieran a la resistencia que se había de hacer al gobernador y a los suyos, con que se deshizo la junta y empezaron a resistir como valientes y resueltos.

Tuvo el gobernador y su gente algunos encuentros con la gente del Hachero y no con el suceso que deseaba y había tenido en Tobosos, pues siempre quedaba la campaña por el enemigo aunque con muerte de algunos de los suyos.

Referiré sólo dos casos que declararán y darán a entender el valor de los tarahumares. Despachó a un capitán a las rancherías de Tomochic con cincuenta españoles prevenidos de armas ofensivas y defensivas les diese un buen albazo que lo dio en blanco, pues cuando llegaron a darlo le dio el enemigo el alarido. Y por él reconoció la fuerza que tenía y que lo tenían cercado, juntó la gente y la dispuso para la defensa y ordenó que a pie se fueran saliendo y procuró acelerar el paso para que no atacara en un puesto muy peligroso que es una cañada que por un lado tiene monte con que el enemigo se puede favorecer y ofender al contrario. Con esta diligencia la pasaron antes que el enemigo llegase a ella, pero luego los alcanzó y se fue peleando todo aquel día y la noche les obligó a la suspensión de armas pero no para que así los nuestros como los enemigos no estuvieran muy alerta y prevenidos pues estaban a tiro de flecha. Al amanecer se empezó la pelea de nuevo y los nuestros fueron caminando a pie defendiéndose y ofendiendo a los enemigos que hacían lo mismo. La noche los apartó que los esos y los otros la pasaron con el cuidado que el caso requería deseosos que amaneciera para volver a pelear. En este día sacó uno de los enemigos fuerzas de flaqueza como dicen y con

toda resolución se vino para los nuestros animando a los suyos con los gritos que les daba para romper a los nuestros, lo cual advirtió un valiente soldado que procuró discurrir. Y habiéndolo conseguido le puso el punto y al tronido del arcabuz dio con él en tierra y si no lo hubiera así hecho peligrarían sin duda muchos de los nuestros. Con la muerte de este indio empezó aflojar la furia de los bárbaros; pero no de modo que se retirase, pues fueron peleando todo el día y al anochecer puesta su gente a tiro de arcabuz de la nuestra ya estaban los nuestros sin pólvora ni munición con que poder pelear y no sabían como se habían de defender al cuarto día, si el enemigo continuaba en sus peleas. No lo hizo disponiéndolo Dios así porque no pereciera aquella compañía a manos de bárbaros tan crueles. Retiróse el enemigo y los nuestros con pérdida de dos españoles y algunos indios caminaron a paso acelerado a donde estaba el gobernador que sintió mucho tan mal suceso.

El otro suceso es que tenido noticia que buen número de enemigos estaban fortificados en un peñol llamado Pisaqui fue en su demanda todo el campo y habiendo llegado a él todo, luego se empezó a pelear; resistíanse valerosamente los que allí estaban. Esto ponía expertos a los españoles que intentaban engañarlo que no lo pudieron conseguir por la resistencia que se les hacía que fue de modo que en poco más de dos horas nos hirieron (y algunos de heridas muy peligrosas) cuarenta y dos soldados. Todo esto sucedía a vista del gobernador que no por este desmayó, antes con determinación de soldado como lo era, dio vuelta en persona al peñol sin reparar en el daño que le podían hacer las enemigas flechas sólo por reconocer por donde los podían asaltar el día siguiente aunque fuese con pérdida de algunos. Estaba en el peñol un indio llamado don Diego de Lara a quien lo obedecían, que en los años antecedentes había sido fiel y muy confidente del gobernador; este indio dio orden a los suyos que nadie le tirase de flechazos y como lo tenían muy conocido no quiso que se expusiera a algún trabajo en el acontecimiento que había de haber. Y así aquella noche sacó a los que estaban en el peñol sin que peligrase ninguno de los suyos de que dieron gracias a Dios los españoles, pues con eso se vieron libres de la heridas que habían de recibir en el asalto que estaba ya decidido y el que había de ir por delante había de ser el gobernador que así lo tenía jurado.

Con estos y otros malos sucesos que por la brevedad omito, ya no sabía lo que se había de hacer de que estaba con notable sentimiento el gobernador, pues no hallaba camino para castigar tan graves delincuentes ni poder bajar a los inocentes de paz. En este tiempo le llegó la gente que había enviado a reconocer la demás tierra de Tobosos que él, por haber salido de ella con la brevedad que el castigo de los tarahumares pedía, no había podido reconocer a esta gente había dado orden que si encontrasen con algunos tobosos los matasen o prendiesen. Con ella fueron los tarahumares de estos pueblos que no habían podido ir a incorporarse con los que tenía el gobernador porque los enemigos tenían cogido todos los caminos de que tenían noticias ciertas y el gobernador estaba más de cincuenta leguas de ellos. Con la llegada de los unos y los otros, empezó a tener mejores sucesos en nuestro campo, porque como ya había cuña del mismo palo y que sabía muy bien en que puestos y partes estaba el enemigo y porque partes lo podrían ofender sin ser ofendidos los nuestros. Salieron a campaña algunos capitaneados de un valeroso y experto capitán llamado Cristóbal de Narváez. A pocas leguas dio con algunos enemigos; mató a algunos de ellos y a otros prendió, que luego envió a los alzados para que diesen principio a tratar de bajarse de paz que admitieron de muy

buena gana porque lo deseaban ya, y mucho más lo deseaban los españoles y aun el mismo señor gobernador que siempre ha amado y querido a los tarahumares, así por su buen natural como por el útil y provecho propio. Despachó aviso de todo al señor gobernador que le envió muchos agradecimientos y ordenó que la efectuase; sólo se reparaba en que no quedase sin castigo el Hachero que tantos males había causado. Y así siempre lo exceptuó el señor gobernador en los tratados que se hacían de paz y para conseguirla despachó el capitán Narváez a muchos y varias partes para la publicación y les ordenaba que dijeran a los que la querían admitir viniesen a verse con él. Todos los que había enviado volvieron con la respuesta que todos deseaban, y con el seguro que tenían ya, empezaron a bajar así hombres como mujeres con todos sus hijos, que recibió de paz y agasajó dándoles de lo que tenía para el sustento de su gente. Estos aseguraron que todos harían lo mismo porque no podían venir todos a verse con él por estar muy lejos, de que fue avisado el señor gobernador que envió sus capitanes para que en nombre de su majestad la diesen en varios puestos a los que concurrieron en ellos, como se hizo con alegría y gusto de todos. En este tiempo caminó algunas leguas el señor gobernador por haber a las manos al motor de todo que al fin cayó, condenándolo luego a la pena última, ordenado al capellán del ejército lo dispusiese para morir a que acudió como debía; pero el Hachero no quiso disponerse, pues ni se confesó ni se arrepintió de lo hecho, antes estaba muy apesarado que los suyos se hubiesen bajado de paz. Con esta obstinación lo llevaron a un árbol donde lo ahorcaron, y apenas había dado su espíritu a Satanás cuando todos los amigos lo empezaron a flechar, de modo que quedó hecho un herizo y hubo flecha que como bala lo atravesó de parte a parte. Con este feliz y cuanto deseado suceso, empezó nuestro campo a marchar hacia el Parral y a los que fueron admitidos de paz, les vino el castigo del cielo, pues los asaltó una peste tal que en muchas rancherías no quedó persona viva con que han quedado los tarahumares bien escarmentados para lo de adelante y se juzga que no se alzarán mas.

San Felipe, 29 de Junio [1652]

José Pascual

## The Relación of Diego de Medrano

*It would be difficult to envision a documentary report that surpasses the Relación of Diego de Medrano as a contemporary commentary on the state of the defenses in the province of Nueva Vizcaya. In language often florid, always insistent, a secular priest of the cathedral of Durango outlined to a royal visitor precisely what military measures were needed to rectify the deteriorating situation. The report is an exuberant summary of the history of Spanish-Indian conflicts in the province in the seventeenth century—conflicts Medrano argued the Spaniards were still not winning. The priest elaborated on the past and persisting hostilities of the natives and recounted Spanish attempts—in his view futile and ineffective—to protect their commerce and population. With insight and strategic concerns normally associated with planners and military commanders, Medrano offered detailed examples of failed policy and implementation and suggested how to change them.*

*Who was this priest and why was he asked to submit a report and recommendations on an essentially military topic? Considering the size, scope, and ultimate application of Medrano's memorial, relatively little is known about him or the circumstances of its compilation. Medrano was a criollo, born in the city of Durango about 1615, of distinguished parentage. His father had served in various middle-level governmental positions in Durango, and through his mother, Ana de Ibarra, Medrano was related to that most important of Nueva Vizcaya founding families and also through marriage to the viceroys Luis de Velasco. From the late 1640s to the early 1670s he was deacon and archdeacon at the cathedral of Durango, serving directly under the bishop. In a 1652 letter to the king, Medrano was effusively praised by the bishop as a model churchman and administrator, excelling in every duty he performed. To the point of excess he was commended for his intellect, breadth of knowledge, and clarity of vision. In addition to his theological studies he had earned a bachelor of letters degree. It is safe to surmise that these qualities were noted by other crown officials as well, as there seems little doubt that Medrano, a native-born northerner, had developed a keen personal interest and expertise in affairs of defense and Indian incursions. This was as much as stated by the official visitor from México, Juan de Cervantes Casaus, in requesting him to prepare his report. Medrano appears to have had few, if any, official assignments away from the Durango cathedral. It is probable he used the visibility and access of his position in the governmental and religious heart of the province to become expert. He could read or learn the contents of all manner of letters and reports and gain or command a hearing with virtually anyone in the city. It is tempting to think of Father Medrano as a vast receptacle of written and spoken information due to his interest and personality. Further details about this most important, and nearly unknown, frontier*



*A modern view of the Cathedral of Durango, where Father Medrano was the cura.*

*figure await discovery—almost certainly they exist in the little-researched archives of Durango.*

*The story of Medrano's Relación is more easily traced. Early in 1654 he had written to the viceroy with his views on frontier defense, and they had piqued a response from the Duque de Alburquerque. He commanded the royal accountant of the Audiencia de México to visit Durango, and soon Medrano heard from Contador Mayor Don Juan de Cervantes Casaus. In anticipation of his visitation, Cervantes Casaus asked Medrano to prepare a complete report. It was completed by the end of August and comprises the document reproduced here. Many of its themes were incorporated in Cervantes Casaus's official informe, which he submitted in October after his inspection. Both seem to have then gotten bogged down in bureaucratic channels as officials studied them and scribes added marginal notes. Little else occurred and by 1660 Medrano had become impatient. The term of a new viceroy was beginning and the cura in the Durango cathedral now tried the different tack of sending the Archbishop of México a revision of his first report. This became the Medrano Informe of 1660. Both reports eventually came to rest in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, in the same bundle of the section Guadalajara.*

*In his lifetime Medrano's pleas fell victim to budget officials in México and Madrid, and for another quarter-century conditions lurched along as he described them. It would take the loss of New Mexico and the mounting native outbreaks of the 1680s to force the implementation of many of his ideas and recommendations.*

*The marginal notes added by scribes to Medrano's report are reproduced in smaller type at the place they were appended.*

**A** Report by Licenciado Diego de Medrano,<sup>1</sup> Priest of the City of Durango, Capital of the Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, which Describes the State of the Kingdom Resulting from the Riots and Ruin Wrought by the Rebellious Indians. Durango, August 31, 1654.

A copy of the letter written by Don Juan de Cervantes Casaus,<sup>2</sup> knight of the military Order of Santiago, contador mayor of the Real Audiencia and the Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, and visitor to the royal treasury of the city of Durango, to Bachiller Diego de Medrano, *cura beneficiado* of the cathedral in the same city for his majesty. A copy of his response is included.

Señor Bachiller Diego de Medrano: In conformity with our discussion on the state of this land and the vexation certain Indians have caused and are causing, as well as the ill-fated solutions attempted at such great cost to his majesty, the inconvenience of raising armies to fight an organized war and other matters known to us through experience—such as uprisings provoked and fomented by Spaniards—I request your grace to do me the favor of assuming the task of discussing these matters, for you know them well. Kindly discuss the following points. What type of hostilities do the Indians engage in, and how many of them are involved? What sorts of places do they gather in? In what manner do they restrict access to the roads? What do they steal and why? Finally, it would be of great service to both majesties if you could give your opinion on the best means of providing security at the least cost to the royal treasury as you did in your letter of January 3, [1654] the day of St. Mathias, to his excellency, the viceroy. May God protect you for many long and happy years, as I wish also. June 30, 1654. As to the presidios and their usefulness, I beg your opinion on each one, for this is an extremely important matter. May I kiss your grace's hand. Juan de Cervantes Casaus.

His response. Señor Visitador and Contador Mayor, Don Juan de Cervantes Casaus:

I would desire very much to address the points raised in your letter of June 30, for by doing so I can fulfill my obligations as a loyal vassal of his majesty as well as those of my state and profession. Only by acting in all these capacities can the desired end of serving both majesties as well as bringing a true and lasting peace to this kingdom be attained. The dissonance and adversity which so prejudice the royal interests and those of his majesty's vassals must be conquered. I have an undivided and clear view of the circumstances and I am free of personal motives; I am driven only by a fervent zeal and will nakedly expose my feelings and opinions. Thus after this rough draft is smoothed out and corrected, the ability of our upright, stainless, and applauded minister, the most excellent Duque de Alburquerque, viceroy of this New Spain,<sup>3</sup> will opportunely supply a suitable remedy.

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1. Medrano was a secular priest under obedience to the bishop of Durango. His office was supported by a benefice.

2. The brother of Cervantes Casaus had earlier served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya.

3. Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque, was born in Barcelona in 1619. From 1653 to 1660 he was viceroy of New Spain. He then held the same post in Sicily. He died in Madrid in 1676.

No longer will this cancer of perdition which has affected this kingdom with sixteen years of continuous and repeated trials keep it in the most unhappy state of all this New World. With this in mind I proceed.

First let me say that there have been many different Indian uprisings in this kingdom during the past fifty-four years. The first was that of the Acaxee during the time of Rodrigo de Vivero. The second was that of the Xixime during the time of Francisco de Urdiñola, and the third was that of the Tepehuan during the time of Gaspar de Alvear. During the years of Mateo de Vezga<sup>4</sup> and the Marqués de Salinas,<sup>5</sup> the Tobosos and the outlaw Tepetucanes<sup>6</sup> rebelled. The Masames rose up under Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus.<sup>7</sup> During the subsequent administration, that of Luis de Monsalve,<sup>8</sup> a brief spark of discord surfaced among the Tepehuanes of San Pablo,<sup>9</sup> but it was easily extinguished. The Salineros and Conchos rebelled during the government of Luis de Valdés,<sup>10</sup> as did the Tarahumaras during the latter part of his term. Diego Guajardo Fajardo,<sup>11</sup> his successor, finding some of the Tarahumaras had risen up, remained in Parral only fifteen days before launching a campaign of reduction and punishment. This occurred early in 1649. The Tarahumaras became increasingly bolder in 1650, 1651, 1652, and through the spring of 1653. The Salineros, Tobosos, Cabezas, and their allies, seeing Spanish arms diverted to another cause, wrought great havoc and inflicted irreparable damage upon what was at that time the most populated and principal part of the kingdom. This, in time, will be described in greater detail.

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4. Admiral Mateo de Vezga was serving in La Plata (Buenos Aires) when he was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1620. He assumed the office late the same year and remained in that position until March of 1626. One of his first acts was to write a lengthy report on the state of the province in the aftermath of the Tepehuan revolt.

5. Hipólito de Velasco, the Marqués de Salinas, was born in México, the grandson and son of former viceroys of New Spain. It was through Luis de Velasco II that he inherited his title. He was appointed governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1625 and assumed the office the following year, continuing in that capacity until 1630.

6. The term Tepetucane is not known from any other documentary source. In all probability Medrano was referring to Tepehuanes, who had still not returned to peace after their revolt of 1616–18.

7. Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1631 to 1633. He was the first governor to visit the newly established mines of San Joseph del Parral. Later he became governor of the province of Puebla, dying in that office in 1666.

8. Luis de Monsalve y Saavedra was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1633 to 1638. He was removed from office after becoming involved in a dispute with a member of the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

9. San Pablo Balleza, located on the San Juan branch of the Río Conchos.

10. Luis de Valdés was born in Granada, Spain. He was twice governor of Nueva Vizcaya, in 1641, and after a one-year interim, from 1642 to 1648.

11. Diego Guajardo Fajardo had been captain of the presidio of San Martín in Durango before becoming governor of the Philippines in 1644. He left that post in 1648 and assumed the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya the same year. He served in that position through 1653, much of his time occupied in campaigns against rebellious Tarahumaras. He then returned to the Philippines as governor and died in that position on a voyage to Acapulco in 1658.

This brings us to the present administration, that of Enrique Dávila y Pacheco.<sup>12</sup> With the exception of the Acaxee, Xixime, Sinaloa, Tepehuan, and Tarahumara, all the other nations, because they have never received any deserved punishment, have continued to rebel and cause further damage. The motives and causes of these rebellions can be reduced to a generality which pertains to them all. Of course there are certain peculiarities which influence particular cases and render the hostilities more bitter. Nonetheless, the causes of rebellion can be found in the instability and inconsistency of the Indian temperament, their thievish and innately cruel nature, and in their great hatred of Spaniards. The Indians are also subject to the influences of shamans, instruments of the devil, who incite their listeners to rebel and commit atrocities. Let us now examine the particulars of each rebellion and its corresponding administration, mentioning the responsible parties, the duration of the uprisings, and the extent of the damages incurred.

The uprising of the Acaxees occurred during the administration of Rodrigo de Vivero and was a result of the aforementioned characteristics of Indian temperament as well as, according to some sources, the bad treatment the Indians received in the mining haciendas of San Andrés. Several Spaniards, as well as servants, perished during the rebellion. Alonso Maldonado,<sup>13</sup> lieutenant governor, dealt swiftly with the rebels, for had he not done so, the haciendas would surely have been laid waste. His campaign was easily accomplished and at little cost, for although the Indian stronghold is rugged and mountainous, it is not impassable and is well supplied with water, pasture, and timber. The instigators and leaders of the conspiracy were punished, and the area returned to peace under the control of the presidio of San Hipólito and its forceful and excellent leader Captain Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba.<sup>14</sup>

The uprising of the Xiximes, neighbors of the Acaxees, occurred in 1610 during the administration of Francisco de Urdiñola, before this nation was completely converted, and during the rebellion they killed Spanish settlers and travelers. Governor Urdiñola, a most prudent governor, responded to the Xixime threat with brevity and haste, rightly fearing that this brief spark of discord might ignite a larger fire among other nations. Present and future governors would do well to follow his example; it is best to extinguish these rebellions at their outset rather than wait until they are out of control. The governor raised an army of more than 500 Spaniards and Indians, many Spaniards joining at their own expense; of special note were Captain Diego de Avila,<sup>15</sup> with twenty men from San

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12. Before becoming governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1653, Enrique Dávila y Pacheco had been twice governor of Yucatán, in 1644–45 and 1648–50. In 1660 he left his position in Nueva Vizcaya and returned to central Mexico, where he died in 1665.

13. Maldonado's term coincided with that of Governor Vivero.

14. Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba was for more than a quarter-century a distinguished military commander in Nueva Vizcaya. He began his career in the first years of the seventeenth century and continued to serve until well into the 1630s. His name has been variously written as Villalta.

15. Diego de Avila was a large landowner in the area and had received a viceregal commission to support Jesuit missionary efforts. He and his militia helped carry out the *reducción* policies of the missionaries.



Andrés, and Captain Miguel Sánchez,<sup>16</sup> with more from Topia. The army entered the sierra and forcefully subdued the Indian defenders of the hills and passes. This inspired great admiration among the enemy because they had been confident of the rugged and impenetrable nature of their stronghold. Because the governor gave them an exemplary and well-publicized punishment at Xocotilma, until this day the Xixime nation has remained reduced and at peace.

At a place called Xocotilma, 800 Xiximes gathered at a distance from the Spanish camp and laid down their arms. The governor, however, knew the peace they offered was merely a pretense and he ordered that they be surrounded and put to the sword. As a result, this nation has never again conspired to revolt.

The Tepehuan nation rebelled during the latter part of 1616, during the administration of Gaspar de Alvear. The Tepehuanes are known for their proud and belligerent nature; and at that time they were both numerous and widespread. As to the reasons for their rebellion, there were none; the devil persuaded them to destroy and lay waste this kingdom and convinced them that those who died in battle would be resurrected three days later. The conspiracy was the result of long and careful planning, for it had been decided that on the same day at the same time, all the mines, ranches, towns, and even this city of Durango were to be attacked. Unfortunately, much of the damage that resulted from this rebellion could have been prevented had the governor heeded the warning of Captain Alonso Pacheco.<sup>17</sup> This captain had told the governor of seeing a room full of bows and arrows at the village of Otinapa, about fifteen leagues from this city. Furthermore, an Indian woman had told the captain to leave the village because its inhabitants wanted to kill him. Pacheco had also informed the governor that *mitotes* and other dances in honor of a small, portable idol in the form of a half cross were being held throughout the villages surrounding this city. However, the captain's warnings went unheeded. Thanks to God's mercy, the Tepehuan plan was not carried out as intended, for had it been, the ruin and havoc would have been even more widespread. The plan was foiled because a few days prior to the date of the attack the Indians robbed and killed near Santa Catalina [de Tepehuanes] a mule driver named Alonso Crespo, who was carrying merchandise to the mines at Topia. As a result, the Indians gathered at the village of [Santiago] Papasquiario and proceeded to attack the missions of Zape and Atotonilco. There they burned the temples, profaned the sacred vestments and vessels, and killed members of the Society of Jesus. All the Spaniards of Papasquiario and Atotonilco as well as Padre [Gerónimo de] Moranta and a Dominican were killed. Near Guanaceví the rebels burned several silver-extracting haciendas and encircled the real for many months.

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16. From his service record, it appears that Miguel Sánchez played a role in the vanguard of Nueva Vizcayan history. Beginning in 1560 he campaigned against the Guachichiles in Zacatecas. In the 1570s and 1580s, he was assigned to the newly discovered mines at Mazapil and San Andrés and continued as a commander of military forces into the first decade of the seventeenth century.

17. Alonso Pacheco might possibly have been the son or relative of Alonso Pacheco, lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya, who upon the orders of Governor Ibarra carried out the actual founding of the city of Durango in 1563.

When the governor received news of these atrocities, he ordered the city to take up arms and construct defenses. Entrances to streets were closed and obstructed, and certain houses were barricaded and fortified with defensive towers. Many people retreated to these houses while others found refuge in the churches. Meanwhile, the governor promptly inflicted an exemplary punishment on ninety Indians from the villages of Tunal and Santiago,<sup>18</sup> two or three leagues distant from this city. Then the governor went to the aid of La Sauceda, driving off more than 800 enemy Indians. The Indians visited great damage upon the ranches, stealing many horses.

When his excellency, the Marqués de Guadalajara,<sup>19</sup> received word of these disasters, he ordered the royal treasury opened and dispatched more than 300 men from México, Puebla, San Luis [Potosí], and Zacatecas. These reinforcements came by different roads and struck some important blows, the enemy always taking the worst of it. Thankfully, no harm came to our forces as it so unfortunately happened at the onset of the uprising. The governor pursued the enemy to the Río [Grande] del Norte, about 200 leagues distant from this city, leaving scattered companies along the way to garrison the kingdom. These companies undoubtedly performed a great service, especially the detachment under the leadership of the brave caudillo Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba. However, their exploits will be discussed no further for fear of becoming tedious. The governor and his troops suffered great privations and weathered many misfortunes in pursuing the enemy to such remote places. So terrible was the lack of victuals and supplies that our men were forced to eat horsemeat and even the leather from their shields. This rebellion lasted for four years and during its course, according to reliable persons, more than 4,000 Tepehuanes died at the hands of the Spaniards or from starvation and sickness. Many Tepehuanes fled and now inhabit the outskirts of Guanaceví, Ocotán, Biogame, San Pablo, and the Tarahumara country of the Sierra Madre. Peace was finally made with them in 1620, and the presidio of Santa Catalina, with a garrison of sixteen men plus their leader, was established to control this nation. In all, the Tepehuan rebellion cost his majesty's royal treasury more than 800,000 pesos, the kingdom more than 1,000,000 pesos, and the governor was even forced to pawn and sell his clothes and belongings in order to eat. Even a relative of his once refused him aid for the most basic necessities.

The next administration was that of Admiral Mateo de Vezga. During his time he campaigned against the Tepehuanes in the Valle de San Pablo with great efficiency and promptitude. Hardly had reports reached this city that certain Indian leaders were causing disturbances than thirty men were dispatched to join the presidial force. The governor himself went to the scene, and the leaders and instigators of the uprising were hanged, leaving the valley in a state of peace. Toward the end of this administration the Tobosos rebelled. This is a nation which has never ceased to display its fierce and bellicose nature, rivaling the Guachichiles in brav-

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18. Tunal and Santiago lay just to the south of Durango and now comprise part of that city's southern suburbs.

19. Medrano was actually referring to the Marqués de Guadalcazar, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, who served as viceroy of New Spain from 1612 to 1621. Subsequently he was viceroy of Perú and died in Spain in 1630.

ery. The Tobosos are actually few in number, but they have subjugated and intimidated neighboring tribes such as the Nonojes and Acoclames, mixing and intermarrying among them. As a result, a single Toboso chief has the power to arouse ten tribes. The Toboso nation occupies an impenetrable, sterile, and drought-stricken land which is passable only during the rainy season.

The Marqués de Salinas arrived to govern this turbulent and disordered kingdom in late March of 1626. The marqués was such an able administrator that he maintained these provinces in a state of peace at very little cost. During his term he meted out justice to certain Tepehuanes of San Pablo, Ocotán, and Santa Catalina. Recognizing the ability of the Tobosos to spread discord among other nations, the marqués reported this threat to his majesty and received a royal *cédula* instructing him how to proceed.

This royal *cédula* is dated 1628 and in it his majesty orders that the Toboso nation be destroyed and taken with fire and sword because it is impossible to convert them.

The next governor was Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus, and much can be said of his term, although it lasted only a year and a half. May your grace's modesty not be offended by my praise of your most prudent brother, but without the least exaggeration I can say that he was widely acclaimed and lauded by one and all. During his term silver and gold flowed out of the mountains in an abundance never before witnessed. The noted real of San Joseph del Parral was settled (although today it is unfortunately depopulated).<sup>20</sup> The Valle de San Bartolomé was further settled and brought under cultivation, as was the entire province of Santa Bárbara. In fact, this kingdom has never been so powerful, nor its vassals so benevolently ruled, as it was under him. Kindness and affability in rulers is not necessarily antithetical to the respect of vassals. Nor is the maxim, *oderint dum metuant*,<sup>21</sup> always true in newly settled lands. During this administration the Masames, neighbors of the Conchos, burned one *hacienda de labor* at the edge of the Valle de San Bartolomé and killed several people. News of this outrage reached Parral at seven in the morning, and by five in the afternoon relief had arrived, for the hacienda is fourteen leagues from Parral. The Indian aggressors were severely punished, for all were killed.

In this way the governor took revenge on the Masames. He summoned the Tobosos and after entertaining them and giving them clothes, he entrusted them with carrying out the punishment. Very cleverly, they acted friendly towards the Masames and praised their conspiracy, and as a sign of confederacy exchanged weapons with them, a custom among these nations. However, the Tobosos had carefully cut their own bowstrings, so once in possession of the Masames' weapons they fell upon the rebels and killed them all. Thus the conspirators died from their own weapons. In triumph, the Tobosos brought the heads of the Masames to the plaza of Parral. There the governor captured the Tobosos and had them destroyed.

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20. In addition to troubles with hostile Indians, the modest population decline in Parral itself was due to other recent mineral discoveries in the immediate area, at places such as San Diego de Minas Nuevas and San Francisco del Oro.

21. "As long as they fear, they will hate."

The actions of this administration are known from the *residencia* whose costs were paid for by the *penas de cámara* since there was no way to charge the previous governor.

Governor Gonzalo de Cervantes Casaus was succeeded in June of 1633 by Luis de Monsalve, who, with such a good example to follow, continued to expand the mines of Parral. He encouraged mining with his treasury, meted out justice, and dealt with these matters requiring his attention. During his administration there were uprisings in the valley of San Pablo, during which the Indians killed some muleteers hauling corn. It is said the Indians were justified because the muleteers provoked them. The governor went to San Pablo but, achieving nothing, he ordered the *Maestre de Campo* Francisco Montaña de la Cueva to go in his place. With great tact and skill he pacified the Indians and thus quelled the uprising. During this administration, the road from Sonora to Parral through the land of the Tarahumaras was opened by Captain Don Pedro de Perea with license from his excellency.<sup>22</sup> (It is both fitting and necessary that his excellency the viceroy be consulted before new projects are begun so that, with his mature judgment and that of the *audiencia*, he may weigh the merits of the plan. When he is not consulted, the kingdom suffers and unnecessary costs to the royal treasury are incurred. As will be shown later, Villa de Aguilar and the presidio at Papigochic are examples of what can, but should not, happen. Both were ruined and destroyed in a few days and much of [Nueva] Vizcaya followed suit.) It cannot be denied that Governor Luis de Monsalve was plagued by bad luck. He was a man indifferent to profit and material gain, and in making irrecoverable loans he lost all his money. In late 1638 those whom he had helped most brought suit against him in the *Audiencia* of Guadalajara with the end result that he lost his governorship and finally his life in jail. Ever since that time this kingdom has been sinking, finally reaching the miserable state of misfortune it occupies today.

General Don Francisco Bravo de la Serna<sup>23</sup> was subsequently appointed governor by his excellency the viceroy, the Marqués de Cadereyta.<sup>24</sup> The appointment was undoubtedly inspired in heaven because had not such a mature, judicious, and long-suffering captain-general arrived, this kingdom would have been totally lost to uprisings and rivalries. On the way to Parral at a place called Canutillo a troop of 200 warriors and 400 other Indians defied the governor's royal standard. This set a very bad example because heretofore the Indians had venerated both the governors and their insignias, believing the standard was endowed with special powers. The governor settled these problems and governed prudently for another year. Thanks to divine providence not one Indian nation conspired to revolt.

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22. Pedro de Perea was born in Andalucía, Spain, in 1591. In 1630 he became captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and *alcalde mayor* of that province. In 1637 he was appointed by the viceroy as colonizer of the area north of the Yaqui River and named *alcalde mayor* of the new region which he called Nueva Andalucía. It was in 1641 that, accompanied by Gerónimo de Figueroa, a Jesuit missionary in the Tarahumara, he opened the route from Sonora to Parral. He died in Sonora in 1645.

23. Bravo de la Serna had previously been *corregidor* of the city of Oaxaca in 1628–30. He was governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1639–40.

24. The Marqués de Cadereyta was Lope de Díaz de Armendáriz, viceroy of New Spain 1635–40. He was born in Quito, Perú, about 1575.

These Indians were the Tobosos, Conchos, and Salineros. The following year the negative results made themselves felt, as had been feared by practical and well-informed persons.

General Fernando Sousa de Suárez<sup>25</sup> was appointed governor by royal decree, and he governed in peace from February 1640 until January 25, 1641. Luis de Valdés's term began on the latter day and continued through 1642. Nothing memorable happened during this part of his administration. In the spring of 1643, the audiencia judge, Alonso de Villalba, arrived with a royal decree instructing that he investigate and punish the perpetrators of past uprisings. However, he accomplished little, and some say he conducted his investigations with the object of winning the governor's post for himself. Through royal decrees his majesty ordered that many thousands of pesos be returned to the royal treasury and even to individual citizens.

Despite these investigations, no one was actually found guilty of any crime. Some followed the governor and his standard when it was unfurled; others followed that of the Audiencia of Guadalajara; others followed his excellency, the viceroy. The *oidor* left matters unresolved and failed to account for large sums of money he took from the vassals of this kingdom.

However, little good came of this and the kingdom was left bankrupt. Then, in full view in the public plaza of Parral, he had former governor Luis de Monsalve put in irons and sent imprisoned in a cart to Guadalajara. This caused a great scandal and made quite an impression on the Indians.

Governor Luis de Valdés should not have tolerated these acts. In the first place they could have made a bad impression on the barbarians, and in the second place, it was contrary to the excellent treatment Luis de Monsalve received during his imprisonment from the Viceroys Marqués de Cadereyta, Marqués de Villena,<sup>26</sup> Juan de Palafox,<sup>27</sup> and the Conde de Salvatierra,<sup>28</sup> all of whom treated him as a gentleman of the purest blood. When the governor's case had remained too long in an outside jurisdiction, it would have been better—as later developments demonstrated—to have moved the trial to where he was well known and recently recognized as captain-general. This would have in no way impeded the judicial process since it is not contrary to its ends to use such prudent measures, especially since in cases handled outside a jurisdiction, judgments should be stayed so as not to prejudice the military. Many circumstances, including the counsel and decision of the *real acuerdo* of México,<sup>29</sup> motivated the Conde de Salvatierra's decision to order Alonso de Villalba to leave this kingdom.

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25. Before becoming governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Sousa de Suárez had been corregidor of México in 1635.

26. Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, viceroy 1640–42.

27. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, viceroy June–November 1642.

28. García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, viceroy 1642–48.

29. The *real acuerdo* was a decision made by the Audiencia of México in conjunction with the viceroy.

In the following year of 1644, the Salinero Indians of Tizonazo, it is said, used the pretext of starvation to obtain license for the purpose of rounding up and selling maverick cattle. Actually, this was only an excuse for them to perpetrate their crimes and wickedness. Once they obtained the license, they set off, and finding Marcos Beltrán<sup>30</sup> with his carts at the place called Las Cruces, they sacked the carts, stole the mules, and killed seventeen people. Beltrán escaped on horseback. No punishment was administered because these wily and clever Indians returned peacefully to their village and blamed the attack on other nations. The Salineros, in answer to the evidence against them, said that if they had committed the crime they would not have returned to their ranchería nor would they have asked license to leave in the first place. With these and similar sophistries these Indians, as will be described later in more detail, have always managed to commit all manner of atrocities and crimes and yet remain unpunished because they have put the blame on others. Moreover, they have adopted and trained the Cabezas, Matarajes, Gavi-lanes, Bausarigames, and other tribes to extend their territories. These matters will be discussed later at greater length.

During the following year of 1645, the Salineros made clear their intentions. They conspired with the Conchos, who chose the appointment of a certain Don Joseph to govern them as an excuse to rebel. This Don Joseph, the son of a mulatto and a Concho Indian woman, governed imperiously and so weighed upon his people that they finally burned him alive.<sup>31</sup> They then went on to kill two missionaries, Fray Francisco de Zigarán and Fray Francisco Labado, both priests of the order of Saint Francis, and finally to burn their convent. Exactly why the rebels martyred the two priests is not known, presumably they had become more insolent after the Marcos Beltrán affair. At any rate, they went on to ally themselves with the Tobosos, Julimes, Ocomes, Acoclames, Nonojos, and other nations and then proceeded to murder more people, some near Parral, others near Palmitos, and yet others in Cuencamé, where they also stole many horses. At the settlement of Santa Ana, which lies between Cuencamé and Parras, they killed seven people and took two Spanish women alive. They also took control of the passes, obstructed the roads, and generally impeded the flow of traffic and commerce.

His excellency the Conde de Salvatierra, when advised of this state of affairs, ordered persons pressed into service and supplied the necessary funds. The governor formed an army and was joined by General Pedro Sáenz Izquierdo,<sup>32</sup> mayor of Zacatecas, with seventy men equipped at his own expense. This army marched to the land of the Salineros and found the enemy, numbering 600 archers not counting their women and children, at the peñol of Porciúncula, so named because it was reached on that day. The peñol was surrounded and the Indians asked for

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30. In this year Beltrán was engaged in farming as well as running his freighting operations out of Parral. He held a captaincy in the militia.

31. The details of the end of Concho Chief Joseph Juan are in the earlier document on the Toboso revolt.

32. Sáenz Izquierdo was active from his base in Zacatecas in bringing men and arms from Nueva Galicia to help quell Indian hostilities in Nueva Vizcaya. This assistance had the effect of securing the road traffic and trade north from Zacatecas while enhancing the mayor's own aspirations.

peace by certain signs and a flag which they raised. The governor believed the surrender should be accepted, whereas Sáenz Izquierdo preferred to continue the assault since he felt victory was at hand and could better justify his efforts with a good battle. In the end, the governor's opinion prevailed and Fray Pedro de Aparicio, a Franciscan, was sent as an envoy. He returned with some caciques who affirmed that they and all their followers would return to the real the next day. That night the Indians slipped away through a different pass, escaping with their families. The mayor's plan was then unanimously endorsed and all said with one voice that only by severely punishing the Salineros could the war be ended. There was also the impression that the governor did not attack the rebels because he did not wish to give the mayor the glory of a victory. The truth of the matter is that no one surveyed the peñol nor recognized its great size and ruggedness, which was such that it would have required twice as many men as the Spaniards had in order to take it. Nonetheless, many blamed the governor for the enemy's escape although he was obviously not at fault; he was simply following the Conde de Salvatierra's orders to wage the war with restraint and to shed as little blood as possible. The mayor, disgusted, returned to Zacatecas with his men while the governor marched into the interior in search of the enemy. Captain Cristóbal de Nevaes skirmished with them and killed twenty-five to thirty of the rebels. The remaining body of Indians fled in search of Maestro de Campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva. They found him with fifty men and a number of allies guarding the roads at Los Nogales, which lies between Cerrogor do and the back side of the Sierra de Canutillo. There the rebels made peace. The governor then went to Tizonazo, where he settled the Salineros; he also aggregated the Cabeza nation to this pueblo—something he should not have done.

The Cabeza nation is related to the Salinero, so that joining the two has multiplied the number of domestic enemies whose subterfuges have destroyed this kingdom.

At this time, the presidio of Cerrogor do was established as a control (I say it is no more than a restraint) for these nations; and it was staffed with twenty-four soldiers and their leader. Although these means, such as establishing a presidio, are efficient and useful in their own right, they can prejudice rather than aid a cause, if accidentally corrupted. The intent of this presidio, proposed through prolonged deliberation and many meetings, was to explore the land, conduct campaigns, safeguard the roads, and to control and punish delinquents and highwaymen who steal horses. The presidio was built, so they say, in the most convenient place to serve the area. However, since the soldiers have accomplished none of the above goals, one could more properly say the presidio has simply served itself.

During its first three years the presidio was a cause of fear and consternation among the Indians because its captain had served in the same capacity for twenty-four years at the presidio of Santa Catalina, where he had been the scourge and terror of the Tepehuanes.<sup>33</sup> Many Indians of that nation died on the gallows, and

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33. This was the Spaniard, Juan de Barraza. He had served as the first commander of the presidio of Santa Catalina de Tepehuanes until being given the same command at the newly formed presidio of Cerrogor do.

none of them in battle; it is a much different thing to hunt for birds in their nests than to pursue wild beasts in the open. Nothing good has come of this presidio, only more insolence from the Indians, who have caused more trouble than they did before the presidio was founded. Even when the captain has a full complement of soldiers, which admittedly is rare, he does next to nothing. He is weighed down by his years and failings, and some say his hands are tied by the governors. The truth is that the presidio has never been well governed. Not only have well-equipped horses—the principal nerve of the militia—been lacking, but also ordinary weapons. These defects, as well as the fact that the Indians do not see daily maneuvers or any other sort of military discipline, have conveyed to them, as well as us, a bad impression. Since the barbarians have neither fear nor respect for the presidio, they commit the atrocities we experience daily. Not only are they unafraid of us, they have come to disdain our weaponry. The rationale behind the establishment of the presidio was good, and it would have served well were it not for the fact that when there was a sword, an arm was lacking, or vice versa. Most of the soldiers did not perform their intended duties but were instead employed as muleteers, couriers, and mail carriers. We will soon see how seven men from this presidio, along with two from Santa Catalina, founded the ill-fated Villa de Aguilar and subsequently died at the hands of the Tarahumaras.

Toward the end of the administration of Governor Luis de Valdés in 1648, the Tarahumaras killed a muleteer by the name of Tableros along with seventeen to twenty other persons transporting salt, provisions, and (so they say) 4,000 pesos in silver from the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa. They killed Padre Cornelio [Godínez] of the Society of Jesus, the missionary at Papigochic. Apparently the Tarahumaras had reacted to the vexations and hurts the Spaniards had caused them, which included damaging their cornfields and attempting to take several Indian boys as slaves. General Juan Fernández Carrión, with some forty or fifty men, sought to punish the aggressors, but they resolved to return to Parral because the Tarahumaras proved to be much stronger and braver than imagined. Much can be said for acts inspired by reason and the desire to protect what is one's own.

Such was the state of this kingdom when Diego Guajardo Fajardo arrived to govern it at the beginning of November 1648, bringing with him a warrant from the bishop-governor<sup>34</sup> to quiet the Indians and put an end to their uprisings. At this point, in order to avoid confusion and so that what I will refer to in the discussion of this administration will be better understood, I deem it convenient to summarize and succinctly state pertinent facts relative to the Tarahumara, Salinero, and Toboso nations. The nature of the Indians' lands, customs, and the benefit or harm they bring will be discussed in order to resolve the many doubts which have arisen from the myriad conflicting reports to superiors which have been twisted by personal goals, ambitions, and pretensions. My only goal is to serve the interests of God and king and to revive this unfortunate and perishing kingdom. Nonetheless, the common opinion is that this kingdom has been judged unfairly and without a proper defense.

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34. This is a reference to Marcos de Torres y Rueda (1588–1649), bishop of Yucatán, who was also the viceroy of New Spain in 1648–49.



The province of the Tarahumaras, which runs from the other side of Parral and to the northwest, has as its first village San Felipe, about twelve leagues from the said real. Huejotitlán is about seventeen leagues distant. Both villages are Jesuit doctrinas, as is Satevó, otherwise known as San Javier. Santa Isabel, San Pedro, and Babonoyaba—all mixed villages of Tarahumaras and Conchos—are administered by the Franciscans.<sup>35</sup> The interior of the Tarahumara, about sixty, seventy, or eighty leagues from Parral, is densely populated in several places.<sup>36</sup> Within the Tarahumara nation is the Valle del Aguila, which includes Papigochic, Villa de Aguilar, Peña del Cuervo, Salto del Agua, and other settlements serving the road to Sonora, which borders to the north and west along the lands of the Yécoras and Guazapares. The Tarahumara is bordered on the south by Tepehuan Indians of the Sierra Madre. This province is fertile, having plenty of water, pastures and woodlands, valleys, and both rain-fed and irrigated lands.

The Tarahumara nation, it is said, has more than 10,000 archers, and without question is the most courteous, peaceable, pacific, and industrious nation in the kingdom. The Tarahumaras raise a great quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables with which they supply Parral and all the province of Santa Bárbara. They clothe themselves with a cloth of vegetable fiber woven for this purpose.<sup>37</sup> They raise chickens, sheep, some cattle, and mares. They go and work in Parral without compulsion or violence. They are not a troublesome people, nor did they conspire in the Tepehuan uprising in 1616. It was never thought that they were the brave and aggressive warriors they have proven themselves to be in the past few years.<sup>38</sup> Never have they engaged in treachery or ambushed us during war; in fact, they have met us in battle at an appointed time and place. They have never engaged in raids nor have they murdered a single person or stolen a single animal. They are an extremely docile people and are easily reduced. Without a doubt the Tarahumaras are the most useful nation in this kingdom, especially to the real of San Joseph del Parral, which they abundantly supply with maize. Spaniards used to go into the Tarahumara alone and unprotected to trade and come back with maize, vegetables, other goods, and cloth obtained at little cost. These Indians are so honest and punctual that Spanish traders who have left maize with them that could not be easily transported have returned to find not a single ear missing, even though other traders offered to buy it in the interim. The excellent qualities of

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35. In this area the missions of the two orders were in close proximity and jurisdictional disputes later arose. The Franciscan missions of Babonoyaba and Santa Isabel did not become permanent until 1665 and 1668, respectively.

36. The Tarahumara could have numbered as many as 30,000 to 35,000 at this time. Before adverse impact by the Spaniards later in the seventeenth century, large numbers lived along the Río Papigochic. They had largely abandoned this area and retreated southwest by the eighteenth century.

37. Before they came to rely upon wool and cotton for this purpose, the Tarahumara used agave fiber and Indian hemp (*Apocynum* sp.) for the weaving of blankets and articles of clothing. Archaeological evidence for these textiles is known from the area.

38. This statement refers to the resistance the Tarahumaras put up in their revolts of 1648, 1650, and 1652.

this nation manifested themselves in the way they welcomed instruction in the holy faith when it was introduced gently and without force.

It is a great shame, and enough to bring tears to one's eyes, that greedy Spaniards buy maize from them and resell it at inflated prices in Parral. Thus bread becomes too expensive for the poor, and this avarice saps the juices and sustenance of the miners. What is even worse is the unquenchable thirst for quick riches that drives men to enslave Tarahumara women and children. The mistreatment the Tarahumaras have received has transformed them from meek lambs unskilled in the use of arms into extremely brave warriors. It cannot be denied that, in making war upon this nation which did not first make war on us, royal funds have been wasted and the kingdom as a whole has gone to perdition. It has always been understood and recognized that the Tarahumaras are justified in their wars because they have sought only to defend themselves. In the long run, after great expense, irreparable damage, and great perdition, we have had to concede what they asked in the first place.<sup>39</sup> Let us now temporarily end this section of the narrative to take it up again at its proper place. We shall now proceed to the inexcusable acts of the Toboso and Salinero nations. Both follow in the same footsteps and both have taken singular advantage of events with great audacity and boldness.

The Toboso and Salinero nations neighbor each other in a mountain chain which runs between north and east. The Toboso nation lies more to the north, near Parral and close to the Conchos, Nonojes, Acoclames, Totoclames, Julimes, Chisos, Ocomes, and Gavilanes. Their village is really nothing more than a formality because it exists only when they are at peace. It is called Atotonilco and is about eight leagues distant from the Valle de San Bartolomé and fourteen from Parral. Their refuge is a sterile and drought-stricken land that can be traversed only during the height of the rainy season. As has been stated, the Tobosos are few in number, but one of their chieftains has the power to stir up ten nations. Thus none of the neighboring nations, of which there are many, has failed to join the Tobosos in their uprisings of recent years, and now their assaults on the Parral region have escalated even more. The Tobosos neither work fields nor work in the mines, so they are of no use except to cause incalculable damage. For this reason his majesty issued a royal decree in 1628 to the Marqués de Salinas resolving the question of what should be done with the Tobosos in order best to serve royal interests.<sup>40</sup>

I have heard that the viceroy has received reports stating that all the Tobosos are dead and their nation destroyed. And so it is that either these reports were fictitious, created to conceal the campaigns against the Tarahumaras and to dissemble the great waste of royal funds, or if indeed these Tobosos have been destroyed, then others have been resurrected. It is evident that the ravages caused by the Tobosos have been hidden in false reports so that each government, upon its termination, can sufficiently obscure matters to render the appearance of leaving the kingdom

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39. By this comment Medrano shows that he considered the Tarahumara revolts up to that time to have been a justifiable response to Spanish encroachment. The Jesuit missionaries and others realized this, also. The Indians were asking only to be left alone.

40. This decree authorized their extermination.

at peace to its successor. In reality, it delivers a stacked deck and a contrived hand. The results of this farce and trickery have caused the kingdom to suffer and his majesty to lose money through the waste of his royal revenue from mining. The present governor is so manacled and bound that he cannot halt the repeated insults nor respond to the pitiful requests for aid that come to him every day.

This nation, which they have managed to classify as destroyed, is the Salinero. The governor pronounced a death sentence on them in 1650 for their many crimes. His excellency ordered the nation to be destroyed in fire and blood in 1652 and made available 80,000 pesos for the purpose. However, rather than destroying the Salineros, the government made peace with them in 1653 and supplied them with clothing and provisions because the governor's successor was on his way, etc.

The Salinero nation lies more to the east and in that direction borders the Coahuilas. To the north it borders the Cibolas, a very great and extensive nation.<sup>41</sup> The Salineros have no known village or ranchería in the interior and are the most unstable and lazy nation in the kingdom. They are composed of different lineages from which they take their names. Thus some are called Meresalineros, and others Cabezas, Matarajes, Negritos, Colorados, or Bausarigames. Nonetheless, they are a single race and speak one language.<sup>42</sup> The village and doctrina of the Meresalineros, who were joined with the Cabezas in 1646, is Tizonazo, and is two leagues past Indé on the camino real toward Parral. Many of these Indians are scattered in Cerrogorido, Santa Ana, Canutillo, and the ranch of Hernán Martín. All these are passes or high places from which the Indians can prey on travelers. These Indians do not practice agriculture, nor do they work in the mines, nor do they clothe themselves. They have always supported themselves by theft, the magnitude depending upon the opportunity. Although the harm they caused in the past was great, it is nothing compared to their present excesses. The reason for this is that in times past there were infinite numbers of maverick livestock on the plains of La Zarca and Magdalena<sup>43</sup> which they could prey upon without doing us direct injury. The Salineros would also descend in droves upon travelers at Río Florido, Santo Domingo de Naiza, and El Gallo, all of them at passes, and there demand flour, maize, and other provisions. Travelers knew they had better accede to the requests so that some calamity would not befall them; many a solitary traveler has perished miserably along this road. When the Salineros had decimated the wild cattle and herds, they turned their greedy and vicious eyes upon the settled areas of this kingdom and together with the Tobosos and Zeguaces have stolen more than 15,000 animals in six years, including miners' mules. This is an important point because even if the murders done by these barbarians should be forgotten (although they never will be), one cannot ignore that without mules

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41. In this instance Medrano uses the term "Cíbola" to refer to any and all groups living north of the Río Grande in present Texas and New Mexico.

42. These languages and tribes have been extinct since colonial times. Most recent ethno-linguistic research indicates they were Uto-Aztecan.

43. These plains are south-southeast of Cerrogorido, approximately 50 to 70 kilometers.

there can be no processing of metals. If silver cannot be transported, then his majesty's interests will be prejudiced.

These thefts of livestock have been so continuous that by the end of 1659 more than 30,000 animals had been stolen in Nueva Vizcaya as well as in Nueva España and Nueva Galicia, where these barbarians have also penetrated.

Great is the evil of these times when one can deny the justified charge that a flourishing kingdom is being ruined by unnecessary expenditures and campaigns. Sophistries of the basest sort have been concocted in order to calm the clamor of those who cry out against these continued thefts and against the outrage of seeing our people, victims of the Indians, buried in the churches. The perpetrators of these lies and fictions say the murders are committed by Indian laborers from the haciendas surrounding Parral and that the miners' horses and mules are taken by Spanish creditors in lieu of payment. To the first of these lies I say that if indeed domestic Indians had resolved to take advantage of the widespread confusion and carry out these crimes, then an exemplary punishment would suffice to control them. Furthermore, if domestic Indians are responsible, then the following questions must be answered. Did bands of domestic Indians kill six persons last June on the road running from this city [Durango] to San Juan del Río? Did they kill eight others on the road to Charcos and Santa Catalina twelve leagues from Parral? Did they kill eleven people in Atotonilco and another seven in Sextín de Cañas,<sup>44</sup> twenty leagues away? Did they kill thirteen people in San Agustín last year and another eleven in Atotonilco? Did they kill seven people in Palmitos? As a matter of fact, more than 300 people have been killed in different parts of the kingdom during the past six years. In answer to the above, I ask: do our miners and laborers have their eyes blindfolded so they cannot see the settled Indians come

At the time this report was written, more than 700 people had died at the hands of the Indians, and by the end of 1659 the total number of such deaths in Nueva Vizcaya and parts of Nueva España and Nueva Galicia had exceeded 3,000.

and go? No, they are not blindfolded, but they do call the Indians of Tizonazo settled Indians. On the pretext of going to work in Parral, these Indians go wherever they please and murder and rob whomever they encounter. They spy upon us and report to their compatriots our plans and designs, as well as all the pertinent information contained in his excellency's dispatches. As long as they live among us, they will not be satisfied with merely sabotaging us, but they will finally sink this miserable ship of state. Undoubtedly there is little time left before this comes to pass, since the drought that began in the fall has limited our opportunity to move against the Indians; their lands are so arid that we can enter them only during the rainy season. I therefore submit with evident lack of deceit that divine justice has disposed that this kingdom should suffer blows and wounds in much the same way as our enterprises and affairs have suffered corruption.

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44. The Río Sextín is the main northern tributary of the Río Nazas.

The second point—ascribing the thefts of horses to Spanish creditors—is absurd to imagine and even more ridiculous to believe. How can such a theory be proposed after these questions have been answered? If such a large number of horses and mules have remained in the kingdom, where are they pastured? If they have been taken from the kingdom, by what route did they go? Are their hoofprints invisible? Where are the reports on this affair? Although it would not be a miracle if they existed, since testifying falsely is a veritable disease amongst the subjects of this kingdom and one which would require a strong medicine to remedy, still the cure cannot be achieved by superiors who render things licit to suit their wishes and convenience. The chief physician of the realm, his excellency [the viceroy], upon whose shoulders rests the task of governing and maintaining the good health of this entire New World, must completely expose the disease in order to diagnose and treat it. What good is it if the cure is promptly and abundantly supplied, but then applied only to a nerve slightly scratched by the Tarahumaras while the patient's head and body are left exposed to the pernicious attacks overlooked by his majesty's ministers who profess, as they must, rectitude? It is illegal for any subject to assume the authority to seize horses and mules in payment of debts when miners and workers will be left with no way to complete their tasks. If the ministers allowed it, they would not be acting justly nor would they be attending to his majesty's interests and the public good, which are always foremost.

Moreover, a close reading of the report sent to his excellency on the battle at the peñol of San Miguel, also called Nonolat, dated September 1652, reveals the presence of an unheard-of number of horse and mule skeletons which remained after the Indians had stolen and killed them. This proves that Indians, not Spaniards, are responsible for the loss of livestock. If one wished to blame the present government for creating this falsehood, it should be mentioned that on December 10 of the past year [1653] Indians were found in possession of horses and that the previous November many horses were stolen from private parties and people were killed. At that time it was considered criminal to complain, and one who did was told that his animals had been taken in payment for debts. God permitted that on the following night the horses of this official and his neighbor were taken, as well as their carriage mules. The public was then able to confront him with his own theory—that creditors were forced to take such measures to ensure payment. Apparently the superior had little faith in his own theory because the next day forty men set out to track the animals. The hoofprints led to Los Peotillos, in the land of the Tobosos. Thus by midday this ridiculous theory had been disproved. Nonetheless, no mention of this or any other prejudicial affair was ever made to his excellency for fear that papers before the royal council recommending recognition and merit to certain persons for their role in pacifying the kingdom would be dismissed. Thus reports often consist of pure fraud and lies, all at the cost of a precious jewel from the crown and to the detriment of the official's successor who, denied sufficient means, flounders miserably (although craftily) in the face of the worst storm which ever blew across the high seas of this kingdom. Although some have compared it to the rebellion of 1616, in the course of which more than eighty people met untimely deaths, now, in the timespan of six years, more than 300 people have died in various places at the hands of what are fallaciously described as highwaymen. Even if this were true and not proven false by other documents

and evidence which will be presented later, it would certainly discredit and disgrace our forces, which would be shown to be inferior to the supposedly weaker enemy force. The fact that enemy depredations have continued unabated indicates that our forces are not even strong enough to destroy the few, weak weeds that are our foes.

At the time this was written, 700 people had been killed, and by the end of 1659 the count had passed 3,000.

Let us suppose for now (although we will later disprove the supposition with solid facts and vivid examples) that bands of marauders are indeed responsible for the robberies and murders from Parras to Parral, a distance of 100 leagues, and that they control the passes and roads. What, I ask, does it matter if, for example, one Pedro bleeds to death slowly or is immediately beheaded or dies at the hands of 100 people or at the hands of one? The end result is death either way. Given that these bands have killed 300 people, that the mines and fields remain unworked, that the horses have all been driven off, and that finally everything is dying, what difference would it make if all this damage were caused by an enormous army? What I perceive and allude to is that, if these many damages are caused by Indian bands who remain unpunished through our own inertia, then it must be admitted that the enemy are too numerous and that they are too firmly entrenched and control the defensible passes. Thus either way the innocents suffer while the blame is passed.

Let us make things a little more difficult by investigating the most aggravating insults committed during the past five years and by asking what sort of people the Indians killed in the past and what sort they kill today. Were the horses so different in days past that it was convenient to report their loss whereas today one is humiliated and disadvantaged by reporting a theft? If today the horses are taken by Spanish creditors collecting their debts, was the kingdom so powerful and the vassals so prosperous in days past that there were no debts and no creditors? If domestic workers commit the crimes that so plague us today, they either were of a different breed during the previous administration or else they did not exist and mining and silver extraction were carried out by angels. If at this miserable and calamitous time bands of attackers so mistreat us, force commerce to a standstill, cause the haciendas to be idle, and the mines and isolated ranches to be abandoned, could it be that Indian armies invaded us during the previous government? Did their legions appear on the roads in such numbers that a sentence of death was placed upon the Tobosos and Salineros, and orders were obtained from his excellency providing for a war by fire and sword? These pernicious nations undoubtedly appealed to the Tarahumaras, and the death sentence was immediately revoked and the campaigns into the lands of the Tobosos and Salineros stopped. Reports alleged that with the battle at the peñol [of Nonolat] (about which we will say more later), the war was finished. Since the enemy Indians who had escaped were few in number and since little rain fell during September—the one and only time we can enter the Toboso and Salinero lands—they were not pursued. Instead false alarms were sounded and attacks feigned at San Felipe, in the Tarahumara country. One and all agreed in a council of war that it would be best to leave the battlefield and go to the said province in the guise of helping the missionaries and

burying the dead at Papigochic. To have proposed a formal war against the Tarahumara nation would have meant disobeying both his excellency and his majesty, as expressed in his royal decree which prohibits the waging of war against the Tarahumaras as well as the use of royal funds for this purpose, ordering instead that these Indians be reduced through gentle and spiritual means. Undoubtedly those who agreed to the campaign ignored the contents of the said royal decree. Even if those who agreed were aware of the orders, it was wrong for them to use the pretext of aid or to question the intent of the superior. Even if they achieved one or the other, they were afraid that some of them might be executed by arquebus. However, on this occasion it would have been a mistake for the governor to lose the opportunity to conduct the campaign at another's expense when a standing force was ready to reduce such an extensive nation, unworthy of respect.

It may appear that we have digressed from our description and narration of the Salineros and Tobosos. Nonetheless, the digression is indispensable because either the expenses of this campaign were needless and the reports that inspired his excellency and the royal council deceptive, because the evidence indicated the ravages of today are identical to those of the past, or else the ambition of those whose petitions were before the Council of the Indies to bring credit to themselves in detriment of others and the denial of the just charge that treasury funds were used in contravention of the wishes of both his majesty and his excellency account for the attempt to obscure the fact that this kingdom is in a state of perdition and ruin and that because the money was not used for its intended purpose, the Indians have remained unpunished and their insults are even more glaring and vivid.

All this is evident and the contrary consists only of craftiness and entanglements designed to confuse the issue.

What remains to be said is that the Salineros have about 600 warriors armed with bows and arrows. They spill over into the previously described places, usually under the guise of rounding up wild cattle, and commit most of their crimes between Indé and Parral as well as in Parras, Cuencamé, San Juan del Río, Atotonilco, and along the Río de Nazas and as far as the Río Florido. Enrique Dávila, the current governor of this kingdom, has observed and perceived that these Indians are the perpetrators of the crimes which plague us so. Under the guise of friendship and the false peace instituted last year, they have encouraged and supported the depredations of other remote nations in our lands as well. Unfortunately Enrique Dávila has not been able to remedy the situation or give public satisfaction to the repeated aggravations because of the cunning and contrivances of those who place false statements and reports in the hands of your excellency. When these are compared with the governor's reports, the viceroy has justifiably remained doubtful, deferring a decision until a skillful, attentive, and zealous study has been undertaken by your grace, the visitor and accountant. I must confess that this material is as delicate as it is grave; not only must the means of avoiding needless expenditures of his majesty's money be taken into account, but it must also be realized that it is detrimental to royal interest to lose such a useful and valuable kingdom.

This evil has yet to be perceived nor has it been reported with the evidence that proves it. Expenses have not been tabulated nor the nature of losses investi-

gated; instead each matter is considered separately. This problem is so considerable that losses on the one hand have surely resulted in losses on the other. Thus the irrevocable loss of this kingdom continues, a path being followed at such a fast pace that either the kingdom must be left to the Indians or people must be brought in to defend it at great expense to other royal treasuries. This plan implies that little will be done in the way of paying salaries. Each year the quinto mining taxes were more than 100,000 pesos, even after the 35,000 pesos in salaries were paid. When the profits of the last three years are compared to those of the previous three, it will be found that they are 150,000 pesos less. To remedy this would require more than 1,500,000 pesos in exports, which at the market would soon yield his majesty doubled profits. However, its lack has not only weakened this kingdom's mining industry—it has ruined it. Our merchants have also been hurt; they have failed their counterparts in México, for the lack of 500,000 pesos annually on the market there is by no means negligible. These ramifications cannot be denied, and officials have tried to argue that they have resulted from the decline of the mines. These matters will be scrutinized and discussed in more detail further on, and it will be shown that all segments of society—miners, stockraisers, workers, and merchants—are suffering from the decline.

I will now briefly describe what should be known about the Salinero nation. Members of this nation were once considered subjugated; only a few years ago General Cristóbal de Ontiveros,<sup>45</sup> now deceased, employed them as herdsmen and cowboys. They have extended their area of operation greatly and are now masters of all the settlements and stopping places between Parral, Guanaceví, Santa Catalina, Santiago Papasquiario, the city of Durango, San Juan del Río, Cuencamé, and Parras. Thus when the Salineros are in a state of rebellion, all who pass through these areas are subject to their wrath. The roads become impassable and those who attempt to cross are murdered and robbed. The Salineros live in Tizonazo as well as in the above-mentioned places. When they are not in Tizonazo, as they often travel in bands—especially notable is a squadron of Cabezas led by an Indian named Santiago—they say they are rounding up wild cattle. The land of the salt flats,<sup>46</sup> from which this nation gets its name, is as extensive as it is barren of pastures, water, and mountains. It is impassable during the dry season and not much better during the rainy season because of the many gullies and swampy areas. Water holes in this barren and desolate land are often twenty or thirty leagues apart. Therefore the crimes of these Indians remain unpunished and uncontrolled. In one night they can travel fifteen or twenty leagues with their stolen herds, putting themselves beyond reach of the Spaniards, who find it difficult or impossible to pursue them.

On November 4, 1648, in this city, as stated previously, Diego Guajardo Fajardo took possession of the government. Having arranged for and obtained permission for the bishop-governor to pacify the Tarahumaras, he left for Parral in December. In both Valle de San Bartolomé and Parral the people received him with rejoicing and applause, as did the bishop and other churchmen. He remained there only fif-

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45. Ontiveros had been in the Parral area since the early 1620s and had risen through the ranks.

46. Located in the Bolsón de Mapimí.



teen days before entering the Tarahumara in January, accompanied by many citizens and individuals who equipped themselves at their own cost. The great bravery of this gentlemen cannot be denied; he was the first to expose himself to great danger and risk. He fought alongside the officers and men, suffering more hardships than anyone. Not even during the rigorous winter did he remove his armor and weapons when he slept. Some of the aggressors were killed, and the governor recovered the 600 or 700 marcos of silver stolen from the Sonoran muleteers murdered the previous year. This silver belonged to various persons in Parral. Tarahumara women and children were taken prisoner and sold at public auction in Parral. The proceeds from this sale were entrusted to Diego de Villafranca,<sup>47</sup> recipient of these and other goods.

At this time, the governor founded the presidio of Papigochic, garrisoning it with seven men from the presidio of Cerrogorordo and two from the presidio of Santa Catalina. He also established Villa de Aguilar, so named because it was situated next to the presidio in the heart of the extremely fertile Valle de Aguila, which can easily be irrigated by the Papigochic River. The previous year Indians had killed Padre Cornelio [Godínez] about one league from the settlement, so Padre Jácome Antonio Basilio of the Society of Jesus took his place.

The presidio, villa, and the parish house were built where the Indians were accustomed to planting their fields of early corn because of the availability of irrigation water. These were prejudiced by an enormous planting of wheat that was put in near the villa, with Gerónimo de Ontiveros as mayordomo.<sup>48</sup> The intent and purpose of the presidio and settlement was to propagate the holy faith, protect the missionaries, and furnish protection to traffic on the road to Sonora. Not one of these goals was accomplished. The faith cannot be propagated by force but only by gentle means, and a presidio manned by ten or twelve men located halfway between Sonora and Parral could not possibly protect the road because the Indians outnumbered the soldiers by more than 500 to one and because the soldiers could not easily render aid to travelers at both ends of such a long road. The Tarahumaras repeatedly insisted that the villa and presidio be abandoned, that their fields be returned, and that their enslaved women and children be set free. These demands were obviously just and based on natural rights. If their three demands were met, the Tarahumaras offered to insure the safety of travelers on the Sonora road, as well as that of maize traders, and what is more, to facilitate the entrance of missionaries preaching the faith. Unfortunately, it was already too late to accept the Tarahumara offer because the money generated from the sale of captives had already been used, and furthermore the officials believed that the villa and presidio were essential for stockpiling and storing the produce of the province until its transfer to the Santa Bárbara market. The Tarahumaras then masked their passions and feelings, saving their revenge for a more opportune time and place.

On various occasions a total of more than 400 women, girls, and boys were captured. Most were sold, but some perished miserably in the Parral jail for lack of buyers.

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47. In 1651 Villafranca held the rank of alférez.

48. In 1653 Ontiveros was reported as having a 25-year-old daughter by his wife, Sebastiana, a former slave from the Philippines (*esclava china*).

The governor returned to Parral and against the advice of well-informed and experienced persons continued to maintain the villa and presidio in addition to sending missionaries. Even the bishop, when consulted, told him the matter should be scrupulously and delicately handled. The bishop's good counsel provoked indignation of such heat that it forged the links of a weighty chain around the ecclesiastical establishment, much to its detriment and injury.

This villa and presidio were instrumental in the loss and perdition of this kingdom and the subsequent exodus from Parral. These miners, who mined more silver than the established haciendas, took their silver and left in large groups for the new villa at the urging of the governor. In addition, infinite numbers of workers followed the miners' footsteps. This caused so much economic confusion that many debtors, if not absolved of their debts by the governor, were five or six years late in paying their creditors. Thus much of the mining and silver extraction industry became so encumbered that moneylenders and suppliers of credit took the warning and stopped lending, both in their own and in other more distant jurisdictions, bringing the credit system to a halt. This was the case with Captains Juan Sánchez Rico and Joseph Lobo,<sup>49</sup> who set out for the villa hoping to work some mines, but never realized their intentions. Finally, the following year, 1650, the Tarahumaras killed Captain Lobo near the villa and badly wounded Captain Sánchez Rico, who took refuge in the camp of some gentlemen named Valenzuela traveling from Culiacán to Parral via Sonora. From hastily dug trenches, this party defended itself and fought valiantly, but nevertheless the Indians took all their goods and supplies. The Indians later killed a Captain Olivas and those accompanying him at a pass farther up the road. From this party they took 900 head of cattle and a great quantity of salt, tallow, lard, and other goods being hauled from Sonora. The presidio soldiers were unable to prevent these ravages since it was all they could do to take refuge behind the presidio walls. The governor sent reinforcements composed of a number of soldiers and Indian allies under the leadership of General Juan Fernández de Morales and General Barraza with his soldiers. This left the presidio of Cerrogorro garrisoned by only four or five men, just enough to protect the presidio itself. Thus the kingdom from Parral outward remained unguarded and unprotected. The Salineros and Cabezas took advantage of the situation, of course, and adopted the insolent attitude which, as we will see, they still have today.

General Morales and General Barraza, with eighty men and a number of Indian allies, penetrated the region beyond Villa de Aguilar for twenty leagues until they besieged the Tarahumaras on a peñol surrounded by the Tomochic and Tecorachic rivers.<sup>50</sup> When they recognized the strength of the enemy fortifications and the constant arrival of reinforcements, the generals wisely lifted the siege and stealthily retreated to the villa. From there they notified the governor that it was impossible to attack the enemy with so few men.

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49. Captain Lobo's career spanned the remainder of the century. He was indeed involved in mining ventures in the late 1640s. However, other documents from the Parral Archive show he was still alive in late 1651 and still a captain and fighting Tarahumaras in 1697!

50. These are tributaries of the Río Verde, which joins with the Río Papigochic to form the Río Sirupa.

At this same time, July 26, 1650—the glorious day of Santa Ana—Sargento Mayor Juan de Herrera, Juan de Castillos,<sup>51</sup> Juan de Santoyo, a collector of revenue for the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Juan Rodríguez, and seventeen other persons, eleven of them armed with arquebuses, were ambushed and surrounded at midday by 100 Salinero and Cabeza Indians at Charcos, which is about ten leagues this side of Parral. All were killed except for one soldier who was traveling ahead, a boy, and an Indian who later died of his wounds. This Indian carried the news of the ambush to [San Miguel de] Las Bocas, a Jesuit mission about two leagues from the site of the attack. A group of Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries was assembled and sent out to recover the bodies for burial. At the bottom of a hill, this party surprised the enemy, who made ready to fight, but wisely no effort was made to engage them in battle, and the enemy disappeared into the nearby Sierra de Atocha.

The surviving soldier fled by another route and reached Parral at five o'clock in the afternoon, where he reported to the governor. No sooner had the soldier told his story than the governor and forty men set out for Charcos. Upon reaching the spot, they began following the enemy's trail, collecting whatever spoils the enemy left behind in the haste of flight. Unfortunately these did not include even one of the 7,000 pesos in reales the sargento mayor had been carrying for the governor. Upon reaching the fortified mining complex of Bernardo Gómez [de Montenegro]<sup>52</sup> and Los Nogales they realized the Indians had scattered; some tracks led into the interior while others pointed toward the Sierra del Canutillo. The governor therefore returned to Parral. General Juan Fernández Carrión later apprehended two Indians carrying bloodied arrows on the banks of the Río Florido. These Indians were taken to Parral, where they were flayed alive in the streets, hung on the gallows, and finally chopped into quarters. Their hands and heads were then left at the spot where they had committed their crime. This cruel and unchristian punishment was designed to instill fear and contain the Indians. Instead it had harmful effects and only served to make them more cruel and to perpetrate horrible deaths and martyrdoms upon those who fell into their hands.

Let us at this point take up a proposition touched upon earlier: illnesses are incurable unless antidotes are given early. Undoubtedly, when a captain-general with an army embarks upon the conquest or reconquest of a kingdom, he must try to do it as quickly as possible, taking the land with fire and sword and completely sacking the first towns. In that way, the remainder will recognize his power and surrender so as not to feel the sword which struck their neighbors. If it so happens that instead of continuing the campaign he retires to another far away and remote province, leaving the frontiers defenseless and unguarded, is it not to be expected that those who were beaten down should rise up and revenge themselves in the same fashion they were treated? What happened at Charcos on the

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51. Medrano has some facts wrong here. For one, Juan de Castillos must have survived the attack because he is listed as store owner in Parral in 1657.

52. Gómez de Montenegro went by the title of captain. His armed mining complex was near San Bartolomé. He remained active in mining and 30 years later was prominent in the new discoveries in the Cusihiuriachic district to the north.

day of Santa Ana was the most disastrous and audacious event ever witnessed in [Nueva] Vizcaya and the first since the peace was made with the Salineros in 1645. The rigorous and frightful punishment inflicted upon the two Indians would have been permissible had it been followed by a fervent and spirited pursuit and destruction of the aggressors. However, I cannot understand the governor's reasoning. Only a few days after the execution of the two Indians, he took almost all the Spaniards, most of the Indian laborers from the mines, and all the agricultural workers to campaign for many months in Tarahumara. He left no garrison, no guard to protect the kingdom from the enemy. Only four or five soldiers were left at the presidio of Cerrogordo, and he even ordered each encomendero in the Valle de San Bartolomé to supply one soldier. It is not unusual for those who have been injured to respond in a bloodthirsty manner, and on this occasion, the governor, finding himself defenseless against these nations angered by the punishment of their people, thought it would be clever to carry out the campaign against the Tarahumara. As a result, this kingdom has been so mistreated it might as well have been leased to the Turks. Rumors, to which I will not refer nor which I believe, are circulating.

Nonetheless, the governor set off to punish the Tarahumaras, but he left the Tobosos and Salineros, who were bent on revenge, unpunished and free to operate at will. Since then, these Indians gouge out the eyes and cut the tongues from any Spaniard they capture alive as well as committing atrocities upon the bodies of their victims. Previous to the martyrdom of the two Indians, none of these atrocities were known. Hence began the decline of the mines as well as the ruin and destruction of all the other economic sectors. And all of this because the cancer was not nipped in the bud.

If it is true that the governor pronounced a death sentence on those Tobosos and Salineros guilty in the deaths of Sargento Mayor Herrera and his companions, as the bills of sale of those Indians make clear, it was also well known that the governor gave General Carrión rigorous orders to proceed against the village of Tizonazo. However, the order was never executed because the people of Tizonazo have never lacked patrons and supporters. The governor continued his war against the Tarahumaras with mixed results and sent, as he had the year before, Indian captives to be sold in Parral. Again the proceeds were entrusted to Diego de Villafraña. Meanwhile the Salineros and Matarajes attacked the Hacienda de Naiza, taking one Spaniard alive and 4,000 animals. They obliged the owner, Captain Alonso Díaz,<sup>53</sup> to abandon it, for by that time he was tired of waiting for the protection he had been promised each time he asked. This hacienda had been the source of supply for the Real de Mapimí.

In the aforementioned real in the following year of 1651, the Indians attacked and killed several people, as well as taking the miners' mules. The miners, finding no remedy for so many problems, abandoned their homes and haciendas and left the real. Soon thereafter, the silver-extracting hacienda of Sebastián Fernández on the Río Nazas had to be abandoned, leaving the Indians in absolute control of this land and so cocky they boasted they could win the entire sierra from us. Just to

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53. Captain Díaz had seen duty during the 1620s in the lower Río Yaqui region.

list the murders and thefts of livestock perpetrated by these Indians would require many pages. I will therefore relate only a few. In the following year of 1652, 300 Salineros and Cabezas attacked the hacienda of Palmitos. The raiders were divided into three squadrons of 100 each and planned to attack simultaneously the mule herd, the people harvesting wheat, and those in the houses. Thank God they failed to maintain order, and one squadron attacked before the others, allowing the people of the hacienda to defend themselves. Still, the Indians killed seven people and took all the livestock and horses. Returning there in December, they took two people alive and killed another. Then, passing through Cuencamé, they stole a great multitude of horses from that jurisdiction.

With all of this, I have forgotten to mention that in March of 1652 the Tarahumaras attacked Villa de Aguilar and the presidio of Papigochic, razing both and leaving no one alive. What happened was that the soldiers had changed profession, or so it seems, since at the time of their deaths they were all out plowing fields with oxen; it is not surprising that the Indians with their grievances would take advantage of this situation. They killed Father Jácome Antonio Basilio of the Society of Jesus, seven soldiers from the presidio of Cerrogorro, and two from the presidio of Santa Catalina. This was certainly a great way to found a town and presidio at royal expense and to win a royal decree of appreciation for these settlements.

When his excellency, the viceroy of New Spain, was informed of these sad events and of the general calamity and ruin facing this kingdom, he issued a provident decree and made available a copious sum of money, ordering what should be done and attending to the most urgent needs. Had these been addressed in the first place, the provinces would not have suffered such affliction nor would their perdition have continued so long.

His excellency authorized, not counting the amounts already supplied, 80,000 pesos for the war against the Tobosos and Salineros. Another large sum was obtained from within the kingdom, as well as a great amount of victuals and supplies.

The governor, in conformity with this mandate, set out with a great army in the middle of September 1652 to punish the Tobosos and Salineros. On the 29th of that said month he besieged the peñol of Nonolat in the land of the Tobosos, and his report stated that during the assault the following day, 300 of the vagabonds were killed and more than 200 boys and girls, none over fifteen years old, were taken prisoner. Those who were well informed asked what became of the Indian women. They were told that *gandul* is a generic term that describes both sexes and that since all the women died on the peñol as well as forty or fifty men, the report and testimony were not false in saying 300 vagabonds died; so here they say that the entire Nonoje nation perished. Barraza and Lebario's report to his excellency contradicted this, making it understood that the war was completed without one Cabeza or Salinero having been punished or killed. Clearly deceit was involved here in order that officials could continue to execute rancor and vengeance against the Tarahumaras in spite of the fact that they were countermanding royal and viceregal orders. Furthermore, their actions belied their reports to the king and the royal council while they were spending more than 100,000 ducats in royal treasury funds. It is bad enough that their reports cover up the fact that the money was not spent for the purpose intended, but even worse that they have furthered

the ruin of this kingdom. Obviously, all those who signed reports confirming that the affair at the peñol had ended the war have had to continue this fiction in subsequent reports. Their motives should be examined just as mine; if I, an ecclesiastic, should for personal reasons stray from the truth or be an instrument of unnecessary expenses to the royal treasury, then I should be punished. It is more just that an individual suffer than an entire community be destroyed. In good conscience and in the sight of God, I openly speak the truth. I feel that everything I say is the truth although I do not say everything I feel.

To proceed, the governor and his army went on to the Tarahumara and remained in that province for eight months. This allowed the remainder of the kingdom to suffer extreme hardships and calamities with no recourse. Although Captain Barraza remained behind with fifty men and some Indians, he took them all with him to the valley of Santa María de las Parras, where he was present at the sickbed of his brother until he became his heir.<sup>54</sup> Captain Barraza then went to the Tarahumara in response to the governor's summons, leaving the kingdom in the hands of the Indians and at God's mercy. In the interim the Salineros attacked San Lucas and Guatimapé, killing six people and taking the horses. From Cuencamé they stole 1,000 animals, and from Parral an infinite number. In April 1653, 100 Indians of Chief Santiago's band and several Indians from Tizonazo burned the village of Atotonilco, three leagues from Papasquiario, and killed eleven people. Of these matters, enough is said in Captain Francisco del Corral's reports.

The people of Parral offered 10,000 pesos in aid for a campaign, and 2,000 Tarahumaras offered to serve in exchange for their food. If the general<sup>55</sup> would only launch a campaign, he could punish the Indians and leave this land at peace.

The governor left the Tarahumara in May, after reaching the same terms of surrender that the Indians had offered long before so many expenses and deaths were incurred. In response to the clamors of those who wished for war against the Salineros, as soon as he got back, the governor made the pretense of readying his troops for battle, but at the same time he was secretly and underhandedly filing away Captain Corral's reports. Then he sent Captain Barraza and Esteban de Lebario,<sup>56</sup> a great admirer and defender of the Salineros, to make peace with Chief Santiago and his group. The facts relative to this affair appear in a report dated July 25, 1653, and sent to his excellency by the aforementioned two men. The governor made this decision after receiving letters from México advising that his successor was on his way. He could not wage a war in such a short time nor was it advisable to do so after already having incurred such exorbitant costs on the battlefield.

I still cannot understand how it served his majesty for the governor to refuse the Tarahumara peace overtures which were made before so many deaths and ex-

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54. His brother was probably Luis de Barraza.

55. This general is Juan de Barraza.

56. In December 1655 Lebario was involved in a legal dispute over the rights to a mine near Parral. His laborers were Salineros.

penses resulted and instead to offer to make peace with the Salineros and Cabezas, who did not sincerely want peace and who had committed countless atrocious crimes. Finally, Chief Santiago and his band were reduced along with the rest of the Salineros. They were given supplies and then ordered to proceed against the Tobosos and other nations of the interior as described in the report of July 24. Thus these ruffians and aggressors became our allies and dependents.

At this point I will present my evidence against the above-mentioned reports. First, if the war indeed ended after the battle of the peñol, what need is there to reduce this nation now? Second, if this reduction was necessary, then why was the kingdom left unprotected during the Tarahumara campaign? If, as can be deduced from the said report, this squad of 100 peaceful Indians killed 100 of the enemy and sorely wounded the 200 that escaped and there remain three nations unpunished with at least 200 people, then there is a total of 600 Indians remaining. How, then, can they report that the war is over and the enemy snuffed out when there are still this many Indians alive? The other point is that if all the Tobosos and Nonojes were killed during the battle at the peñol, then why does the report refer to Salineros fighting against the Tobosos and Nonojes? Finally, even if we concede that the 100 dead were indeed enemies—they were actually innocents from the interior—and even if we suppose that Santiago and his followers are of impeccable character and that the peace with them is as inviolable as if it were signed by a Catholic monarch, what punishment or act of reduction has been directed at the three nations and the 200 wounded Indians who escaped? Is there any evidence indicating that they died from their wounds, that is, if we accept the fact that they indeed received any? If all these enemies are alive, and if those who attacked Atotonilco are not dead, and if the 300 who assaulted Palmitos are still alive, how can the term “bands” be applied to those who simultaneously commit so many crimes in such different and distant places? What is evident are the damages suffered every day. In answer to the question of who is to blame, his excellency is told that Indians and people driven by starvation are responsible. Then we must ask what crops have been lost this year that were harvested last year? If no crops have been lost, it is evident that the infinite number of insults, robberies, and murders experienced since 1650 are occasioned not by hunger but by a quarrelsome and perverse nature. It is certain that the perpetrators of these crimes do not plant or tend fields, nor do they work in the mines. They live and feed themselves as they always have, only now they do it with greater abandon and excess as has been presented and described.

In order to better support and maintain the truth of my statements in the face of what others have said with deceit and to show the futility of the course of action proposed to his excellency for making peace with the aggressors, I say the following. Experience has shown the ineffectiveness of the policy of giving these Indians supplies and whatever is necessary to raise their crops. A case in point is what happened at Atotonilco last summer when the governor, Enrique Dávila, by order of his excellency and through Captian Diego Galiano,<sup>57</sup> reduced seventy families of Tobosos and their followers. After consuming the provisions allotted

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57. Galiano was a native of Guanajuato. When he died in 1661, he owned four slaves and ore-processing operations in Santa Bárbara and San Francisco del Oro.

them, they repayed the hospitality by disappearing one night, taking with them all the horses belonging to Captain Galiano. The captain was able to capture only one Indian who stayed behind as a spy. This Indian was taken to Parral, where he confessed and revealed the designs of his compatriots as is revealed by the depositions concerning this matter. This means of making peace with the aggressors—giving them clothing and provisions without previously bringing them to heel—may at first glance seem preferable because it avoids force. In reality it is the crudest and most pernicious course available for the royal treasury and the entire kingdom. The conspiring Indians may number many or few. If there are many, large storehouses and granaries are necessary to sustain them, and then they repay our kindness by taking advantage of our relaxed vigilance to destroy every town in the kingdom. If only a few Indians are maintained in this way, it sets a bad example for the majority who are not; they will conspire and rebel in order to obtain the same advantages. The Indians are not so dense that this reasoning escapes them, and even the Indian auxiliaries who have fought with us have shown how risky these methods are. Discontented and ill-paid, when they see the rebels and aggressors clothed and fed, they say openly and publicly that the best thing to do is rebel. It seems that those who do so are rewarded, whereas those who shed blood in serving the Spaniards have nothing to show for it and are mistreated in the bargain. It is a disgrace to the kingdom that we have treated our allies so poorly when they could give us shelter and protection.

The Indian hostilities of today continue to be the same as those previously referred to. By stealing horses, often on the same day in all corners of the kingdom, they are destroying the mining and stockraising industries while eluding capture. The Indians divide themselves into squadrons and stage ambushes along desolate stretches of road. Placing spies upon hilltops in order to spot travelers, they fall upon them, robbing and killing. Then they use the spoils to attract other remote nations to their cause. Ever since the two Indians were flayed alive in the streets of Parral, the martyrdoms inflicted upon unfortunate travelers who fall into their hands are incredible.

It has been suggested that no one would be killed if we were to neither travel the roads nor leave our homes. This would indeed be good and sane counsel if the kingdom could be maintained without commerce, or if some means could be devised to transport the salts, alloys, and supplies needed by the mines through the air. It would also be necessary to relocate the haciendas closer to the mines, to move the forests closer so that the woodcutters and charcoal makers can work in safety, and to make the oxen and other livestock work without needing pasture, since there are no safe grazing areas. What is most painful is that a man can go no farther than a league from his house without the danger of being killed, whereas during past governments a man could safely travel alone as far as New Mexico. Just because two men occasionally survive the dangers of traveling by turning nights into days and days into nights—hiding among the thickets and brambles during the day—it never fails that someone will make the specious argument that the land is at peace and no danger exists.

I am not saying that royal treasury funds have been squandered, but I warn that some people are interested in concealing the amount of money misspent during the Tarahumara campaign. No wonder, then, that these parties seek to minimize the damages suffered in areas where money was allocated by the viceroys but not



spent. It is much like denying the dangers of a sea upon which a floundering and unmasted ship searches for a safe port. To deny that the sums supplied by the viceroys have been sufficient to cure the ills of the kingdom (they would have sufficed to reconquer it had it been totally lost) is to deny that the sun shines at noon. However, the controversy does not center on this. My question, which demands both an answer and a solution, is this: if the medicines are lost and a cure not applied to the wound, can a sick person get well simply because the medicines were prescribed? Should the patient be denied recourse because of the bad actions of someone else who was not following orders? It is certain, as has been proven, that the army which was formed and which entered the Tarahumara, but was later disbanded, was sufficiently strong to have left this kingdom perpetually pacified. But now the difficulties are greater and the roots of discord more deeply entrenched than ever. Since indeed it is not the kingdom which is guilty of misappropriating money, then it is unjust that it should suffer such pains and be condemned to the flames of perdition! We have an apparently insoluble labyrinth of confusion created by cunning in defiance of reason. From this entanglement can be extracted a conclusion which appears to support what some have tried to affirm, but which is in fact untrue and a disservice to God, king, and the public good.

To the proposition that mere bands of Indians are the present perpetrators of murders and thefts of horses, it must be asked whether or not there were formal armies molesting us during the previous government, and if there were, when were they annihilated? Let us assume, without question, that the kingdom is actually at peace and enjoys tranquility. Is this peace substantial or not? To say it is not is to deny what we suppose and what others have managed to record as truth. If it is a true and lasting peace, is it because of the punishment delivered at the peñol of Nonolat, or is it due to the treaty made by Barraza and Levario? If indeed the peace resulted from the battle at the peñol, and if this was accomplished in fifteen days, why then was the army not disbanded instead of being maintained for another eight months at such great cost to his majesty? If the punishment delivered at the peñol was not sufficient, why was the kingdom left unprotected during the campaign in the Tarahumara? Why was a treaty not made with this nation before the kingdom suffered such grave losses? From this it can be deduced that peace exists because of the treaty implemented by Barraza and Levario with the Salineros and Cabezas. If indeed this treaty so efficiently brought peace to the kingdom, why was it not adopted sooner, before such excessive sums were asked for and received from his excellency? If it was so simple to make peace with the rebellious nations which have committed the crimes and for whose subjugation the money was allocated, why was it so difficult to achieve an understanding with the Tarahumaras, who had sued for peace, asking only that the presidio and villa be removed? Indeed, what good came of the expenditures that could not have been achieved without them, considering that the villa and presidio were abandoned anyway? These falsehoods are thin and transparent. The kingdom for the most part has been lost, and what is left is being destroyed because a treaty was made where war should have been waged and vice versa. Now that everything has been done backward and so much money has been misappropriated and wasted, those responsible deny the charges against them and hope that a magic spell will cure the ulcers of the kingdom which they failed to cure even when supplied with an entire apothecary shop.

Enrique Dávila y Pacheco came to govern this kingdom on December 10, 1653. A few days earlier the Indians had killed some beggars and other people near Parral, at the same time stealing many mules and horses. The event was hushed up with such malice that it was a crime to mention it or complain about it. There was no lack of knowledgeable and well-informed persons who, prior to the governor's arrival, wrote him in México advising of the pretense which dominated official circles and the false nature of the peace. They also alleged that reports which contradicted the official version had been rejected by a local judge (*alcalde ordinario*). In order to verify the accuracy of their reports, the governor requested information from the *cabildo* of this city which was duly given. The governor still wished to further verify, and to that end he left this city for Parral on December 21. After attending to some business in Cuencamé, he arrived at Cerrogorido, where he received news of the raids and murders committed by Indians in the jurisdiction of San Juan del Río. He then went on to Parral, where he saw with his own eyes worse misfortunes than had been described—all in all, a lamentable and dreadful spectacle. On one day he received seven different requests for aid without being able to respond to any one of them. More than eighty people have died at the hands of the Indians during the eight months of his administration. With the door closed to any recourse, the workers have abandoned the mines, and entire households have left Parral. Miners, merchants, and creditors have been ruined, and the kingdom has become a hospital for plagues and injuries just awaiting the final blow all because the Indian aggressors go unpunished for their many and atrocious crimes.

I have mentioned how some have tried to attribute the decline of mining revenues and the general ruin of the silver industry to the decay of the mines and the reduced yields of the ore. The truth is that the minerals in the mines of the province of Santa Bárbara are more abundant and richer than anywhere else in New Spain except perhaps in Parral, during the early years, where the veins were very rich and the mining industry was accommodated by the availability of labor, credit, and supplies. With the establishment of Villa [de Aguilar] and the intent to populate it all at once and under duress, all the miners not attached to silver-mining haciendas went there. (As has been mentioned earlier, they were extracting more silver than the haciendas.) The Indian laborers and the *repasaderos* were also forcibly taken from the miners and pressed into service for the Tarahumara campaign. There were even miners who were treated with such harshness

In 1658, a rich lode with a vein measuring a *braza* in width was discovered three leagues from Parral. More than 100 mines are registered there, but even though the ore is of such high grade, without workers the lode is not exploited nor its treasure enjoyed.

and disdain that their *azogueros* were sent off to war, leaving them with nothing and with no means to recover what they had lost. Such machinations also resulted in the destruction of the most resplendent silver-refining plant in Nueva Vizcaya—that of the Maestro de Campo Francisco [Montaño de la Cueva]. The effect of stirring up the Indians not only inhibited the influx of people who came to aid the miners, but also the supply and exchange of goods. And the destruction of the real de minas of Mapimí (which occurred at the height of its development) resulted in the loss of not only the silver it had yielded, but also the lead and other substances

necessary for the smelting process which it supplied to Parral and other nearby mining centers. Today these metals must be transported from the kingdom of Santa Lucía,<sup>58</sup> 150 leagues distant, at greater cost and inconvenience and at the expense of lower quality.

All the ranches and charcoal camps are abandoned, and the Indians have stolen all the mules and horses. The suppliers of goods are ruined. The people from all walks of life cannot work because their lives are constantly in danger. They do not have the means to work the mines and only with the greatest exertion can they even work the slag piles and tailings. In the final analysis it is this depopulation that has caused the decline in output and not the decreasing ore quality. This same problem also exists in Cuencamé; both Spaniards and laborers have abandoned it because of the certain risk of Indian attack, since Cuencamé is six leagues distant from the mines. There the quality of the ore is greater than it has been in many years, proving that lower silver production is not due to the decline of the mines themselves, but to depopulation and the breakdown of supply.

In the introduction to this account, all the Indian rebellions and uprisings in this kingdom during the past fifty-four years were recounted, as well as the punishment which each Indian nation received. If one tries to explain why the Acaxees, Xiximes, and Tepehuanes have not conspired to revolt again, there is no better answer than that they were restrained and punished, either by a formal army or by squadrons in different places, the method generally observed to be the most practical. From this it can be deduced and inferred that the Salineros, who since 1645 have not been punished or bridled, are the ones responsible for the ravages, thefts, and murders that have been committed in the region between this city and Parral. As many accounts and reports show, they are clearly masters of all the land between the two cities.

The question of the relative usefulness or ineffectiveness of the presidios in this kingdom and whether they should be maintained or removed remains to be answered. I believe that in light of the present state of affairs, the presidios of San Hipólito and San Sebastián are not vitally necessary at their present locations because today there are fewer Indians in those parts and those who remain are peaceful and manageable. I do deem the presidio of Santa Catalina to be useful because it serves to control the Tepehuanes and protects traffic on the roads. The presidio of Cerrogordo is also conveniently located, although the present captain should be replaced by someone as energetic and spirited as General Diego de Salazar<sup>59</sup> or Fernando de Villanueva,<sup>60</sup> who would compel the soldiers to have the necessary weapons and horses to be able to patrol the roads constantly. He would also keep them from wasting their pay and see that they fulfill their obligations. Furthermore, the captain should have free rein to act as he sees fit and as circumstances dictate.

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58. Santa Lucía was a huge Jesuit hacienda in central Mexico between Pachuca and Lake Texcoco. It was known for its sheep-raising, but its lands abutted on the Pachuca mining district which produced these substances needed in the smelting process.

59. Salazar was *justicia mayor* at Cuencamé.

60. Villanueva was captain of the presidio of San Sebastián.

Well-informed and objective persons, free of personal motives and ties, are aware of everything described and scrutinized in this manuscript concerning past and present damages as well as the shame and misery which have befallen this kingdom. Those who disagree with it must substantiate their opinions and give evidence for their claims. May this manuscript come to light and may those who disagree step forward with their evidence. After all, nothing more than the survival of this kingdom is at stake. No one can deny the past damages, the present misery, and the future ruin of this realm. Ever since the end of October, fears of further depredations have been well founded because the Indians now control the Sierra de la Silla, twelve leagues distant from this city.<sup>61</sup>

Even if we assume that roving bands are indeed responsible for the crimes, the cessation of traffic on the roads, and the decline of the mines, then it should be determined if these excesses require correction. At the same time the most efficient and economical means of restoring the former peace and tranquility of this kingdom should be proposed. By doing so, his majesty's interests will be served as well as those of his vassals. As I am one of the latter, striving to serve the king and to obey the precepts of our Lord God, I seek to help bring an end to the many and atrocious murders and thefts perpetrated by the Indians upon all the Catholics they encounter and to keep these poor souls from dying painfully without benefit of the holy sacrament of penitence nor other intercession for their souls. Finally, in attending to the general well-being and the public good, which is my intent and desire, I propose the method which to my mind will most efficiently and economically remedy the problem and which does not include either a deliberate or hap-hazard use of bloodshed, mutilation of members, or any other sort of corporal punishment.

Everyone was surprised at the time this was written that the Indians had advanced to the Sierra de la Silla, within twelve leagues of Durango. But now they have proceeded even to the city of Zacatecas, seventy leagues farther, and have annihilated the valley of Poana, the Suchil valley in the jurisdiction of New Spain, and the reales of Chalhuites, Sombrerete, and Las Nieves, all in Nueva Galicia. They have robbed and killed many people in Tlaltenango, in Villa de Jeréz,<sup>62</sup> and in the environs of Zacatecas. There was even one day in which twenty bodies were brought to Fresnillo, all having been killed in that jurisdiction. In fact, the barbarians have killed more people during this invasion than Cortés lost in the conquest of all New Spain. It is indisputable that the number of rebellious Indians is infinite and that every day their ranks swell with reinforcements from nations unknown to us. It should be feared that they will provoke the Tepehuanes, whom they also persecute and kill, for if this happens, the kingdoms of Galicia, Vizcaya, and much of New Spain would be lost to this large and bellicose tribe. Only God's mercy has prevented the rebellion of the Sinaloa and Sonora Indians, who have no restraint other than the missions.

Presupposing the prudence, sagacity, and silence such grave and delicate matters require, your grace should, with the help of Governor Dávila y Pacheco and

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61. This mountain is 50 kilometers southeast of the city of Durango.

62. These locations are in the modern state of Zacatecas.

Secretary Melchor Suárez, inquire into the proceedings against the Salineros. Among these is what happened at Charcos on July 26, 1650, and the motives and reasons for the sentencing given this nation, which is included in the document I am presenting. You should also investigate the governor's order to General Carrión commanding him to proceed against the village of Tizonazo. In addition, the following items should be checked: the reports which were made by Juan de Figueroa, alcalde mayor of San Juan del Río, and then hidden, relating what happened at Palmitos on June 5, 1652; the suppressed account of Captain Francisco del Corral concerning the events of Atotonilco on Holy Monday of April 1653;<sup>63</sup> the reports on this nation written by Don Enrique [Dávila], particularly those dealing with the affair at Charcos last April, and the murders committed by the same band a few days later at the ranch of Sandoval; and all the other investigative reports made as well as the declaration of the mestizo woman who was kidnapped by these Indians. When this information is added to the war decrees of 1645, your grace will recognize that the Salinero nation has consumed, laid to waste, and annihilated this entire kingdom and that before 1644 when they began to rebel, not a single domestic animal was lost. It is the Salineros who have stolen livestock and who, under the guise of being at peace, commit murders, assaults, and threaten people along the roads. Their incursions have never been halted, much less punished. Instead, they have been aided and supplied with food and clothing. Barraza, during the last dry season, employed them as scouts and trackers. This policy—which I call a traitorous cancer since it allows the Salineros access to information which furthers their depredations and prevents their capture—has not alleviated, but rather aggravated, the damages which now take place within twelve leagues of this city. The Indians have it in their power to advance even closer since no one can stop them. All this serves to justify my plan, which follows.

Since your grace will soon leave for Parral, on the way you should pass through the villages of Tizonazo, San Cristóbal, and El Navío, all populated by Salineros. You should treat them with honor and kindness and explain that his excellency wishes to show his appreciation for their services. Then they should be told that they are to be divided into different groups to be attached to all the presidios of the kingdom, where they will aid by exploring the country, protecting the roads, and halting the ravages committed in this kingdom by rebellious nations. To accomplish this and to pay them, clothes and supplies will be brought to Cerrogordo or Parral, where a general assembly will be held and the tasks and destination of each Indian squadron determined. After this has been done and your grace has seen and verified in Parral the reports of the grave damages caused by this nation under the guise of peace, you will summon the caciques, give them some clothing, and let them see two wagonloads of clothing leave for Cerrogordo, making it appear that provisions are being readied for them there. Then the Salineros will be told what day they are to meet there to receive their assignment and pay. On this day all the soldiers from the presidios, having been previously summoned, will fall upon and shackle all the Indians and their women and children gathered in the patio of the casa real in Parral or in Cerrogordo. Once the Indians are our pris-

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63. This would have been April 7.

oners, they will be sent to labor in the workshops of Puebla or México, and they will pay the costs of the trip. At the same time, deprived of their opportunities to rob and kill Spaniards, they will also be instructed in the holy faith while doing a great service to God and king. In this manner the kingdom will be freed of its astute and dangerous enemies just as Spain was when it expelled the Moors.

I know well that in order for my plan to succeed, total silence, prudence, and sagacity are necessary until the moment of execution. Not only are the Salineros sly and perceptive, but they have never lacked defenders among the Spaniards. Amongst these I include those who have pretensions for establishing a Salinero mission, for they disguise and cover up many of the wrongs perpetrated by these Indians because of their own interest in obtaining royal treasury funds. In doing this, they would compromise an entire community for the sake of hopeless sinners. One might ask, once my plan is executed, how I propose to keep the Indians who have remained in the interior from raiding. To this, I answer that even though it is likely that they will be restrained by the fear of the punishment visited upon Tizonazo, I think the following measures are necessary.

I judge it advantageous that the presidios of San Hipólito and San Sebastián be consolidated into one body which would also include four soldiers from Santa Catalina. This combined force, commanded by an alert and zealous captain, would constantly patrol the country from Conchos to Atotonilco. Another twelve will continuously patrol the area from Cerrogordo to Cuencamé, since this presidio was founded for this very purpose. If this plan is put into effect, there will be no additional costs to his majesty, and with the removal of the enemies who have so dominated this kingdom, there can be no doubt that the ravages, thefts, and murders will end. When the rainy season has passed, the roads will again be safe and passable, commerce will flow, and workers, freed of their fear, will return to work in the mines of Parral, Cuencamé, and other reales.

The plan described above is the only one which I believe will efficiently and economically preserve this kingdom from the pernicious cancer which so imminently threatens to destroy it. It is the only one which will keep such a tender plant as this kingdom from being sterilized and sapless. It is my desire, free of all temporal and personal concerns, to see the interests of both sovereigns served, and to see tranquility restored. I wish to see the number of vassals multiplied by irrigation and fertilization from the waters of the holy faith. I not only hope to see this kingdom restored to its former glory through the resettlement of haciendas and reales de minas which were abandoned in the face of calamity, I also want to see it grow with new settlements. All this will assure a perpetual flow of silver and a steady income from the mining taxes without incurring additional royal costs, barring any new Indian dangers. The fact is that, in making this proposal, it is clear to me that it will serve only as a suitable seasoning, unfortunately, to nourish bloody and dangerous ambitions; and the example of other subjects, even more highly stationed, enriching themselves and following their reprehensible customs, obliges me to keep faithful service to God, his majesty, and the public good. I will not be compelled to change it, forgetting all personal risk. As I have repeatedly stated in this report, it would be better that I as an individual suffer risks than to let a whole kingdom be destroyed.

I must confess that I was too brief in my description of the Tarahumara nation and in narrating their fine customs and qualities. They are a docile and courteous

people, worthy of respect and affection. I judge them to be an effective instrument for propagating the faith and for rapidly resettling and extending this kingdom at little expense to the royal treasury. I surmise that the presidios of San Hipólito and San Sebastián cost his majesty 6,200 to 6,300 pesos annually. Since these presidios are of no use, this money is wasted and it should therefore be used, all or in part, to attain more worthwhile ends. To explain my purpose and to avoid confusion, I must make known the following information.

There are seven settlements between San Francisco de Conchos and San Pedro de la Laguna, a distance of thirty leagues, that is, if one does not count all the populated places to the south or the area to the north of the Tobosos, Salineros, Conchos, and other nations which either are feared or could potentially attack us. Assuming the Salineros and Cabezas are expelled from Tizonazo, which is in the very center of this kingdom, the seven other settlements are the following. The first is San Francisco de Conchos, a mission transferred from the Franciscans to the secular clergy. The second, the hacienda of Ana de Aldaz, at the farthest end of the Valle de San Bartolomé, is well endowed with water and good land, but it is at present barren and abandoned because of Indian incursions. The third is Atotonilco, a former Franciscan mission now secularized. The fourth is two leagues above the presidio of Cerrogordo and is well supplied with lands and water. The fifth is the Hacienda de Naiza, with sufficient good land and irrigation water, but abandoned in 1654 by Captain Alonso Díaz. The sixth is San Juan de Casta, on the banks of the Nazas River, but an even better location is the water spring called Pelayo. Located more toward the interior, this site would be more suitable for reasons that will be expressed and would also serve as a rearguard for the real de minas of Mapimí. The seventh is San Pedro de la Laguna, a mission transferred from the Jesuits to secular clerics. His majesty currently pays an annual stipend for the three Indian parishes of Conchos, Atotonilco, and San Pedro. The stipend allocated for Tizonazo could be assigned to Cerrogordo, and that would make four parishes which are already subsidized. If the money saved by dismantling the two presidios was used to establish missions in the other three locations mentioned, there would be a total of seven Indian parishes. It now remains to be said by whom these missions are to be populated, by what means, and what good will come of this.

It is well known that the most effective means found to control the Guachichil and Zacateco Indians was to settle Tlaxcaltecs, Tonaltecs, and other pacified people among them. This was successfully done in the Villa de Nombre de Dios, Chalchihuites, Mezquitic, Tepic, Santa María, Venado, San Luis de la Paz, and in various other places. Furthermore, the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa are well populated, at peace, and trouble-free; it is said that more than 40,000 Indians have been converted to the brotherhood of our holy faith. It would be impossible for a presidio of only fifty men to keep these Indians at peace if their natural tendency to be calm and tractable were not encouraged by the doctrine and saintly example of the Jesuit fathers. Apostles in those parts, as well as in many other provinces of the world, the fathers zealously look after their parishioners. To better ensure that the Indians do not run away and forget the rudiments of the faith, guards are posted along the roads. Since some priests have been in these missions for twenty or thirty years, most members of their congregations are like godchildren and family to them. All this presents an attractive possibility that his excellency should

discuss with the reverend father provincial of the Society of Jesus and other high officials. May their fervor and zeal allow them to release seven experienced missionary fathers for an undertaking which would greatly serve our Lord God, his majesty, and the public good. Each of these Jesuit fathers would solicit 200 families from their missions to be used in settling the seven new missions. The transfer of Conchos and Atotonilco from the Franciscans to the secular clergy or from the secular clergy, who have not yet taken possession of them, to the Jesuits should not cause any problem. Besides, the launching of such a great enterprise should not consider personal conveniences, but rather should eliminate any obstacles. For several years, the costs of building, moving the Indians, and supplying them with oxen and plows for planting should be paid with funds previously allocated to the two presidios, that is, after the stipends for the three new missions are subtracted. The Indians of Sinaloa and Sonora should not be prevented from leaving their villages but should be attached to the new missions. Two columns of soldiers from the presidio of Cerrogorordo should aid by patrolling the villages each month. What is more, the soldiers should not receive their wages until the missionary sends a certified statement saying the villages were indeed patrolled during each four-month pay period. In this way, we shall restrain and keep the nations of the interior within their borders. Eventually they too will be pacified and will join the settlements and enjoy the benefits of the holy faith. Under no condition shall these villages become encomiendas, nor shall any mineowner or landowner have any pretense of dominion or possession over them.

With this plan, the real of Mapimí will be repopulated and its strength and productivity will greatly exceed that enjoyed before its abandonment. All the mining centers will be resettled, and many new ones will be founded. There will be bountiful harvests, prices of supplies and livestock will go down, and the cattle and mule herds will multiply free of Indian threat. In a few years this kingdom will once again be powerful, his majesty's revenues will increase, and without doubt more money will be available in the royal treasury without the constant drain caused by Indian uprisings. Great enterprises or undertakings are never free of risks, whether in reality or probability or in the way they are represented. But the greater the difficulties, the greater the glory in conquering them. And the ultimate reward will come from God, especially for those who serve as instruments of His design. Certainly, once such a great enterprise is proposed and authorized by his excellency to the Jesuits, who so zealously devote themselves to the care of souls, it will be successfully executed. But if there are problems and pitfalls which I, having but little talent, have not perceived, then there is also the possibility of using the Tarahumara nation.

The Tarahumara are distinguished by their courtesy and quick intelligence. Since they form a commonwealth and are a people who toil and labor to feed and clothe themselves, we should contact them through zealous and capable persons, proposing that they settle in the villages which are contemplated. These emissaries would promise them land, water, oxen, and whatever implements are needed as well as assure them that they will be free of vexations from Spaniards and free to choose the religious order they prefer for their missionaries. The entire nation should be administered by one group in order to avoid the squabbles between ecclesiastical representatives which can prejudice the extension of the faith. The missionaries will receive a sufficient stipend from his majesty to ensure that they



will need neither to use Indian lands nor force the sale and distribution of goods upon the Indians, but rather allow them to participate freely in the market. This is important, for the Tarahumaras are a sensitive as well as diligent people. I really can see no reason why this plan would not work with the Tarahumaras. Captain Cristóbal de Nevaes, who has made various expeditions into their lands, has told me that the Tarahumaras themselves have proposed that, if they were supplied with land and water and treated well, they would settle in villages. As an example, they have already done this in the missions of San Felipe and Bocas, which formerly were populated only by Tepehuanes. In fact, Bocas is located on the road twelve leagues this side of Parral. In these missions not only did no difficulties result from the settlement by Tarahumaras, but few expenses were incurred, a point which corroborates the efficacy of using Tarahumaras rather than Sonora and Sinaloa Indians in establishing the new villages. They are more consistent and apply themselves to their work with more diligence, and also the costs of transport would be cheaper. Furthermore, if the Indians of the interior were to rebel, these Tarahumaras would, at no cost to the royal treasury, be able to call upon their brothers to take vengeance upon the aggressors and utterly destroy them.

Señor Contador Mayor, it appears to me that all I have discussed and proposed in this report satisfactorily answers your grace's questions. If I have been too wordy or have had to be a talebearer, I have done it only out of obligation to his majesty. When asked about the futility of so many inflated expenses, I felt compelled to answer. May God grant a disastrous end to me if any sort of hatred, passion, or ill-will has motivated my proposals. My only desire has been the attainment of truth, justice, and reason in order to bind up the pages of this kingdom which have been so notoriously torn apart. Above all, in the service of both sovereigns, the presidios of San Hipólito and San Sebastián must be incorporated into that of Cerrogorordo so that the ravages and raids which are so rightly feared may be ended.

May God preserve and favor your grace, as I ardently desire. Durango. August 31, 1654. Your chaplain kisses the hand of your grace. Bachiller Diego de Medrano.

I grouped this and other copies of the original brought by Don Juan de Casaus Cervantes, at whose request I made this report and to whom I entrusted the original. I signed my name to it.

Diego de Medrano

*Original document is in the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 68. This reproduction is based upon the copy in the Colección Pastells, Vol. 8, Razón y Fe Library, Madrid, on microfilm at the American Division-Jesuit Historical Institute, University of Arizona.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**R**elación del licenciado Diego de Medrano, cura de la ciudad de Durango, cabecera del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya y del estado en que se halla y le han puesto los alborotos y estragos que han hecho los indios alzados. Durango, 31 de agosto de 1654.

Copia de carta escrita por el señor don Juan de Cervantes de Casaus, caballero del orden militar de Santiago, contador mayor de la real audiencia y tribunal

mayor de cuentas de la Nueva España, visitador de las reales cajas de la ciudad de Durango al bachiller Diego de Medrano, cura beneficiado de la iglesia catedral de dicha ciudad por su majestad y va inserto un traslado de la respuesta.

Señor bachiller Diego de Medrano: en conformidad de la plática que vuestra merced y yo corrimos sobre el estado de esta tierra con las inquietudes que han causado y causan siempre algunos indios, los remedios que se han aplicado a tanta costa de su majestad, el poco efecto que ha resultado, daños que se han continuado, necesidad que hay de atajarlos, inconvenientes que se siguen de levantar ejércitos para hacer guerra formada, y otros que ha enseñado la experiencia, y movimientos ocasionados y excitados de los españoles, suplico a vuestra merced haga merced de tomar trabajo, y al pie de este papel discurrir por escrito como quien también sabe lo que se le ofrece diciéndose también qué género de hostilidades hacen los indios, qué forma guardar en las salidas de los caminos que sacan de aquí y para qué, y servirse, después de todo, resolver su parecer de lo que recomienda disponer para la mayor seguridad sin gasto de la real hacienda, como vuestra merced lo tiene ofrecido al excelentísimo señor virrey por carta de tres de enero de este año, su fecha de Santo Matías, que sea de muy gran servicio a ambas majestades. Guarde Dios a vuestra merced y felices años como lo deseo de casa, 30 de junio de 1654 años. En razón de los presidios que hay, y si se pueden excusar or no, quisiera saber su sentir de vuestra merced con individualidad, y no se cause de este cuidado que tanto importa, y se suplica besa la mano de vuestra merced. Juan de Cervantes Casaus.

Respuesta. Señor visitador y contador mayor, don Juan de Cervantes Casaus. Mucho quisiera, señor, para dar satisfacción a los puntos que mueve su papel de vuestra merced de 30 de junio pasado unir a las obligaciones de leal vasallo de su majestad las de mi profesión, y estado, de manera que sin perder de vista las unas, no las otras se consiguiese el deseado fin del mayor servicio de ambas majestades, y se redujese este reino a una firme y duradera paz remediando disonancias, y presentes adversidades que la que piden en tan conocido perjuicio del real interés y de el de los vasallos, así lo protesto ante acatamiento divino. Y presupuesto si no por único por ferviente mi celo, diré desnudamente mi sentir, para que limados y corregidos estos borriones, por la capacidad de tan recto, limpio y aplaudido ministro, aplique competente remedio la providencia del excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque, virrey de esta Nueva España, para que no cunda más el cáncer de la perdición de este reino, que con los continuos y repetidos trabajos que le han sobrenenido de 16 años a esta parte, ha llegado sin duda al mayor, y más infelíz, estado que otro alguno de todo este nuevo mundo, en cuya atención paso a decir lo que se me ofrece.

Dígolo primero que de 54 años a esta parte ha habido diferentes alzamientos de indios en este reino; el primero el de los acaxeos en tiempo del señor don Rodrigo de Vivero; el segundo el de los xiximes en tiempo del señor Francisco de Urdiñola; el tercero el de los tepehuanes en tiempo del señor don Gaspar de Alvear; algunos movimientos de tobosos y forajidos tepetucanes en el tiempo de los señores Mateo de Vezga y marqués de Salinas; y en tiempo del señor don Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus, los mesames. Siguióse el gobierno del señor don Luis de Monsalve en cuyo discurso aunque saltó una leve centella en los tepehuanes de San Pablo con mucha facilidad se desvaneció. Siguióse el gobierno del señor don Luis de Valdés, y en su tiempo se rebelaron los salineros, y conchos, y a

los fines de su gobierno algunos tarahumares. Secedióle el señor don Diego de Guajardo Fajardo, que hallando alzada parte de dicha nación Tarahumara, apenas estuvo quince días en el Parral cuando salió a la campaña a su reducción y castigo. Esto fue a los principios del año de 1649. Volvieron a moverse con mayor osadía los años sucesivos de 1650, 1651, 1652, y hasta la primavera del 1653. Y viendo los salineros, tobosos y cabezas, y sus coligados divertidas las armas, hicieron estragos y daños irreparables en este conmedio de tiempo en lo principal y más poblado del reino, como se dirá en su tiempo, y en competente lugar. Siguióse el gobierno presente del señor don Enrique Dávila y Pacheco, y en él, exceptuando las naciones acaxee, xixime, sinaloa, tepehuana y tarahumara, todas las demás, sin contradicción alguna, por haberles faltado el castigo se reconocen alzados y alimentados los daños como se referirá por final.

Los motivos y causas de estas rebeliones se reducen a una general que comprende a todos, y a otras particulares que con especialidad influyen en algunos, y han hecho más acérrimas las hostilidades. La general causa es la poca estabilidad y consistencia de los indios, y ser amigos de la novedad, crueles y capitales enemigos de los españoles; ladrones y salteadores por su propia naturaleza, y que por medio de algunos hechiceros, les persuade el demonio e induce con facilidad a estos movimientos, y a cometer las atrocidades que son constantes. Examinemos pues las causas particulares del levantamiento que corresponde a cada gobierno de los de arriba propuestos, los daños que se hicieron, qué se les impuso y con qué freno, cuáles, y de qué duración han sido los efectos.

El alzamiento de los acaxees acaecido en el gobierno del señor don Rodrigo de Vivero (propuesta la causa general arriba referida), y es con un sentir que se ocasionó de los malos tratamientos que se hicieron a dichos indios en las haciendas de minas de San Andrés, de que resultaron algunas muertes de españoles, y otros sirvientes, acudió con presteza al remedio don Alonso Maldonado, teniente de gobernador, y a no tenerlo, es sin duda destruyen y talan dichas haciendas; hízose esta entrada a poco costa, y con facilidad, respecto de que aunque la sierra es de encumbradas sierras, todas son trajinables y socorridas de aguajes, pastos y montes. Castigáronse los motores y cabezas de esta conjuración, dejando enfrenado y pacífico aquel país con el presidio de San Hipólito, y por caudillo y capitán al excelente capitán Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba.

El alzamiento de los xiximes, confines a los acaxees, acaeció en el año de 1610, en el gobierno del señor Francisco de Urdiñola. Esta nación no estaba aun de todo punto reducida; mataron algunos españoles poblados y viandantes cerca de su país. Acudió este prudente y sin segundo gobernador con toda brevedad y presteza al remedio, temiendo que de esta breve centella no se prendiese algún incendio grande en otras naciones que al ejemplar sin castigo con mucha facilidad se encienden; punto que debieran advertir muchos de los gobernadores, y prevenir antes a poca costa el daño, que no a mucha buscarle después el remedio. Juntó ejército el gobernador de más de quinientas personas, españoles e indios, entrando muchos a su costa y mención, y en especial el capitán Diego de Avila con veinte hombres desde San Andrés y desde Topia el capitán Miguel Sánchez con otros tantos. Hizo entrada a la sierra rompiendo y allanando con fuerza de gente los montes y caminos con admiración de los enemigos confiados en la aspereza y fragosidad de su sitio, y llegando al que llaman Xocotilma, hizo en ellos el gobernador el

ejemplar castigo que es notorio, con que ha quedado hasta el día de hoy tratable, reducida y pacífica esta nación.

En este punto de Xocotilma, se juntaron 800 indios xiximes dejando a distancia sus armas, y sabido por el gobernador que la paz que daban era fingida y poco estable, mandó echarles cerco y los pasó a todos a cuchillo, con que no ha vuelto más esta nación a conspirar.

El alzamiento de los tepehuanes acaeció a los fines del año 1616 en el gobierno del señor don Gaspar de Alvear; esta nación es altiva, soberbia, y belicosa, y en aquel tiempo era copiosa y muy extendida. No hubo más excusa ni ocasión para este levantamiento que persuadirles el demonio a los tepehuanes que talasen y destruyesen todo este reino, dándoles a entender que si algunos muriesen en las refriegas, resucitarían al tercer día. Grandísima fue sin duda esta conjuración prevenida y deliberada por mucho espacio de tiempo, y con tal disposición que en un mismo día señalado, y a una misma hora habían de dar en todos los reales de minas, estancias, y poblados del reino, y en esta ciudad de Durango. Bien se pudo prevenir y atacar mucha parte del daño si el gobernador hubiera dado crédito al capitán Alonso Pacheco, que le dijo que había visto en el pueblo de Otinapa, quince leguas de esta ciudad, un aposento lleno de flechería y que le avisó una india se saliese de dicho pueblo porque trataban de matarle, y asimismo se le dio noticia al mismo gobernador de que en los pueblos cercanos a esa ciudad eran muchos los mitotes, y bailes que se hacían a un ídolo portátil en forma de media aspa, y que se debía hacer diligencia para saber lo que significaba. Dentro de pocos días se empezó a experimentar el daño y uso (Dios de particular misericordia suya) para que la ruina no fuese general, ni se ejecutase en la forma que estaba maquinada, porque pasando un arriero llamado Alonso Crespo con mercaderías para las minas de Topia, le mataron y robaron cerca de Santa Catalina algunos días antes de la cita. Acudieron luego los indios al pueblo de Papasquiario, y a la doctrina del Zape y a Atotonilco, quemaron todos los templos, profanaron los vasos y vestiduras sagradas, mataron a los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús que se hallaron en dichos pueblos, y a todos los españoles de Papasquiario, y Atotonilco, y al padre [Gerónimo de] Moranta y un religioso de Santo Domingo. Cercaron a Guanaceví, quemaron algunas haciendas de sacar plata, y tuvieron sitiado aquel real por muchos meses.

Tuvo aviso de todos estos daños el gobernador; púsose esta ciudad en arma, cerraron las bocas de las calles, fortificáronse y torreáronse algunas casas, donde se retiró mucha parte de la gente, y la restante a las iglesias. Hizo incontinentemente el gobernador un ejemplar castigo, en más de noventa indios, que se hallaron culpados de los pueblos del Tunal y Santiago, dos y tres leguas distantes de esta ciudad. Acudió al socorro de la Saucedá donde se afrontaron más de ochocientos indios enemigos; fue grandísimo el estrago que hicieron en las estancias y copiosísimo el robo de los ganados y caballadas.

Dióse cuenta al excelentísimo señor marqués de Guadalajara que mandó abrir las reales cajas, y envió más de trescientos hombres de México, Puebla, San Luis [Potosí] y Zacatecas. Hiciéronse diferentes entradas, diéronse algunos albazos de mucha importancia, llevando siempre los enemigos la peor parte, sin daño de la

nuestra, si no fue el que repentinamente hicieron en el principio de su levantamiento. Siguió el gobernador al enemigo hasta el Río del Norte, distante de esta ciudad doscientas leguas, dejando compañías derramadas en los caminos para guarnición del reino, y éstas, sin duda, hicieron los mejores efectos y en especial la del valeroso caudillo Bartolomé Suárez de Villalba, que por obviar prolijidad no se refieren. Padebió el gobernador grandes trabajos e infortunios en las entradas, siguiendo y persiguiendo a los enemigos hasta las partes más remotas, y fue tal la falta de vituallas y bastimentos que llegó a comer la carne de los caballos y, a su falta, los cueros de las adargas. Duró este alzamiento por espacio de cuatro años, murieron a las manos de los españoles, y perseguidos de la hambre y peste (al sentir y relación de personas fidedignas) más de cuatro mil tepehuanes, retirándose muchos que hoy habitan a las espaldas de Guanaceví, en Ocotán, Biogame, San Pablo, y la madre sierra, confinante con la Tarahumara. Dieron finalmente la paz el año de 1620; pusóselos para freno de sus altiveces el presidio de Santa Catalina con diez y seis hombres de guarnición y un cabo. Costóle a su majestad de sus reales cajas este alzamiento más de ochocientos mil pesos y al reino más de un millón, y el gobernador (que a la verdad jugaba limpio) quedó tan bien medrado que, para poder comer, empeñó, y aun vendió sus alhajas y ropa de su vestir, y llegó la ocasión de que le negase un allegado suyo un bien corto socorro para ordinarias necesidades.

Siguióse el gobierno del señor almirante Mateo de Vezga. Hizo en su tiempo una entrada al valle de San Pablo, tierra de tepehuanes, con tanta presteza que apenas llegaron avisos a esta ciudad de las inquietudes que causaban algunos indios capitanejos, cuando el siguiente día marcharon treinta hombres a juntarse con el presidio, y con mucha brevedad el gobernador en persona, que ahorcando a las cabezas y motores de aquel movimiento, dejó pacífico aquel valle. Moviéronse también muy a los fines de este gobierno los tobosos que en ninguno han dejado de dar muestras de su ferocidad y belicosa naturaleza, que compite en valor con la guachichila. Siempre esta nación ha sido en poco número mas ha tenido sujetas y amedrentadas a todas las circunvecinas que son entre otras, nonojos y acoclames, con quienes estan mezclados y emparentados, y uno sólo que capitaneee basta para revolver diez reinos. La tierra que habita esta nación es fragosa, estéril y sin aguajes, y que no se puede trajinar si no es en la fuerza de las aguas.

En el estado referido el reino, le entró a gobernar el señor marqués de Salinas desde los fines de marzo del año de 1626, y con su gran capacidad gobernó las cosas tan prudencialmente que, a costa poca, mantuvo en paz estas provincias, haciendo justicia de algunos tepehuanes en San Pablo, Ocotán, y Santa Catalina que causaban algunos movimientos. Y reconociendo con cuanta facilidad los tenían los tobosos y el fuego que encendían en otras naciones, informó su majestad y ganó una real cédula en la que se da orden de lo que se debe obrar.

Esta cédula es del año de 1628 y en ella manda su majestad que, no siendo posible reducir esta nación, la consuman con toda hostilidad, llevándola a fuego y a sangre.

Siguióse el gobierno en el señor don Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes Casaus. Mucho pudiera decir del corto tiempo que duró este gobierno, que fue sólo por espacio de año y medio, si en lo mucho no tuviera la censura de haber quedado corto, y no se ofendiese la modestia de vuestra merced con encomios particulares

míos a su prudente hermano, cuando tanto se supo granjear los generales aplausos, y es certísimo que sin riesgo de rosarme en la mas mínima adulación, referiré lo que ninguno ignora, y que servirá de asunto para la final consecuencia de este escrito. Brotó en este tiempo la sierra plata y oro, en nunca vista abundancia. Poblóse el insigne (si hoy desastradamente despoblado) real de San Joseph de Parral. Amplióse y fertilizóse el valle de San Bartolomé, y toda la provincia de Santa Bárbara. Jamás se ha visto el reino en tamaña pujanza, ni los vasallos tan suavemente regidos; que no se contrapone al respeto en los súbditos, la benignidad y afabilidad en los príncipes, ni en tierras nuevamente pobladas es dictamen seguro, *oderint dum metuant*. En este gobierno conspiraron los masames, nación cercana a los conchos, quemaron una hacienda de labor, y mataron algunas personas de ella en el último término del valle de San Bartolomé. Llegó este aviso al Parral, a las siete de la mañana, y a las cinco de la tarde estaba el socorro en el puesto donde cometieron el daño, siendo así que estaba distante del Parral catorce leguas. Fueron estos indios castigados tan severamente que los consumieron todos.

El medio de que se valió el gobernador para tomar venganza de los masames fue llamar a los tobosos y agasjarlos y darles ropa y encomendarles el castigo; los cuales con maña y simulación aplaudieron la conspiración de los masames y con color de que se querían venir con ellos los juntaron todos y en señal de unión y confederación, cambiaron y trocaron sus armas estilo usado entre estas naciones, y llevando los tobosos sutilmente rozadas las cuerdas de los arcos que habían trocado a los masames, dieron de improviso en ellos y con sus propias armas los mataron y trajeron las cabezas al Parral en cuya plaza entraron de triunfo todos los tobosos ocasión que quiso el señor gobernador asir por la melena y consumirlos.

Los procedimientos ajustados de este gobierno más vivamente los significa que yo puedo representarlos, la residencia cuyas costas se pagaron de penas de cámara, por no hallarse margen por donde pudiesen acostar al residenciado.

Sucedió en el gobierno al señor don Gonzalo de Cervantes Casaus por junio de 1633 el señor don Luis Monsalve; tuvo muy cercano y a la vista el dechado, y así amplió mucho el real del Parral y fomentó vivamente con su hacienda la minería. Administró distributivamente justicia, sin retardar las causas que pendían de su resolución. En su tiempo hubo algunos movimientos en el valle de San Pablo, donde mataron los indios unos arrieros rescatadores de maíces. La razón, dicen, que estuvo de parte de los indios y que dieron la ocasión los rescatadores. Hizo entrada a aquel valle el gobernador, no con buenos efectos, y para atajar los daños que se recelaban, entró de su orden el maestro de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, que con maña y cariño dejó pacíficos los indios y sosegados los movimientos. Abrió en este gobierno el camino de Sonora para el Parral por tierra de tarahumares el capitán don Pedro de Perea con licencia de su excelencia (que para empresas nuevas justo es que se pida y que se consulte a los señores virreyes para que no por falta de su maduro acuerdo y el de una real audiencia se pongan en detrimento los reinos, ocasionando gastos a la real hacienda, como se reconociera adelante en la población de la Villa de Aguilar, y presidio de Papigochic, cuya ruina se experimentó en breves días siguiéndose general en toda la [Nueva] Vizcaya). No se puede negar que fue poco afortunado el gobernador don Luis de Monsalve, pues en medio de ser desinteresado, y socorrido en tanto grado que derramó empréstados, y perdió toda su hacienda. Los que se hallaban más beneficiados de su mano le

introdujeron la competencia de jurisdicción con la real audiencia de Guadalajara por fines del año de 1638, de que resultó perder el gobierno y miserablemente la vida en una cárcel, y desde entonces decaer este reino hasta llegar a la suma miseria y desdicha que hoy se halla.

Sucedióle el señor general don Francisco Bravo de la Serna por nombramiento del excelentísimo señor virrey marqués de Cadereita, elección sin duda inspirada del cielo, y que a no venir tan maduro, cuerdo y sufrido capitán general, en lo más vino de disturbios y competencias, se perdiera a resto abierto todo este reino; pues pasando el gobernador al Parral, se le afrontó en el paraje del Canutillo, campo de doscientos hombres y cuatrocientos indios, contra un estandarte real, ejemplar de

Estos indios eran tobosos, conchos y salineros y desde el año siguiente se empezó a experimentar el daño que por haberlos avilantado recelaron los prácticos y bien entendidos.

malísima consecuencia, así porque los indios veneraban antes insignia y a los gobernadores como cosa sagrada, como porque se les dio a entender era necesario su auxilio y adherencia contra españoles. Ajustó el gobernador con concordias estas competencias, gobernó un año prudentemente, y fue especial providencia divina que en este tiempo no conspirasen los indios de alguna nación. Sucedió en el gobierno por particular cédula de su majestad el señor general Fernando Sousa de Suárez, que gobernó en paz desde febrero del año de 1640 hasta 25 de enero de 1641.

Siguióse desde dicho día el gobierno del señor don Luis de Valdés; no hubo cosa memorable en este gobierno en los años de 1641 y 1642. Entró por la primavera del 1643 el señor oidor don Alonso de Villalba con cédula de su majestad a la averiguación y castigo de los disturbios pasados; nada dejó remediado, boda la proa dicen que enderezó a examinar los procedimientos del gobernador con fin de ocupar el gobierno.

En estas competencias de jurisdicción, ningún súbdito parece que en la realidad cometió delito; que unos seguían al gobernador y estandarte al que enarbolan, otros a la real audiencia de Guadalajara y otros al señor virrey. Todo lo dejó indeciso el señor oidor sin dar aun aplicación a la suma grande de dinero que secó a los vasallos.

Muchos millares mandó su majestad por sus reales cédulas volviese a la real caja y a algunos vasallos. Nada se consiguió y dejó exhausto el reino. Por vista de la plaza pública del Parral, sacó con grillos al gobernador don Luis de Monsalve y le embarcó en un carro, y remitió preso a Guadalajara con escándalo y admiración de los indios. Túvosele a mal al gobernador don Luis de Valdés disimulase estos medios, así por los que pudieran causar de malos efectos la novedad de esta demostración entre los bárbaros, como por no ver frecuentado el estilo que observaron los señores virreyes marqués de Cadereita, marqués de Villena, don Juan de Palafox, y conde de Salvatierra, que en las prisiones de este gobernador le trataron como a tan principal caballero y de tan esclarecida sangre, asegurando el juicio con pleito homenaje, y cuando esto no se hubiera observado en tierra de paz, convenía mucho (por lo que adelante se experimentó) haberlo practicado en ésta donde poco tiempo antes le concedieron y reconocieron por su superior y capitán

general; que no es, no, de impedimento a la buena administración de justicia, ni contrario a sus fines de usar de medios prudentiales, y se debe sobreeser mucho del rigor en los negocios foráneos a cambio de que no padezcan detrimento los militares. Muchas causas movieron al señor conde de Salvatierra, con consulta y decisión del real acuerdo de México, a mandar salir de este reino al señor don Alonso de Villalba.

El siguiente año de 1644 dicen que pidieron los indios salineros del Tizonazo (con achaque de la hambre) licencia para salir a correr mesteñas, pretexto y solución para ejecutar sus maldades; diéronse la, y pasando por el paraje de Las Cruces Marcos Beltrán con sus carros, dieron de improviso en ellos y los saquearon; y llevaron toda la mulada, y mataron diecisiete personas, escapándose el dicho Beltrán a uña de caballo. Nada de esto se remedió, prevalenciendo de maña y fingimiento de estos indios, volviéndose de paz a su pueblo, cargando este delito a muchas otras naciones, dando por solución a cualquier argumento que si ellos le hubieran cometido, no volvieran a asistir a su ranchería, ni tampoco hubieran pedido licencia para ausentarse de ella. De éstas y otras sofisterías, se ha valido siempre esta nación para ejecutar los daños que se irán refiriendo, siendo el mayor para continuar el curso de sus traiciones, y tener a quien prohibirlas el haber adestrado y sacado a demarcar la tierra a los cabezas, matajares, gavilanes, y bausarigames, y otras muchas naciones, como se referirá y constará en el restante discurso de este escrito.

Declaráronse el siguiente año de 1645 los salineros, y concitaron a los conchos. Estos tomaron por ocasión el haberles nombrado por gobernador a un don Joseph, hijo de un mulato y de una india concha, que los mandaba con imperio y tenía sujetos; quemáronle vivo y mataron a los padres fray Francisco de Zigarán y fray Francisco Labado, religiosos del orden seráfico de San Francisco, y dieron fuego al convento, y aquellos no se sabe por que causa, más de haberse avilantado con el hecho de Marcos Beltrán, y ser gente de las propiedades que exprofeso se dirán. Armáronse con facilidad con los tobosos, julimes, ocomes, y acoclames, nonojos, y otras naciones sus confines, mataron algunas personas, y cerca del Parral, otras en Los Palmitos, otras en Cuencamé de donde se llevaron mucha caballada. Y en el paraje que llaman de Santa Ana, entre Cuencamé y Parras, mataron siete personas, y se llevaron dos mujeres españolas vivas. Cogieron todos los puertos, atajaron los caminos e impidieron el trajino y comercio.

Avisado el excelentísimo señor conde de Salvatierra, mandó hacer leva de gente, librando el dinero necesario para los gastos. Salió con ejército el gobernador y juntósele con setenta hombres a su costa el general don Pedro Sáenz Izquierdo, corregidor de Zacatecas. Marcharon a tierra de salineros y llegando al peñol de la Porciúncula (que así le llamaron por haber llegado a él en aquel día) reconociendo estar en aquel puesto recogido el enemigo, en cantidad de seiscientos flecheros, sin la chusma, le sitiaron. Pidieron los indios paz con algunas señales y bandera que levantaron; el gobernador fue de parecer que se les diese, y el corregidor de que se atacase más y se les apretase el sitio como valerosos, y que tenía próximo el fruto y más apegado con una buena facción el mérito de su entrada. Prevaleció en fin el parecer del gobernador; envióles al padre fray Pedro de Aparicio, religioso de San Francisco, que volvió al campo con algunos caciques que asentaron que bajarían el siguiente día al real con todos sus pilguanes y chusma. Aquella noche se deslizaron los indios por otro puesto, escapándose todos con sus familias. Este su-



ceso reducido en aplauso del dictámen del corregidor, todos a una voz le calificaron por más asentado y decían que pudo dar fin a la guerra castigando con severidad y escarmiento la nación salinera, dando a entender que no quiso romper el gobernador al enemigo por que no acertase al corregidor la gloria del vencimiento. Ninguno a la verdad demarcó el sitio del peñol, ni reconoció su mucha longitud y aspereza y que era menester doblado ejército para atacarle. Y aunque mucho después de ido el enemigo culparon al gobernador, es certísimo que no tuvo culpa y que obró en virtud de orden del señor conde de Salvatierra que expresamente le mandó hiciese la guerra con toda suavidad y que no se derramase sangre. Desabrido el corregidor, se volvió a Zacatecas con su gente y el gobernador marchó la tierra adentro en demanda de los enemigos. Tuvo el capitán Cristóbal de Nevaes un encuentro con ellos y mató en la refriega de veinticinco a treinta hostigados y perseguidos. Los indios se vinieron saliendo para afuera en busca del maestro de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva que andaba con cincuenta hombres y número de amigos en resguardo de los caminos; halláronle en el paraje que se llama de Los Nogales, entre el Cerrogordo y espaldas de la sierra del Canutillo, y diéronle la paz. Salió después el gobernador al Tizonazo donde asentó y redujo a su población a los salineros y agregó a dicho pueblo (que no debiera) la nación de los cabezas.

Esta nación cabeza, es especie de salineros, y agregándola al Tizonazo multiplicaron el número de enemigos domésticos y caseros que con simulación tienen destruido el reino.

Fundóse en esta sazón para freno de estas naciones (yo digo que para su rienda) el presidio del Cerrogordo con veinticuatro soldados y un cabo que aunque en su entidad sean útiles y eficaces los medios, si accidentalmente se adulteran y vician y se usa mal de ellos, antes perjudican que aprovechan para la consecución de los fines. El intento deliberado, y por tantos pareceres y juntas propuesto, de fundar a este presidio fue para que explorase la tierra, corriese las campañas, asegurase el camino a los viandantes, enfrenase y castigase a los delincuentes y salteadores que salían a robar caballada. Fabricaron, según dicen, el fuerte en el puesto más conveniente y en el medio de la circunferencia y, no habiendo salido los soldados a efecto de los arriba propuestos, con más propiedad puede decirse que el fuerte se fabricó sólo para circunferencia del medio. Los primeros tres años estuvieron los indios suspensos y en atalaya, tanteando y advirtiendo los progresos de este presidio con un capitán y cabo en opinión formidable y que, siéndolo de el de Santa Catalina por más de veinticuatro años, había sido el asombro y terror de los tepehuanaes. Muchos de esta nación murieron ahorca; ninguno a albazos, y diferente suerte es cazar las aves en el nido que las fieras lidiando. Ningún efecto bueno ha resultado de este presidio; avilantez sí y mucha en los indios, y mayores y más continuados los daños después de su fundación, que antes que se fundase. El capitán, las veces que se ha hallado con todo el número de soldados de la situación (que han sido pocas), ha hecho punto menos que nada. Está cargado de años y de achaques; unos dicen que no ha obrado por haberle coartado la mano los gobernadores, y lo cierto es que jamás ha estado bien gobernado el presidio; siempre han faltado no sólo caballos armados, que es el principal nervio de esta milicia, más aun armas ordinarias en los soldados. Este defecto y el que los indios no vean

ensayos y escaramuzas cotidianas ni otra alguna militar disciplina, ha despertado en ellos, y aun en nosotros, el mal concepto que del caudillo se tiene; aviva e incita los ánimos del los bárbaros a perpetrar las atrocidades que cada día se están experimentando; fáltales el temor y sóbrales la osadía con particular vilipendio de nuestras armas. Los fines de la fundación del presidio justos y santos fueron, y muy bien advertido este medio, si se usara bien de él, más las veces que ha habido espada, ha faltado el brazo y las más todo junto; puesto que los soldados, ocupados unos en arrieros y otros en estafetas y correos, no han asistido al principal ministerio y presto veremos siete de este presidio y dos del de Santa Catalina, fundadores del de la infausta Villa de Aguilar, muertos a manos de los tarahumaras.

En los fines del gobierno del señor don Luis de Valdés que fue el año de 1648, mataron los tarahumaras un arriero llamado Fulano Tableros y otras diecisiete o veinte personas que venían de la provincia de Sonora y Sinaloa, cargados de sal y otros géneros de la tierra y cantidad (según dicen) de cuatro mil pesos en plata. Asimismo mataron al padre Cornelio [Godínez] de la Compañía de Jesús, doctrienero de Papigochic. Es constante que fueron incitados los indios de algunas vejaciones y daños que les hicieron los españoles, así en sus maíces como pretendiendo llevarles algunos muchachos. Hizo entrada con cuarenta y cincuenta hombres y algunos indios amigos el general Juan Fernández Carrión al castigo de los agresores; tuvo por bien de volverse al Parral sin conseguir efecto alguno por que el enemigo era en mucha copia y de más valor del que se imaginaba; mucho es sin duda el que infunde la razón y natural defensa.

En este estado el reino, entró a gobernarlo el señor don Diego Guajardo Fajardo por primero de noviembre del año de 1648 y trajo libramiento del señor obispo gobernador para apaciguar estos movimientos y, porque no haya confusión en la inteligencia de lo sucedido y de lo mucho que hay que referir en el discurso de este gobierno, juzgo por conveniente discurrir sumaria y sucintamente lo que se me ofrece y es preciso llevar sabido de las naciones tarahumara, salinera, tobose, el país que habitan, el modo de vivir de cada uno y la utilidad o perjuicio que causan, para que con esta noticia se puedan resolver las dudas que han ocasionado contrarios y diferentes informes que se han hecho a los superiores, encaminando cada cual los suyos a fines de su conveniencia y logro de sus pretensiones, si la mía desnudando humanos respetos tendrá todo el suyo en que se consiga el servicio de las dos majestades y se resucite este reino desastradamente muerto aunque el común sentir es que, indefenso, ha sido injustamente ajusticiado.

Y así la provincia de tarahumaras de la otra parte del real de Parral al noroeste, su primer pueblo llamado San Felipe dista dicho real doce leguas y el que llaman Huejotitlán diez y siete. Ambos son doctrinas de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús y la de Satevó, por otro nombre San Javier, y las que llaman Santa Isabel, San Pedro y Babonoyaba, mezcladas de tarahumares y conchos, las administran los religiosos de San Francisco. La tierra adentro, en distancia del Parral de sesenta, setenta y ochenta leguas, está en diferentes puestos poblada en mucha copia esta nación y ocupa el valle que llaman del Aguila, donde está el sitio de Papigochic, Villa de Aguilar, Peña del Cuervo, Salto de Agua y otros parajes que sirven para el camino de Sonora con quien confina, entre poniente y norte, y tiene a sus confines a los yécoras y guazapares y por la banda del sur la madre sierra poblada de tephuanes. Es esta provincia fertilísima de aguas, pastos y montes, valles y sierras húmedas y de regadío.

La nación tarahumara dicen que tendrá de 10,000 indios para arriba de arco y flecha, y es sin contradicción la más política, apacible, pacífica y aplicada al trabajo de cuantas se conocen en este reino. Siembran y cogen muchísima cantidad de maíz, frijol y otras legumbres que abastecen el real del Parral y toda la provincia de Santa Bárbara. Es gente que anda vestida y se aplica a tejer mantas de hierbas para este efecto. Tiene sus crías de gallinas, ovejas, algún ganado y yeguas. Salen a trabajar al Parral sin violencias ni fuerza; no han sido jamás inquietos ni bulliciosos, ni se movieron ni conspiraron en el levantamiento de los tepehuanes acaecido el año de 1616 siendo así que son sus vecinos. Nunca se entendió que fuesen guerreros ni tan valientes ni belicosos, como en estos años proximamente pasados ha mostrado la experiencia. Jamás han usado en sus peleas de traición y emboscada; antes citaban hora y puesto a los españoles para la batalla. No se probará que de sus términos y raya se hayan salido a inquietarnos, ni cometido muerte de persona ni robo de una sola bestia; son en extremo dóciles y reducibles y no hay que dudar de que ha sido y es la nación más útil que se halla para las conveniencias del reino, y en especial para el real de San Joseph del Parral que le abastecía de maíces abundantísimamente. Y entraban los españoles solos y sin riesgos con mercadurías de la tierra, y a poco precio volvían con recuas cargadas de maíces, mantas y otros géneros y legumbres de aquella provincia. Y son estos indios de tan puntual correspondencia y trato que muchas veces acaecía no poder los españoles tan aína conducir los maíces que rescataban y dejárselos en confianza; y cuando volvían se los entregaban con tanta puntualidad que no menoscababan una tan sola mazorca aunque acaeciese entrar en el interín a comprarse los otros rescatadores. Las buenas propiedades de esta nación se manifiestan en la facilidad con que han admitido la predicación del santo evangelio cuando se ha introducido con suavidad y sin excepción de armas y vejaciones.

Lástima grande, digna de todo llanto, que la poca atención en los españoles caminantes, la desenfrenada codicia de abarcar los maíces para revenderlos en el Parral, encareciendo el pan a los pobres, quitando con la carestía el jugo y la substancia a los mineros, y lo que peor es, la sed insaciable de enriquecerse presto, haciendo esclavos a los hijos y mujeres de estos tarahumaras, haya dado ocasión a malearlos y habilitarlos en tanto grado que de mansos corderos e inútiles en armas, han pasado de este extremo al de la valentía sin tocar en el medio, y lo que no se puede negar es que por acudir temáticamente a hacer guerra a esta nación, que no nos la hacía, se han gastado sin fruto los reales haberes y dejado perder el reino y las raíces de donde resultaban. Siempre se ha entendido y reconocido con evidencia que de su parte han justificado la guerra los tarahumares y que se han defendido naturalmente, y al fin y postre después de gastos muchos y de daños irreparables y sin restauración, hallaremos concedido con ignominia lo que pudo con igual utilidad que reputación concederse de anticipado cuando lo pedían.

Hagamos por ahora punto y cortemos el hilo a esta narración hasta su tiempo para hacerla en lo inexcusable de las naciones tobosa, y salinera, que ambas siguen unas mismas pisadas y han gozado de la ocasión con sobrada osadía y atemimiento. Las naciones tobosa y salinera son confines y vecinas en una cordillera entre levante y norte. La tobosa más hacia el norte y cercana al Parral raya con los conchos, nonojos, acoclames, totoclames, julimes, chisos, ocomes y gavilanes; su pueblo sólo de cumplimiento y cuando están de paz se llama Atotonilco, ocho leguas del valle de San Bartolomé y catorce del Parral y su retiro es a una tierra estéril e inacuosa que trajinarse no puede sino es en la fuerza de las aguas.

Ya está dicho que los tobosos son pocos, y que uno que capitanea basta para revolver diez reinos. Ninguna de cuantas naciones tienen cercanas (que son muchas) dejan de moverse a cualesquier alzamientos todas cuantas veces quieren moverlas y en especial en estos años proximamente pasados, y en el tiempo presente, que saliéndose con uno y otro insulto, son infinitos los que cometen en la cercanía del Parral. No es gente esta que siembra ni cultiva los campos ni labra las minas ni es de utilidad alguna, sino de infinito perjuicio y a esta causa expidió su majestad el año de 1628 su real cédula, despachada al señor marqués de Salinas, resolviendo lo que en esta materia se debía hacer y era de su real servicio. Dícese que se ha hecho informe a su excelencia que ya está consumida esta nación y muertos todos los tobosos. Y es así que o han sido muertos por ficción del entendimiento para colorear las entradas a tarahumares y el consumo grande de real hacienda o si en realidad son muertos, han resucitado otros de su tamaño, o es ilación evidente que causa los daños la nación que han procurado calificar, introduciéndola digna de premio con paz fingida, a la sazón que expiraba el gobierno para ofuscarlo todo y adelantar méritos y dar a entender que se le entregaba pacífica al sucesor, a quien en realidad dieron con naípe floreado y albur amarrado a la puerta, y los efectos de perdición que han resultado de esta maña y simulación, vivamente y sin remedio, los está padeciendo el reino y su majestad en el gran menoscabo de sus reales quintos; y el actual gobernador maniatado sin poder salir al opósito ni a atajar las repetidas desgracias de cada día ni dar consuelo ni refrigerio a tantos y tan lastimosos clamores.

Esta nación que han procurado calificar es la salinera, contra quien el gobernador pronunció el año de 1650 sentencia de muerte por los muchos delitos que le averiguó, y en el mandamiento de su excelencia y libramiento de 80,000 pesos para la guerra, despachado el año de 1652, manda se lleven a fuego y a sangre con toda hostilidad y sin haber tomado la más mínima satisfacción; los llamaron de paz en el año de 1653 y dieron ropa y bastimentos, porque vino sucesor para el gobierno, etc.

La nación salinera que está más al levante, linda por esta parte con los coahuilas y por la del norte, tierra adentro, raya con los cíobolas, nación muy extendida y numerosa. No tienen los salineros pueblo ni ranchería conocida en la tierra adentro; y es la nación menos consistente y más haragana y floja que se conoce en este reino, compuesta de diferentes linajes de que toman el apellido, y unos se llaman merosalineros, otros cabezas, otros matarajes, otros negritos, colorados otros y otros basarigames, empero todos se reducen a una especie y hablan una misma lengua. Su pueblo o doctrina, de los merosalineros a quienes el año de 1646 agregaron a los cabezas, se llama el Tizonazo; está dos leguas adelante de Indé en el paso y camino real de la ligera para el Parral. Muchos de estos indios se derraman al Cerrogordo, Santa Ana, Canutillo y estancia de Hernán Martín, todos puestos y atalayas, todas de donde están acertando los tiros a caminantes. No es gente ésta que cultiva los campos, ni labra las minas, ni cuidan de andar vestidas. Toda su vida se han sustentado de latrocinios más o menos conforme a la oportunidad de los tiempos y si en los pasados, con mucha exorbitancia y desenfreno, no eran empero tan sensibles los daños como en los presentes. La causa es porque era infinito el ganado y mesteñada que había en los llanos de la Zarca y de la Magdalena y desde el Río Florido hasta Santo Domingo de Naiza y El Gallo, puestos que lindan con el carril a donde siempre que pasaban carros, salían a bandadas a pedir

harina, maíces y bastimentos. Y tenían por bien los pasajeros de dárselos por no padecer algún naufragio. Cuántos y cuántos viandantes que caminaban solos por este camino han perecido y muerto miserablemente; a la verdad son infinitos. Concluyeron pues los salineros con el ganado y mesteña de aquella cordillera, y como enviados y cebados con este mantenimiento, se han ido llevando de seis años a esta parte entre ellos y los tobosos y demás zeguaces más de 15,000 bestias del reino sin perdonar las muladas de los mineros; punto que se debe ponderar mucho que cuando no hubiera otro y en pechos cristianos se abstrayera (que no es posible) de las muertes que cometen en cuantas encuentran, debiera por las congruencias de su majestad atenderse y remediarse con particular eficacia; porque si no es posible sacarse la plata sin molerse o fundirse los metales, y es imposible que se muelan y fundan sin movimiento y este le dan las mulas, imposible es sacarse plata mientras no se ataja el daño que resulta de estos robos.

Grandísima es, sin duda, la malicia de estos tiempos y para excusar el cargo justificado de la pérdida de un tan florido reino por divertir con tema las armas y

Hase continuado tanto este género de hostilidad que hasta los fines del año de 1659 pasan de 30,000 bestias las que han robado, así en la Nueva Vizcaya como en las jurisdicciones de Nueva España y Nueva Galicia que han penetrado estos bárbaros.

gastos donde no importaba, llena de ropajes la sofistería, pues no pudiendo y negarse el robo de las caballadas de los clamores de las campanas y lágrimas de los interesados en la pérdida de los muchos que desastradamente mueren a manos de los indios, y vemos cada día sepultar en los templos. Se valen de decir que las muertes las causan los indios laboríos de las haciendas cercanas al Parral, y las caballadas se las llevan los españoles, no teniendo otro medio para cobrar lo mucho que deben los mineros. A lo primero respondo que, cuando tal sucediese en parte por que en el todo es falacia y engaño, si es forzoso que estos indios caseiros se valgan de la resolución y a río revuelto gocen de la ocasión, ¿quién tendrá la culpa, sino quien en las maciones rebeldes no hizo, pues pudo, un ejemplar castigo, para que los domésticos simuladamente no se moviesen? Además de que si es tan irrefragable para el cargo esta solución, a que yo llamo escape y evasión, ¿qué cuadrillas de indios domésticos son las que el mes de junio pasado mataron seis personas en el camino que va de esta ciudad a San Juan del Río, y en el de Los Charcos y Santa Catalina, doce leguas del Parral, otras ocho? ¿Y once en Atotonilco y en lo de Sextín de Cañas, que dista veinte leguas, otras siete; y en San Agustín, el año pasado, otras trece y once en Atotonilco y siete en Palmitos, y a este respecto en seis años más de 300 personas en diferentes partes del reino? ¿Tienen por ventura los mineros y labradores los ojos vendados para no reconocer la gente que falta a sus ministerios y regular el tiempo y los sucesos?

En la ocasión que este papel se escribió, pasaban de 700 personas las muertas a manos de los indios, y a los fines del año de 1659 pasan de 3,000 en la [Nueva] Vizcaya y en jurisdicciones de Nueva España y [Nueva] Galicia.

Si no es ya que llaman domésticos a los del Tizonazo que, en son de que van a trabajar en el Parral, se señorean de todos los puestos, y haciendo espaldas a los de tierra adentro, unos y otros roban y matan a cuantos encuentran y dan aviso de los

designios y pretensión de los españoles y de los más intrínsecos de los despachos que vienen de su excelencia, inconveniente que llega a perpetuar tanto los daños que irremisiblemente los harán mientras hubiere materia, vivieren entre nosotros y hasta que den al través no hagan zozobrar de todo punto esta miserable barquilla. Poco sin duda falta para que llegue el caso y débese temer mucho la seca venidera desde el fin de este otoño, habiéndose perdido la oportunidad de las aguas. Para entonces remito la calificación de este escrito con desengaño evidente de que por nuestras muchas culpas ha permitido la justicia divina que en tan manifiestos daños y tan enormísima lesión como la que padece este sujeto, hayan padecido corrupción al aire y las especies.

El segundo punto que es prohijar el robo de las caballadas a los acreedores españoles parece cosa ridícula el imaginarlo, cuanto más el creerlo y atreverse a proponerlo a los superiores. Y preguntar quisiera, si tanto número de caballadas ha quedado en el reino, y en qué campos repasta? Y si ha salido fuera, y por qué veredas y sendas invisibles? ¿Dónde están las informaciones sobre este caso hechas? Bien que no fuera milagro el haberlas que esta dolencia de testificar con facilidad en los súbditos de este reino es muy ordinaria y necesitaba eficaz medicina para curarla porque el gusto y conveniencias de los superiores no han de bastar para hacer lícito lo que no es de su naturaleza. Y al médico superior que es su excelencia, a cuyos hombros acuesta la carga del gobierno y general salud de todo este nuevo mundo, se debe sin rebozo revelar el achaque para que dé receta conveniente. Pero que importa que se dé como se ha dado, con prontitud y abundancia, si no guardaron el orden y lo aplicaron todo a un nervio medianamente lastimado por los tarahumaras, dejando desabrigado el cuerpo y la cabeza donde tanto pugnan y han pugnado los accidentes; fuera de que a vista de la rectitud que profesan y deben profesar los ministros de su majestad, no le es lícito a ningún súbdito de su autoridad privada usar de semejante medio, como es título de acreedor, cogerse las caballadas y muladas desaviando los mineros y labradores. Y confesar esto es confesar de plano que no administraban justicia ni atendían al servicio de su majestad, ni al bien público que deben ser preferidos cualquiera particular.

Además de que si atentamente se lee y considera la relación remitida a su excelencia sobre la entrada y acción hecha por septiembre del año [1]652 en el peñol de San Miguel, por otro nombre Nonolat, se hallará en la descripción del sitio encerrada una multitud inaudita de osamenta de caballada y mulada que habían robado y muerto aquellos indios, con que quedaba probado que son estos y no los españoles los agresores. Y si por ventura se quisiese prohijar este desconcierto fingido al presente gobierno, no es para pasar en silencio que a diez de diciembre del año pasado se aprendió la posesión y el mes de noviembre antecedente se llevaron mucha copia de caballada particular y acaecieron algunas muertes. Era formal delito articular la voz para quejarse cualquier lastimado, y a uno que llegó a dar aviso y quejarse, se le dió por respuesta la que se ha referido y procurado introducir. Y permitió Dios que la noche siguiente le llevasen al superior y su inmediato toda su caballada sin perdonar las mulas de la carroza, acusándoles el vulgo valido de su misma proposición de malos pagadores pues obligaban a sus acreedores a valerse de aquellos medios. Aunque con aprestarse el siguiente día con cuarenta hombres y seguir los rastros hasta los Peotillos, tierra de tobosos, manifestaron en la mitad del día la falacia de su evasiva proposición, bien que no dieron de esto ni de otras desventuras acaecidas en aquel tiempo aviso a su exce-

lencia, para que no se desatase el enigma y tuviesen curso los papeles que caminaban al consejo, introduciendo mérito de haber pacificado este reino ganando un mandamiento de su excelencia en el que se le daban las gracias por un tan señalado servicio. Siendo así que fue tan subrepticio el informe cuanto por instantes están manifestando los sucesos a costa de una preciosa piedra de la corona y del crédito de su sucesor, que negado a recursos, fluctúa miserablemente en la mayor tormenta (aunque solapada) que ha sobrevenido jamás en el piélago de este reino. Pues fue pintada en su comparación la del año de 1616 en que murieron intempestivamente ochenta y tantas personas, y ahora en discurso de seis años, más de trescientas personas a fuego manso y a mano de (según dicen) escuadrillas de salteadores; proposición que cuando fuera constante, y no se viese falsificada con sus propios papeles y otras evidencias que constarán adelante, es indigna de preferirse pues cede en su propio descrédito y en ignominia de nuestras armas contra quienes confiesen que prevalece la supuesta debilidad de las enemigas; puesto que prevalecen tan continuados los daños y que supieron ni pudieron exterminar las raíces de tan pocas y tan débiles plantas.

Cuando se escribió este papel, eran más de 700 personas las muertas y a los fines del año de [16]59 pasan de tres mil.

Supongamos por ahora (aunque lo neguemos después con sólidos fundamentos y con vivas demostraciones) que son escuadrillas de salteadores las que cometen los robos y muertes desde Parras hasta el Parral en distancia de cien leguas y tienen cogidos los puertos y atajados los caminos. ¿Qué hace (me pregunto) al caso para la muerte (verbi gracia) de Pedro que muera con sangrías a pausas o intempestivamente degollado, que muera manos de uno, o muera a manos de ciento, si el efecto de morir se consigue igualmente por uno que por muchos instrumentos? Si el reino se compone de individuos y han muerto las escuadrillas trescientos, si de minas y no se labran, si de labores y se despueblan, si de caballadas y se las llevan todas, y en fin todo parece que menos daño resulta de esta invasión que si se hiciera por un ejército numeroso, lo que yo percibo y advierto es que al argumento de tantos daños antes le corrobora y apoya más y solicita el remedio la solución de ser escuadrillas, y que en lo pasado no se le aplicó por desvío de la voluntad. O se ha de confesar que en lo presente no se da por ser mucha la copia de los enemigos derramados en longincuos puestos y de una u otra manera que al inocente acuesta la pena por formal culpa de quien informó.

Apretemos un poco más la dificultad y preguntemos de que calidad más agravante fueron los insultos cometidos en el pasado quinquenio. ¿Qué género de gente y de qué distinta esfera la que entonces mataban a la que matan hoy los indios? ¿Era por ventura la caballada que robaban de mayor congruencia para representar el daño que la que hoy llevan para apocarle y desvanecerle? ¿Y si hoy son acreedores españoles los agresores para conseguir la cobranza de sus débitos, tan pujante se hallaba el reino y tan sobrados los vasallos que no había deudas ni acreedores entonces? ¿Y si hoy cometen daños los domésticos de las cuadrillas de distinta calidad, debían de ser en el gobierno pasado o se ha de confesar que no las había y que la labor de las minas y el beneficio de sacar plata tenía corriente por ministerio de los ángeles? ¿Si en el presente miserable y calamitoso tiempo son escuadrillas las que nos maltratan y tienen estancado el comercio, paradas las ha-

ciendas, despobladas las minas, ranchos y carboneras, eran acaso en el gobierno pasado ejércitos de indios los que invadían y legiones las que en los caminos aparecían para haberles pronunciado sentencia de muerte contra los tobosos y salineros y haber ganado mandamiento de su excelencia y un tan copioso libramiento para hacerles guerra a fuego y sangre?

Interpusieron sin duda estas perniciosas naciones apelación para los tarahumaras y vióse en un instante revocada la sentencia de muerte luego que revocaron los pasos que, en conformidad de lo acordado, se iban dando en la tierra de tobosos y salineros, haciendo al paladar informaciones de que ya en aquella parte con el progreso del peñol (de que adelante diremos), se había concluido y fenecido la guerra y que los enemigos que se habían cernido eran pocos; y estériles por fines de septiembre los aguajes para seguirlos (tiempo el más oportuno del año y que ninguno más, para la entrada) diéronse en esta sazón fingidos rebatos en San Felipe (tierra de tarahumaras). Firmaron todos y los más en consejo de guerra que convenía dar la vuelta con el campo y bajase a aquella provincia en son de socorrer a los doctrineros y sepultar los difuntos de Papigochic, porque el propalar que se iba a hacer guerra formal a aquella nación era ir a la letra contra de los justificados mandamientos de su excelencia y contra expresa cédula de su majestad, en que manda que no se haga guerra a los tarahumaras y no ser su real voluntad que se gaste en esto su real hacienda, sino que los redujesen por medios suaves y espirituales. Sin duda que los que firmaron esta entrada ignoraban el contexto de dicha real cédula y mandamientos; y aunque no lo ignorasen no les era posible, ni aun lícito, en medio de color de socorro adelantar consecuencias, ni examinar la mente del superior, y aunque lo uno y otro alcanzasen, era gigante el miedo de ver alcabucear a unos y poner supuestas causas en puntos de alcabucearlos; pero si esta ocasión se perdía de parte del gobernador, cuando se había de hallar oportunidad a ajenas expensas y con campo formado para reducir una nación tan extendida e indigna.

Dilatada digresión parece la que se ha hecho, desviándonos de la descripción y narración de los salineros y tobosos, pero inexcusable porque o lo fue esta entrada de salineros y tobosos y superfluos los gastos que se hicieron en ella e ilusorios todos los informes que incitaron el ánimo de su excelencia y real acuerdo para tan gran libramiento, siendo con evidencia idénticos los daños presentes con los pasados, o la ambición de crédito propio en el consejo con detrimento del ajeno y el huir el cargo justificadísimo del consumo de real hacienda contra la voluntad de liberada de su majestad y su excelencia han pretendido ofuscar y con efecto han ofuscado el sentido y no dejan percibir la ruina y perdición de este reino, y que no habiéndose aplicado el dinero a los efectos para que se libró, quedaron sin castigo los indios y estantes y más vivos que nunca los inconvenientes.

Esto todo es evidente y lo contrario tramoya y enredo para barajar como barajaron un negocio tan grande.

Lo que resta por decir de los salineros es que serán en número los de esta especie hasta seiscientos indios de arco y flecha; siempre andan derramados en las partes y puestos arriba dichos, y muchos so color de correr mesteñas para sustentarse hacen la mayor parte de los daños en el conmedio de Indé para el Parral y todos cuantos se hacen en Parras, Cuencamé, San Juan del Río, Atotonilco, Río de



Nazas hasta el Florido, verdad bien percibida y averiguada por el señor don Enrique Dávila, actual gobernador de este reino, y que con capa de amigos con la simulación de paz fingida que asentaron en el año pasado, introducen también como lo han de costumbre las naciones remotas y las habilitan en la demarcación de la tierra haciéndoles fomento y espaldas. No le ha sido posible al señor don Enrique remediarlo ni poner en ejecución el dar satisfacción pública a tan repetidos agravios; cuando el mayor prevalece por la maña apoyada de firmas e informes puestos en manos de su excelencia, que careados con los del señor gobernador justamente ha dudado sin resolverse, difiriendo el crédito y remitiéndole a los avisos que espera la advertida, atenta y a todas luces celosa comprensión de vuestra merced, señor visitador y contador mayor.

Ingenuamente confieso que todo cuanto tiene esta materia de grave, tiene de delicada, y que de la manera que se debe advertir el excusarle superfluos gastos a su majestad en ocasión que tan gastado se halla, se debe también ponderar de que no es de su real servicio ni admite conveniencias en sus haberes dejarle perder un reino que tanto le sirve y fructifica. No está aun percibido este daño ni se ha representado con las demostraciones que pide, ni regulado el monto de los gastos con la entidad de las pérdidas. Cada cosa separadamente mirada es muy considerable, y de los deslices en lo uno ha resultado sin duda en lo otro; la continuada e irrestaurable perdición, camino que surca con tan apresurados pasos que o se ha de dejar el reino a los indios o se ha de conducir gente de otros para guarnecer a expensas de otras reales cajas porque esta traza lleva de no hacer poco sin pagar restrictamente los situados. De cien mil pesos pasaba en cada un año el derecho sólo de los quintos después de haber pagado más de treinta y cinco mil pesos que importan los situados, y regulado el fruto de estos tres años últimos con el que resultó en los otros tres antecedentes se hallará menoscabado en ciento y cincuenta mil pesos, que para desviarse es menester millón y medio de saca; cantidad que trajinada le rinde en breve tiempo a su majestad duplicados derechos, y que de su falta no sólo se le ha ocasionado la delgadez sino la total ruina de la minería de este reino y de los mercaderes que han faltado a sus correspondientes de México en detrimento del comercio de todos los reinos, pues no es imperceptible la falta que pueden hacer en la plaza de México quinientos mil pesos en cada año. A todos estos efectos ya que negarse no pueden; les han querido introducir por causa el decaimiento de las minas. Esta materia se desentrañará adelante y constará en su lugar con evidencia que el decaimiento lo padecen los mineros, criadores, labradores y mercaderes que son los miembros que componen el reino.

Y así paso brevemente a decir lo que en general conviene llevar sabido de la nación salinera. Los salineros, como domésticos y que pocos años hace, se servía de ellos para las vaquerías el general Cristóbal de Ontiveros difunto, tienen a palmas trajinada y damarcada toda la tierra y son dueños de cuantos puestos y parajes hay para la entrada y trajino del Parral desde Guanaceví, Santa Catalina, Santiago Papasquiario, ciudad de Durango, San Juan del Río, Cuencamé y Parras; de manera que, andando de malas, es imposible escapar de su celada los que caminan así por el carril como por todos los demás de la ligera, ninguno está tratable, y en todos se cometen robos y muertes. Y los salineros se están en el Tizonazo y derramados en los puestos de que arriba se ha hecho mención, y si faltan como suelen a bandadas y muy en particular los de la nación cabeza de la escuadra del indio llamado Santiago, dicen que han ido a correr mesteñas. La tierra de las salinas, de que estos

toman el nombre, es tan dilatada como estéril de pastos, aguas y montes, incontrastable en la selva y difícil de trajinar en las lluvias por los sartenejales y atolladeros. Suele haber de un paraje a otro veinte y treinta leguas sin agua, causa por que son irremediables e incastigables sus insultos y latrocinios, retirándose los agresores y retirando las caballadas que en una noche la transplantan distancia de quince y veinte leguas para convidar a los de su séquito y demás naciones circunvecinas. Y cuando los españoles llegan a percibir el daño, si unas veces es dificultoso, otras imposible, seguir el alcance.

En cuatro de noviembre de 1648 años como está referido, tomó posesión del gobierno en esta ciudad el señor don Diego de Guajardo Fajardo, y después de haber ajustado y conseguido el libramiento que trajo del señor obispo gobernador para la pacificación de los tarahumaras, partió por diciembre para el Parral, donde y en el valle de San Bartolomé fue recibido con aplausos y regocijo general, así de parte del señor obispo y citado eclesiástico como de los vecinos de aquella provincia. Apenas estuvo quince días en aquel real cuando se aprestó por enero del siguiente año e hizo entrada a los tarahumaras, siguiéndole muchos vecinos y particulares a su costa y mención; no se puede negar el valor grande de este caballero, siendo el primero a los peligros y riesgos y que peleaba no sólo con los ordenes sino con el ejemplo, pasando los trabajos que pudiera cualquier particular en el rigor del invierno sin saber que cosa era mudar de vestido y armas ni aun para dormir. Castigó a algunos de los agresores y hubo a las manos seiscientos o setecientos marcos de plata que traían los arrieros de Sonora que habían muerto el año antecedente, consignados para diferentes personas del Parral. Hizo diferentes presas en las mujeres y chusma de los tarahumaras que se vendieron en pública almoneda en el Parral, entrando el dinero que resultaba en poder de Diego de Villafra, receptor de estos y otros diferentes efectos.

En esta sazón fundó el gobernador el presidio de Papigochic y puso en él siete soldados del Cerrogordo y dos del de Santa Catalina y empezó a poblar la Villa de Aguilar, así llamada porque se puso juntamente con el presidio en el medio del fertilísimo valle del Aguila que le riega con facilidad el río llamado Papigochic. Una legua más arriba mataron los indios (como referido queda el año antecedente) al padre Cornelio [Godínez], doctrinero. En su lugar entró el padre Jácome Antonio Basilio de la Compañía de Jesús. El puesto donde se fabricó la casa para esta doctrina y en el que el presidio y villa, dicen que eran donde los indios sembraban sus maíces tempranos por la comodidad del riego; vieron lo uno y otro tiranizado y poblada una copiosa labor de trigo junto a la villa y por mayordomo de ella un Gerónimo de Ontiveros. El pretexto y color de estas poblaciones eran para propagar el santo evangelio con facilidad, y que estuviesen resguardadas los doctrineros y se pudiese trajinar el camino de Sonora. Ni uno ni otro era posible conseguirse, porque ni la propagación del santo evangelio se consigue por este medio en que más obran los de la suavidad que los de la fuerza, ni para resguardo de los caminantes de Sonora era equivalente la de un presidio con diez o doce hombres, fabricado en el medio de la distancia entre Sonora y Parral, a la de los indios que respondían en número más de quinientos por soldado y que difícilmente se podían socorrer a sí mismos, cuanto y más a los caminantes en uno u otro cabo de tan dilatado camino. Pedían los tarahumaras con repetidas instancias que les desembrasen sus tierras y les quitasen la villa y presidio, y les volviesen sus hijos y mujeres, fundando en derecho natural esta pretensión, y que haciéndoseles bien, pa-

sase de parte de los españoles; le harían ellos a los que trajinaban el camino de Sonora y a los regateadores de maíces como lo habían hecho en los gobiernos pasados, y lo que más es que no pondrían impedimento a los doctrineros para la predicación del evangelio. Imposible se había ya esta pretensión porque el dinero que resultó de las presas se había convertido en carne y sangre, y no lo era menor el demoler la villa y el presidio, hecho concepto de que eran esenciales para abarcar todos los bastimentos de aquella provincia y de mano en mano pasarlos a vender a la de Santa Bárbara. Disimularon los tarahumaras su sentimiento y pasión, librando la venganza para más oportuno tiempo y ocasión.

Cautivaron en diferentes veces más de 400 muchachos, muchachas y mujeres; la mayor parte se vendió y la restante pereció miserablemente en la carcel del Parral porque no hubo compradores.

Bajó el gobernador al Parral y, continuando contra el dictámen de los bien entendidos y prácticos la conservación del presidio y población de la villa, trató de enviar ministros de doctrinas y consultó el señor obispo que le advirtió que en aquella materia debía entrar con más tiento y escrúpulo y no proceder en lo demás con tan atropellados pasos, de que resultó un fuego de indignación tan grande que no fue menester mucho apetito para que de eslabón en eslabón se tejiese una cadena de hierros pesadísima contra el estado eclesiástico con desmanes notoriamente injuriosos y descompasados. Esta villa y presidio fueron instrumento de la perdición del reino y de que se despoblase de mineros sueltos el real de San Joseph del Parral, que eran los que porque en mayor abundancia que las haciendas raíces sacaban la plata, viendo al gobernador empeñado en la población del lugar, y que con toda fuerza les compelia con cantidades de pesos con cargo de que fuesen a poblar la villa, ellos se salían a bandadas, siguiendo sus huellas infinita gente laboria. Y se pasó a tanto el desconcierto que muchos deudores eran (si no absueltos de los débitos) esperados por cinco y seis años contra la voluntad de sus acreedores; camino extraordinario con que se embarazó en mucha parte la labor de las minas y el beneficio de sacar plata porque pararon y se estancaron los créditos, escarmentando los mercaderes aviadores unos en propias y otros en ajenas cabezas. Y este caso sucedió particularmente con los capitanes Juan Sánchez Rico y Joseph Lobo que entraron a poblar unas minas de que nunca vieron los efectos, y lo que finalmente vino a resultar fue que el año siguiente de 1650 mataron junto a la villa los tarahumaras al dicho capitán Joseph Lobo, e hicieron mucho mal al capitán Juan Sánchez Rico quién se guareció en el alojamiento de unos hidalgos Valenzuelas, que venían de Culiacán por Sonora al Parral, y con trincheras que hicieron se defendieron y pelearon valerosísimamente, aunque se llevaron los indios las recuas y todo cuanto traían. Y en un puesto más adelante mataron a un capitán Olivas y a cuantas personas con el venían, llevándose novecientas cabezas de ganado mayor, cantidad de sal, cebo y manteca y otros géneros que conducían desde Sonora, sin que estos daños los pudiesen estorbar los soldados del presidio, que harto hacían en resguardarse entre las paredes. El gobernador socorrió el presidio y envió cantidad de soldados e indios amigos y por cabo al general Juan Fernández de Morales juntamente con el general Barraza y sus soldados, dejando el presidio de Cerrogorordo con cuatro o cinco para guarda del material edificio y sin defensa ni guarda todo lo poblado del reino desde el Parral para afuera; ocasión que

hicieron muy a su salvo los salineros y cabezas por la melena, dando principio a las insolencias que hasta hoy han continuado como adelante veremos. Cuanto diga que los generales Morales y Barraza hicieron con ochenta hombres y cantidad de indios amigos entrada a la tierra adentro de la villa de Aguilar como veinte leguas hasta sitiar a los tarahumaras alojados en un peñol rodeado de los ríos Tomochic y Tecorachic, y vista la fortaleza del sitio y que cada hora se iba el enemigo reforzando de gente, tuvieron por bien de levantar el sitio y volverse a cencerros tapados y de noche en demanda de la villa de donde dieron aviso al gobernador como no era posible con tan poco nervio de gente y ejército contrastar la fuerza del enemigo.

A este mismo tiempo y sazón y a los 26 de julio de dicho año de 1650, día de la gloriosa Santa Ana, en el paraje de Los Charcos, diez leguas más acá del Parral, yendo caminando el sargento mayor Juan de Herrera, don Juan del Castillo, Juan de Santoyo, juez cobrador del Santo Oficio, Juan Rodríguez y hasta en número de diez y siete personas, las once de arcabuz, les salieron de emboscada en la mitad del día hasta ochenta o cien indios salineros y cabezas, embistiéndolos a un tiempo por rostro, lados y espaldas; los mataron escapándose sólo un soldado que iba adelante y un muchacho y un indio malherido que murió dentro de pocos días. Este indio avisó en Las Bocas, doctrina de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús, distante dos leguas de aquel punto, y juntándose los españoles e indios amigos que fue posible, salieron a traer los cuerpos para darles sepultura. Devisaron a la caída de una loma al enemigo que se puso en ala y a guisa de pelear; no se atrevieron a embestirle y tuvieron por bien de dejarle ir y que se entrase en la sierra de Atocha que la tenía del pie a la mano.

El soldado que huyó por otro camino llegó al Parral a las cinco de la tarde y dió aviso del suceso al gobernador, que al punto se puso a caballo siguiéndole más de cuarenta hombres, y llegando al puesto de Los Charcos, fue siguiendo los rastros y recogiendo los despojos que, con la prisa y oscuridad de la noche, iban dejando sin perder un solo peso de siete mil en reales que llevaba el dicho sargento mayor pertenecientes al dicho gobernador, que llegado al fuerte de Bernardo Gómez [de Montenegro] y a los Nogales y visto que se habían cernido los indios y que unos rastros pasaban la tierra adentro y otros retrocedían a la sierra del Canutillo, se volvió al Parral. El general Juan Fernández Carrión prendió en una ranchería en la vera del Río Florido a los dos indios indiciados por haberles hallado las flechas ensangrentadas; y llevados al Parral en donde fueron atenaceados vivos por las calles públicas, ahorcados y hechos cuartos, y puestas las manos y cabeza en el lugar donde habían cometido el delito. Este rígido, en nuestra cristiana religión insólito, género de castigo, cuanto pudiera servir de ejemplar espantoso para contener a los indios, pero fue pernicioso y sirvió para su mayor desenfreno y para dar principio a las nuevas crueldades y martirios que ejecutar en cuantos encuentran (deshablemos aquí la hoja que doblamos en las primeras sobre el punto que se tocó de hacerse irremediables si no se corrigen los achaques antes que cobren raíces).

Política importante suele ser en un capitán general que con ejército entra a la conquista o restauración de un reino para facilitar y conseguir con brevedad la empresa llevar a fuego y sangre y entregar a saco los primeros lugares para que los restantes, viendo marchar en el campo, se entreguen y rindan por no experimentar el cuchillo que descargó sobre sus vecinos. ¿Pero si sucediese (que abrasados los primeros lugares), en vez de proseguir el campo, se retiraba a otra remota y apar-

tada provincia y que dejaba indefensas y sin guarnición las fronteras de su territorio, no es cosa consecuente el que los lastimados que padecieron incendio obren lo mismo en los pueblos contrarios indefensos, vengando por el mismo tenor los agravios que padecieron? El suceso de Los Charcos el día de Santa Ana fue el más desastrado y atrevido que jamás ha habido en la Vizcaya y el primero que sucedió después de la paz asentada el año de 1645 con los salineros. Riguroso sin duda y para temer el castigo ejecutado en los indios atenaceados vivos, si a sangre caliente y con todo fervor se hiciese entrada para castigar y enfrenar a los agresores de tamaño delito; mas no acabo de percibir que género de política fuese que, dentro de pocos días de ejecutado este martirio en dos indios solos, sacase el gobernador casi toda la gente española del Parral sin reservar los indios laboríos de las minas ni aun los peones repasadores de los incorporaderos e hiciese en persona por muchos meses entrada a los tarahumaras, sin dejar guarnición alguna ni fuerza en el reino para resistir los combates del enemigo ni más de cuatro o cinco soldados en el presidio del Cerrogordo, compeliendo a los labradores encomenderos del Valle de San Bartolomé a que diese cada uno un soldado para la dicha entrada de tarahumaras. Sangriento suele ser en la proposición de sus quejas un vulgo lastimado, y en esta ocasión, juzgándose desabrigado a vista de naciones irritadas con el referido castigo, juzgó mañosa la entrada a tarahumaras y aun dicen prorrumpió. Era mirado y maltratado este reino no como de quien es, sino como si fuese, alquilado al turco notando y anotando algunas proposiciones sueltas que yo no las refiero, ni las creo, por lo que a toda profesión desdican.

El gobernador entró en busca de los tarahumaras para castigarlos y dejó sin castigo y a su albedrío a los tobosos y salineros que nos buscaban tan irritados que desde entonces a cualesquier español que encuentren, les sacan los ojos y lenguas vivos y hacen en sus cuerpos diferentes anatomías, nunca usadas hasta este tiempo en que se dió principio al decaimiento de la minería y a la ruina y destrucción general de todos, por no corregir desde sus principios y atajar este cáncer. Si bien habiendo pronunciado sentencia de muerte el gobernador contra los tobosos y salineros que averiguó culpados en la muerte del sargento mayor Herrera y sus compañeros, como consta en los títulos y ventas de los indios que se vendieron, fue público y notorio que dejó al general Carrión un riguroso mandamiento contra el pueblo del Tizonazo que no se ejecutó porque nunca les han faltado patrones. Prosiguió el gobernador con su guerra de tarahumaras con diferentes sucesos, remitiendo como el año antecedente algunas presas de indios al Parral, que se vendieron como las pasadas y entró el dinero en poder de Diego de Villafranca.

En este interin acometieron los salineros y matajares a la hacienda de Naiza; llevaronse a un hombre español vivo y cuatrocientas bestias, y obligaron al capitán Alonso Díaz, dueño de dicha hacienda, a despoblarla, cansado de esperar el socorro que repetidas veces pidió y se le había prometido. De esta hacienda pendía el abasto del real de Mapimí; donde el siguiente año de [16]51 dieron los indios y mataron algunas personas y se llevaron las muladas de los mineros que, como no pudieron conseguir remedio a tantos daños, dejaron perder sus casas y haciendas y despoblaron aquel real y luego inmediatamente se despobló la hacienda de sacar plata de Sebastián Fernández junto al Río de las Nazas, quedando los indios por dueños absolutos de la campaña y tan avilantados que se jactaban de que ya nos iban ganando la sierra. Referir por menor las muertes y robos de caballadas que han hecho estos indios fuera con prolijidad y volumen llenar muchas planas. Sólo

diré que el siguiente año de [16] 52, por junio, acometieron a la hacienda de Palmitos trescientos salineros y cabezas, divididos en tres escuadras de a cien indios, que a un mismo tiempo habían de dar en la mulada, en la gente que estaba cogiendo los panes y en las casas. Permitted Dios que no guardasen el orden y que una escuadra se demostrase antes de tiempo, con que pudo en parte prevenirse el daño. Con todo, mataron siete personas y se llevaron toda la recua caballada, y volviendo al mismo puesto por diciembre se llevaron dos personas vivas y mataron a otra; y dando la vuelta a Cuencamé se llevaron multitud grande de caballada de aquella jurisdicción.

Olvidábaseme decir que por marzo de este año de [16]52 acometieron los tarahumaras a la villa y presidio de Papigochic, y lo asolaron todo, sin dejar una tan sola persona viva. El caso fue que habían mudado los soldados de profesión, porque a la sazón que los mataron, los hallaron todos con yuntas de bueyes arando tierras para sembrar, y no fue de admirar que lastimados los indios, gozasen de tan buena ocasión. Mataron al padre Jácome Antonio Basilio de la Compañía de Jesús y siete soldados del presidio de Cerrogordo y dos de Santa Catalina: buen modo de fundar villa y presidio a real expensas y ganar cédula real de agradecimiento por estas poblaciones.

Advertido e informado el excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España de estos desconciertos y de la general calamidad y ruina de este reino, expidió un pródigo mandamiento y libró una copiosa cantidad, dando orden de que se debía observar ocurriendo a la más precisa y urgente necesidad, que si se hubiera observado, no se vieran estas provincias en las aflicciones presentes, ni se hubiera continuado tanto su perdición. Salió el gobernador en conformidad de dicho mandamiento con numeroso ejército a mediados de septiembre del dicho año de [16]52 al castigo de tobosos y salineros. A los 29 del dicho mes sitió el peñol de Nonolat, tierra de tobosos, y asaltándole el siguiente día dice la relación que mataron trescientos gandules y hicieron presa de más de doscientos muchachos y muchachas

Libró su excelencia en esta ocasión, sin las cantidades que tenía libradas, ochenta mil pesos para guerra de tobosos y salineros. Juntóse otra gruesa cantidad en el reino y gran copia de vituallas y bastimentos.

que ninguno llegaba a quince años. Aquí notaron y aun preguntaron los bienentendidos que se habían hecho las indias grandes; a que se respondió que este nombre gandul es genérico que comprende ambos sexos y habiendo muerto en el peñol todas las mujeres grandes y hasta cuarenta o cincuenta varones, no era falsa la relación y testimonio de que habían perecido trescientos gandules; aquí dicen que pereció toda la nación noñoje. El informe de Barraza y Lebario remitido a su excelencia lo contrarió. Dicen dióse a entender que se había dado fin a la guerra sin haber muerto ni castigado un tan sólo peón cabeza ni salinero. Claro está que había de haber color para que, sin dar a entender que se iba contra las ordenes reales y de su excelencia, se continuase el rencor y venganza contra los tarahumaras, que con sus hechos habían desvanecido las relaciones hechas a su majestad en su real consejo, y cortado el hilo de las pretensiones y que esto se haya hecho consumiendo y gastando más de cien mil ducados de real hacienda. No parece tanto como para desviar la legítima redargución de no haberlos gastado en los efectos para que se libraron, ser instrumento con sus informes de la perdición de

este reino y del menoscabo de los reales haberes. Claro está que todos cuantos firmaron en el peñol que se había dado fin a la guerra han de cooperar con sus firmas y llevar adelante lo firmado. Los fines de cada uno y los de semejante colusión deben ser examinados y si yo, a título de eclesiástico o con pretexto particular, me desviase de la verdad o fuere instrumento de superfluos gastos de real hacienda, y que no se remedien tantas y tan descompuestas disonancias no es razón que quede sin castigo, que más justo será que le padezca como particular que no que en deservicio de su majestad se destruya toda una comunidad. En mi conciencia y como sacerdote puesto en el acatamiento divino, hablo desnudamente la verdad y siento que lo es todo lo que digo aunque no digo todo lo que siento.

Pasó el gobernador con todo el ejército a tarahumaras y estuvo en aquella provincia ocho meses dejando padecer sin recurso extremos aprietos y calamidades a todo lo restante del reino, porque aunque quedó para guranición el capitán Barraza con cincuenta hombres y algunos indios, se fue con todos al valle de Santa María de las Parras a asistir a la enfermedad de su hermano hasta que le heredó, y luego se pasó con toda su gente a Tarahumara llamado del gobernador, dejando el reino en manos de los indios y a la misericordia de Dios. En este ínterin dieron los salineros en San Lucas y Guatimapé, mataron seis personas y se llevaron la caballada, y de Cuencamé más de mil bestias, del Parral infinitas y dieron fuego al pueblo de Atotonilco, tres leguas de Papasquiario, por abril de 1653 cien indios de la escuadra del cacique Santiago y algunos conocidos del pueblo del Tizonazo, y mataron once personas de que hizo informaciones bastantes el capitán Francisco del Corral.

Salió de Tarahumara por mayo el gobernador, dejando capitulado o entre renglones lo que antes de gastos y muertes tantas ofrecían ellos mismos y capitulaban. Intentó (*in voce*) luego que salió para consuelo de tan repetidos clamores

Ofrecieron los del Parral para esta entrada diez mil pesos de ayuda de costa y se ofrecieron dos mil tarahumaras a ir a la guerra sin sueldo, dándoseles bastimentos solamente, y es certísimo que si el gobernador hace entrada, dejará castigados los indios y pacífica la tierra.

como daban los lastimados hacer guerra a los salineros, e hizo apariencia y exterioridad de que tenía tan aprestado su campo para el efecto y al mismo tiempo, por debajo de cuerda y sin que nadie lo entendiese, ocultando y solapando las informaciones hechas por el capitán Corral. Libró mandamiento para que el capitán Barraza y Esteban de Lebario, gran fautor de los salineros, llamasen de paz al cacique Santiago y a su escuadra para los efectos que contiene un papel de informe, su fecha de 24 de julio de 1653, firmado de los dos y remitido a su excelencia. Esta resolución tomó el gobernador por haber tenido cartas de México en que se le avisaban venía flota y sucesor para este gobierno, y no serle posible ajustar la guerra en tan poco tiempo, ni bien contado después de gastos tan exorbitantes, el entregar la tierra de guerra. No acabo de apear que conveniencias fueron del real servicio no dar la paz a los tarahumaras que la pedían desde sus principios y antes que cometiesen tantas muertes ni se gastase tanta suma de hacienda, y brindar después con ella a los salineros y cabezas que no nos la pedían y habían cometido tantos y tan atroces delitos. Redujeron en fin al cacique Santiago y su escuadra y a los salineros, y dándoles bastimentos los dispusieron a que hiciesen entrada a los

tobosos y demás naciones de tierra adentro expresados en el papel de 24 de julio, constituyéndolos rufianes de nuestras pependencias siendo así que ellos eran los agresores.

Aquí se me ofrece mucho que notar y que arguir con evidencia contra los informes antecedentes. Lo primero: ¿si con la facción del peñol quedó concluída y fenecida la guerra, qué necesidad hubo de reducir ahora esta nación? ¿Y si la hubo, por qué razón dejaron desabrigado el reino en la entrada de tarahumaras? Y si reducida (como de dicho papel se deduce), esta escuadra de cien indios mataron cien enemigos y se les escaparon otros doscientos malheridos y otras tres naciones últimas en orden de las expresadas en dicho papel que no pudieron ser castigadas que por lo menos compondrían número de doscientos indios que por todos entre reducidos, muertos y por reducir son seiscientos, ¿cómo, viviendo estos, informan que estaba fenecida la guerra y acabados todos los enemigos? Lo otro: ¿si estaban consumidos los tobosos y muertos todos los nonojos en la facción del peñol, cómo refiere el papel que fueron los salineros contra los tobosos y nonojos? Y finalmente cuando concedamos que los cien muertos fueron enemigos, siendo así que en la realidad eran vocales e inocentes de tierra adentro, y cuando supongamos por impecable al indio Santiago con los de su séquito, y por tan firme e inviolable su paz si fuese firmada por un católico y presuntuoso monarca, ¿qué castigo han tenido los indios o qué modo de reducción las tres naciones y los doscientos indios que escaparon heridos? ¿Hay por ventura testimonio de que murieron de las heridas, ya que perdonemos y suframos el que no le traigan de habérselas dado? Si todos estos enemigos son vivos y si los que acometieron a Atotonilco no han muerto y viven también los trescientos que asaltaron a los Palmitos, ¿cómo les dan el nombre de escuadrillas a los que cometen a un mismo tiempo los insultos en tantas y en tan distantes partes? Lo que se percibe son los daños que a la vista suceden cada día, y quienes sean la causa deuden por imperceptible y añaden e informan a su excelencia que son indios y gente hostigada de la hambre, a que necesariamente se debe preguntar: ¿qué milpas han perdido este año que lograron los años antecedentes? Y si las lograron, y desde el año de [16]50 no se han abstenido con una misma disolución de cometer infinitos insultos, robos, y muertes, evidente es que no los ocasiona el hambre, sino su protervia y pésima inclinación, siendo certísimo que jamás siembran ni cultivan los campos ni labran las minas, sino que viven y se alimentan de lo mismo que siempre, aunque hoy con mayor desenfreno y exorbitancia como arriba queda propuesto y advertido.

Y para mayor calificación y apoyo de la verdad contra lo que con maña se ha procurado introducir, y cuan inútil haya sido el medio propuesto a su excelencia de que se llamen de paz los agresores y se les den bastimentos para contenerlos, y el necesario fomento para sus siembras, responda la experiencia y los efectos que resultaron en el pueblo de Atotonilco el verano pasado, donde el señor gobernador don Enrique Dávila, por medio del capitán Diego Galiano y de orden de su excelencia, redujo a población setenta indios con sus familias de la nación tobose y sus secuaces, y en consumiendo los bastimentos que les dieron, pagaron el hospedaje desapareciéndose todos en una noche y llevando toda la caballada del dicho capitán Diego Galiano, que sólo pudo coger a un indio que se había quedado por espía y traído al Parral confesó, y descubrió los designios de sus compañeros, como más largamente constará de los autos sobre esta razón hechos, a que me refiero. Este medio de llamar de paz a los agresores, dándoles ropa y bastimentos para que se



contengan, sin que preceda freno ni demostración aunque a los primeros visos parezca suave y el más útil, viene a ser en la realidad el más crudo y pernicioso que se puede ofrecer, así a la real hacienda como a toda la comunidad de este reino, porque los indios conspirados son muchos, o son pocos. Si muchos, grandes trojes y silos son menester para sustentarlos, a merced de que en una hora gocen de la ocasión de nuestro descuido y den al través con todas las poblaciones del reino; y si son pocos los que se sustentan, parece que es plato de malísima consecuencia con que se les brinda a los muchos para que conspiren y se levanten para incitar a que se les haga la misma conveniencia y pasaje que a los pocos. No son tan poco advertidos ni avisados para que se les vaya por alto este argumento, y los indios amigos que han servido en las campañas han dado demasiado margen para advertir y prevenir cuan arriesgados son estos medios; pues saliendo mal contentos y peor pagados, viendo que a los agresores e inquietos se les da ropa y bastimentos, dicen sin rebozo y públicamente que lo mejor es alzarse, pues a los que lo hacen, se les paga, y a ellos que han derramado su sangre en servicio de los españoles, no sólo se les quedan con su trabajo, sino que se les hace malísimo tratamiento, que hasta en esto han desgraciado este reino pudiendo tener, por medio de los indios amigos, resguardo y espaldas. El género de hostilidad que hacen los indios percibido parece que está con los antecedentemente referidos; pues robando las caballadas, en un mismo día en cuantas partes las hay, consiguen la destrucción de los mineros y criadores, y a unos y a otros los imposibilitan de seguir el alcance. Divídense en diferentes escuadras emboscadas en lo más enmarañado de los caminos, y poniendo espías en las eminencias para tener aviso de los que caminan, les salen de improviso y los matan y roban, y con los despojos concitan las naciones de tierra adentro. Y desde que atenacearon vivos en el Parral a los dos indios de que se ha hecho mención, son increíbles los martirios que hacen en los miserables caminantes que cogen en sus manos.

No ha faltado quien proponga que no caminen ni salgan de sus casas, y que con esto no los matarán. Sano y seguro consejo es éste si juntamente con él ofreciesen medio para que, cesando el trajino y el comercio, se conservase el reino o si le hay para que por la región del aire pasen las sales, ligas y bastimentos de que pende el beneficio de sacar plata, y que las haciendas no disten de las minas, para que sin porte ni riesgo se beneficien los metales y que se cerquen los montes para los astilleros y carboneras, y que las caballadas, ganados y boyadas trabajen sin repastar, pues no hay dehesas ni campos de donde no las lleven. Y lo que más lastima es, que apenas salga un hombre media legua de su casa que no le maten, cuando en los pasados gobiernos pasaba un hombre solo y sin peligro hasta el Nuevo México. Y porque salen dos sin lesión, haciendo de las noches días y de los días noches, emboscándose entre breñas y montes, no falta quien hile sofisticada consecuencia para dar a entender que está la tierra de paz y sin peligro.

Yo no digo que impertinentemente se gaste la real hacienda, pero advierto que algunos son interesados en que no se averigüe la que se gastó mal gastada en los tarahumaras. Y así no es mucho que procuren desvanecer los daños que se padecen en las partes donde debió gastarse y para donde fue librada por los señores virreyes; además de que no arguye generalidad para desvanecer los riesgos e inconsistencias del mar en que una barquilla rota y desmantelada coja puerto. Negar que los libramientos que han dado los señores virreyes para el remedio de este reino no han sido suficientes no sólo para remediarle, sino aun para conquistarle de nuevo si totalmente se hubiese perdido, fuera de negar la luz en la mitad del día; no finca

en este punto la controversia que ya está concedida. La duda que se ofrece y que pide respuesta y solución es que si, extraviándose los medicamentos y faltando la aplicación al nervio lastimado, puede conseguir sanidad el enfermo sólo con habérselos recetado, y al doliente se le debe negar el recurso por formal culpa y malos medios del que faltó a la observancia de las órdenes que se le dieron, siendo certísimo como queda advertido que el ejército que se formó y entró a Tarahumara y el que después se dismanteló era bastante para dejar pacífico perpetuamente a este reino y vencidas las dificultades todas. Por final, se han quedado en pie y las raíces más robustas hoy que lo estuvieron entonces. No tiene, no, el reino la culpa en la inutilidad de los gastos, y así no es justo que tan rigurosamente padezca la pena ni porque se usase mal de la distribución de los frutos, se concede al fuego de la perdición la planta. Laberinto de confusiones, al parecer indisoluble, es el que ha fabricado la astucia contra la razón, y de su mismo enredo se saca una evidente conclusión, concediéndoles lo mismo que han procurado asentar, aunque contra la verdad y en deservicio de las dos majestades y bien público.

A la proposición de que son escuadrillas de indios las que en el presente gobierno causan las muertes y robos de las caballadas, está preguntado y no absuelto si eran ejércitos formados los que no molestaban en el pasado gobierno y si eran, ¿cuándo se aniquilaron? Demos ahora por asentado, y si controversia, que este reino está actualmente pacífico y goza de toda tranquilidad. ¿O esta paz tiene subsistencia y consistencia o no la tiene? El decir que no, es ir contra lo que ya suponemos y tanto han procurado entablar. ¿Y si subsiste y consiste, o es por el castigo que dicen hicieron en el peñol de Nonolat o por el asiento que dieron Barraza y Lebario? Si por el castigo hecho en el peñol, y este se consiguió en quince días, ¿por qué causa no dismantelaron el campo y el ejército, excusándole a su majestad los excesivos gastos que se le siguieron en ocho meses más que se sustentó el ejército en la campaña? ¿Y si no fue bastante este castigo para contener los indios, por qué razón dejaron desabrigado el reino y se entraron a Tarahumaras sin dar asiento a la paz que después asentaron para que se excusasen los gravísimos daños que se padecieron? De lo dicho se infiere con evidencia que esta paz subsiste y consiste por el asiento de Barraza y Levario con los salineros y los cabezas y si este medio ha sido tan eficaz, ¿por qué razón se valieron de él antes que pidiesen a su excelencia y concediese tan excesivas cantidades? ¿Y si fue tan fácil dar asiento de paz a las naciones que han hecho los daños y contra quienes se libró el dinero bien dándoles con ella cuando no la pedían, por qué causa sería difícil el asentarla con los tarahumara que la ofrecían quitándoles la villa y el presidio; o qué conveniencias resultarán gastando que no resultarían y mayores antes de gastar, presupuesto que la villa y presidio se quedaron dismantelados, y era lo mismo que los tarahumaras pedían desde los principios? Embolismo es este (señor contador mayor) no muy difícil de penetrar; el reino se ha perdido en la mayor parte, y se va perdiendo la que queda, porque asentaron paz donde convenía hacer guerra e hicieron guerra donde nunca tuvo repugnancia ni inconveniente la paz y, habiendo trocado los frenos y gastado el dinero en la parte que no convenía y para donde no se libró, ni en ninguna manera se libraré, rehuyen el cargo y no ajustando la materia quieren que se curen hoy por ensalmo las llagas que ellos no curaron habiéndoseles entregado toda una botica.

Entró a gobernar este reino el señor don Enrique Dávila y Pacheco en diez de diciembre de 1653 años, y pocos días antes habían muerto los indios a unos limosneros y a otras personas en la cercanía del Parral, y llevádose mucha copia de

mulada y caballada; todo esto se suprimía y disimulaba con tal malicia que era delito ponerlo en práctica y conversión, ni quejarse del daño referido. No faltaron personas prácticas y entendidas que cinco meses antes de la venida del señor don Enrique a este reino, le escribieron a México y advirtieron la solapa con que se procedía y cuan ardidosa había sido la paz asentada y que habiéndose intentado información contraria, no la había querido admitir un alcalde ordinario. Y para reconocer su señoría la calidad de informe, pidió el suyo e información al cabildo de esta ciudad que se la remitió bastante y todavía quiso con intermediación reforzar las noticias que se le dieron, y con este fin salió de esta ciudad para el Parral a los 21 de diciembre. Hizo algunas diligencias en Cuencamé y, llegado a Cerro Gordo, tuvo aviso de los daños y muertes que los indios hacían en la jurisdicción de San Juan del Río. Pasó al Parral donde ha experimentado y visto por sus ojos, mayores desdichas que las que se significaban y espectáculos lastimosos y formidables; día hubo en que le pidieron socorro y auxilio de siete diferentes partes sin serle posible acudir al remedio. Ochenta y más personas han muerto los indios en los ocho meses de su gobierno y, cerrada la puerta al recurso, se ha ocasionado el que se haya ido saliendo a bandadas la gente laboría de las minas, y las familias y casas enteras del Parral, quedando de todo punto destruídos los mineros y mercaderes aviadores, y el reino hecho un hospital de plagas y lástimas, esperando el último trance por hallarse avilantados y sin castigo los indios agresores de tantos y tan atroces delitos.

Tocóse punto arriba en que parece que prohijar el menoscabo exorbitante que se reconoce en los reales quintos y la ruina grande en el beneficio de sacar plata al decaimiento de las minas y bajas de la ley en los metales, a que se responde que los minerales de las minas de la provincia de Santa Bárbara son tantos y tan afluentes que ningunos más en la Nueva España, nunca si no es en los principios de la fundación del Parral; fueron las leyes grandes, sí, las comodidades por razón de la gente laboría, pujanza de avíos, bastimentos y demás ingredientes necesarios para el beneficio de sacar plata. Con la fundación de la villa y quererla poblar de golpe y sustentar con aprietos y extorsiones, se ahuyentaron todos los mineros sueltos

Venero se descubrió el año de 1658 en dicha provincia tres leguas del Parral, tan copioso de metales que tiene una braza de ancho la veta, y están registradas más de 100 minas y sube la ley de marco y moneda con ganancia de liga; están aniquilados los hombres y desaviados de gente con que no se desentraña este venero ni se goza de su tesoro.

(que, como queda advertido, sacaban más plata que las haciendas raices), quitaron con violencia a los mineros los indios laboríos de las minas y repasaderos para las entradas de los tarahumaras, y aun hubo minero a quién, tratándole con aspereza y vilipendio, le quitaron el azoguero español y se lo llevaron a la guerra, con que los dejaron con la costa viva e imposibilitados de recuperarla; destruyeron a puras zancadillas la hacienda de sacar plata del maestro de campo Francisco Montaña de la Cueva, que era el lucero que más resplandecía entre todas las de la Nueva Vizcaya. Faltó, con inquietar a los tarahumaras, no sólo el abundante socorro de gente que espontáneamente venía para alivio de los mineros, sino también el abasto y barata de bastimentos; faltó con la destrucción del real de minas de Mapimí (que acaeció en el tiempo de su mayor pujanza), no sólo la plata que fructificaba, sino la

abundancia de gretas y otras ligas que sobradamente abastaban el real del Parral y otros cercanos, y hoy es necesario conducir las con mayor costa e incomodidades, y no tan buenas, desde el reino de Santa Lucía, distancia de ciento cincuenta leguas.

Hállanse despoblados los ranchos todos y carboneras y han hurtado los indios todas las muladas y caballadas; véanse perdidos y destruidos los aviadores y todo género de gentes sin modo para poder trabajar con tan manifiestos riesgos de perder la vida, exhaustas y agotadas las fuerzas para poder desempeñar las minas, y a duras penas pueden beneficiar tepetates y deshechaderos, en vez de metales, y finalmente todo despoblado de que resulta el decaimiento de la minería más que por el de la ley en los metales, daño que también se toca y experimenta en Cuencamé, que se ha despoblado de españoles y gente laboría por el manifiesto riesgo de los indios, distando seis leguas del real el cerro de las minas; siendo así que de muchos años a esta parte, no han sido tan pujantes como hoy las leyes y siendo esta verdad tan manifiesta, queda probado con evidencia que no se deja de sacar la plata por el decaimiento de las minas, sino por estar desaviadas y despobladas.

En la primera introducción de este escrito quedan narradas todas las rebeliones y movimientos de indios que en este reino ha habido de 54 años a esta parte y el castigo que a cada nación rebelada se le hizo; y si se busca la razón y causa porque los acaxees, xiximes y tepehuanes no han vuelto más a conspirar, no se halla ni puede dar otra más potísima que el haberlos enfrenado y castigado quien sea con ejército formado, quien con escuadras por diferentes partes que es el estilo más observado, y de que siempre han resultado mejores efectos, de donde se deduce e infiere que los salineros que, desde el año de [16]45 no han sido jamás castigados ni enfrenados, son los que han cometido y cometen con simulación todos los daños y muertes y robos que hacen por lo menos desde esta ciudad y demás partes referidas el Parral porque son únicamente dueños y habitadores de todo el país que hay en el conmedio, de que a mayor abundamiento hay hechas bastantes informaciones.

Resta por satisfacer la pregunta que hace sobre la utilidad o inutilidad de los presidios de esta gobernación y si convendría conservar los o quitarlos; a que respondo que los presidios de San Hipólito y San Sebastián, según el estado presente de las cosas, no son inexcusables en los puestos donde están situados, así por haberse minorado mucho la copia de los indios de aquellos contornos, como porque los que han quedado son pacíficos y tratables. El presidio de Santa Catalina por conveniente le juzgo para el freno de los tepehuanes y trajino de los caminos. Y el del Cerrogordo por convenientísimo, mudándole el capitán y poniéndole otro de la actividad y espíritu del general don Diego de Salazar y don Fernando de Villanueva, para que compeliendo a los soldados a que tengan las armas y caballos necesarios, se exploren sin cesar los caminos, y no se gasten sin utilidad los sueldos ni se consientan falten a su ministerio, dejándole al capitán libre y sin contradicción ni coartación la mano para que obre conforme hallare la oportunidad y viese que conviene.

Notorio y público es a los bien entendidos, y que miran las cosas desnudas de humanos respetos y otros afectos, todo cuanto en este escrito queda propuesto y advertido, los daños pasados y presentes y la suma desdicha y miseria que ha llegado a este reino; quienes son aquellos que le pueden negar y niegan, justo es que sepa y que se examinen sus fundamentos y den a entender en que razones

estriba y apoya su opinión; y holgara que saliese a luz este escrito y que proveyesen lo que contralo en él expuesto sienten y se les ofrece y que aun con su santo celo lo redujese a información y prueba, pues no importa menos que conservar o perder un reino a la corona. Y no siendo negables los pasados daños, la miseria presente y la futura ruina que desde el fin del otoño en adelante justísimamente se recela (puesto que sin impedimento llegan los indios a señorearse de la sierra de la Silla doce leguas de esta ciudad) y suponiendo por asentado lo mismo que suponen de que son escuadrillas las que cometen los delitos, atajan los caminos y embarazan la labor de las minas, resuelvan y determinen si estos excesos piden remedio y juntamente propongan y consulten los medios menos costosos y más eficaces para que, reduciéndose este reino a su antiguo ser y tranquilidad, se con-

Admiración causaba que, en la ocasión que este papel se escribió, llegasen los indios a la sierra de la Silla, 12 leguas de Durango, y ahora no la causa que hayan pasado 70 leguas adelante hasta la ciudad de Zacatecas, ni que hayan aniquilado el valle de la Poana y el de Suchil, jurisdicción de Nueva España, y en la Nueva Galicia los reinos de Chalchihuites, Sombrerete y Las Nieves, llegando a robar y matar en Tlaltenango, Villa de Jeréz y goteras de Zacatecas mucha cantidad de gente; y hubo día en que entraron en el Fresnillo 28 cuerpos muertos en la jurisdicción de aquel real, y a este respecto han muerto los bárbaros en esta inundación más gente que perdió Cortés en la conquista de toda la Nueva España, y es verdad constantísima que son infinitos los bárbaros conspirados y cada día sacan naciones incógnitas y se debe temer prenda el fuego en los tepehuans a quienes persiguen y matan; y si esto sucediese, que es muy contingente, se han de perder los reinos de [Nueva] Galicia y [Nueva] Vizcaya y mucha parte de Nueva España, y hoy se vive a merced de esta nación belicosa que está muy extendida y es misericordia de Dios que no conspiren los sinaloas y sonoras que no tienen más freno que la doctrina.

siga el mayor servicio de su majestad y aumento de sus vasallos, que yo como uno de ellos y puesta la mira en la consecución de este fin y en la del servicio de Dios nuestro señor y observancia de sus preceptos, procurando atajar en los indios los muchos y atroces homicidios y robos que cometen en cuantos católicos encuentran, y que estos no mueran penosa y desastradamente sin gozar del beneficio del santo sacramento de la penitencia y de los demás instituidos para el bien público con de las almas, y finalmente atendiendo a la salud general y bien publico con protestación que hago de ser éste mi intento y deseo, y que por ninguna suerte se proceda deliberada o intempestivamente a efusión de sangre, mutilación de miembro, ni otra pena alguna corporal; propongo y digo los medios que me parecen más útiles y eficaces y menos costosos de la manera siguiente.

Presupuesta la debida prudencia, sagacidad y silencio que materia tan grave y delicada pide, debe vuestra merced (señor contador mayor) servirse en compañía del señor gobernador Enrique Dávila Pacheco y el secretario Melchor Suárez únicamente mandar reconocer el proceso que contra los salineros se hizo sobre lo acaecido en el paraje de Los Charcos a 26 de julio de 1650 años y con que motivos y fundamentos se le dió a esta nación la sentencia inclusa en el título de que hago presentación y que se rastree y reconozca el mandamiento que el gobernador dejó al general Carrión contra el pueblo de Tizonazo. Mandar item y reconocer las informaciones hechas por don Juan de Figueroa, alcalde mayor de San Juan del río, sobre el suceso de Palmitos acaecido en 5 de junio de 1652. La información que

han ocultado hecha por el capitán Francisco del Corral sobre el suceso de Atotonilco, lunes santo, por abril de 1653. Y las hechas de los casos particulares contra esta nación por el señor don Enrique y en especial sobre el suceso de Los Charcos por fines de abril próximo pasado y sobre las muertes que esta misma escuadra cometió pocos días después en el rancho de Sandoval y todas las demás diligencias que se fueron siguiendo y declaración que hizo una mestiza que llevaron hurtada y, uniendo a todos estos autos los de guerra del año de [1]645, reconocerá vuestra merced que esta nación salinera tiene consumido, talado y aniquilado este reino y que del año [16]44 para arriba que se empezaron a alzar, no faltó una tan sola bestia y que son estos los que han introducido este género de hostilidad, y que con la simulación de la paz fingida cometen y hacen espaldas a que se cometan las muertes, robos y salteamientos de los caminos y que jamás han sido enfrenados ni castigados; más antes para avilantarlos se les han dado bastimentos y ropa, sirviéndose Barraza esta seca pasada de ellos para rastreros y exploradores, sin que por este medio (que yo le llamo simulado cáncer por la traición con que proceden y que sirve de instruir a los de su séquito que hacen el daño y de avisarles el rumbo que han de seguir en su fuga) se haya reconocido alivio sino mayores y más alimentados y extendidos los daños; pues vemos que se pasan a cometerlos doce leguas de esta ciudad y que está a su albedrío el pasar adelante pues nadie les impide la entrada ni la vuelta. Esto supuesto para justificación de lo que hubiere de obrar, mi parecer es que pues tan próximo está su viaje de vuestra merced al Parral, se pase por el pueblo del Tizonazo, San Cristóbal y El Navío donde están poblados los de esta nación, y tratándolos con halago y cariño, les de a entender cuan agradecido se halla su excelencia de sus acciones y como está determinado que congregados todos se les ayude y fomente, y que divididos en escuadras juntamente con los presidios todos de esta gobernación, exploren la tierra y guarden los caminos y atajen los daños que cometen en este reino las naciones rebeldes para lo cual, y para su paga se le llevará ropa y bastimentos al Cerrogorordo o en el Parral donde se ha de hacer la junta general para que desde aquel o este puesto se dividan las tropas y encaminen a diferentes partes. Conclusa esta plática y llegado vuestra merced al Parral, vistos todos los autos y reconocido el gravísimo daño que causa esta nación debajo de simulación y paz fingida, mandará llamar a los caciques y que se les de alguna cosa para que se vistan y que vean salir dos carros de ropa que se deposite y encierre en el Cerrogorordo, haciendo prevención aparente de bastimentos, síguese más conveniente el puesto del Cerrogorordo que el del Parral para el intento, y señalarles día en que se junten para la distribución de la paga y marcha; y habiendo congregado todos los soldados de los presidios, maniarar en el patio de las casas reales del Parral o en el Cerrogorordo todos los dichos indios y con sus mujeres y chusma, que todo ha de ser a un tiempo, dar con ellos por vía de depósito en los obrages de la Puebla y México, que ellos mismos costearán la jornada. Y quitándolos de la ocasión de robar y matar y a los españoles de ser robados y desastadamente muertos, irán a partes donde sean doctrinados y se conseguirá un servicio muy grande a las dos majestades; y se librárá este reino de enemigos tan astutos y caseros a la manera que España con la expulsión de los moriscos. Bien conozco que para este caso se necesita de toda prudencia, silencio y sagacidad hasta el instante del ejecutar, así por ser estos indios de despierto entendimiento, como porque por particulares fines nunca le han faltado patrones; punto en que no reservo a los que puedan tener pretensión a aquella doctrina que se tragan y en-

cubren muchas maldades de estos indios por el interés que tienen de la paga en la real caja y los disfrazan con el color de escrúpulos, como si no fuera mayor el tener en detrimento toda una comunidad y a los malhechores en la ocasión siempre de pecar.

Alguno habrá que me pregunte que medio propongo, después de conseguido y ejecutado lo arriba propuesto, para que los enemigos que han quedado en la tierra adentro no salgan a hacer correrías; a que respondo que, no siendo como no es dudable que dejen de quedar atemorizados y absortos con el azote descargado sobre la sinagoga del Tizonazo, para preservar el reino de semejantes correrías juzgo por conveniente que de los presidios de San Hipólito y San Sebastián se haga un cuerpo, añadiéndole por ahora otros cuatro soldados del de Santa Catalina, para que gobernados por un despierto y celoso caudillo corran incesantemente la tierra desde Conchos a Atotonilco, restrictamente, y poniendo nuevo capitán en el de Cerrogordo, corran ocho soldados de este presidio la distancia que de él hay hasta el dicho puesto de Atotonilco, y otros doce del de Cerrogordo a Cuencamé, sin parar, pues ésta fue la principal causa y ministerio de la fundación de dicho presidio; con que sin nuevo extraordinario gasto de su majestad y desviados (como se supone) los enemigos domésticos que tan demarcada y tanteada tienen toda la tierra, no hay que dudar que se evitarán los daños, robos y muertes que, pasadas las aguas, justamente se recelan, y quedarán francos los caminos, corriente el comercio, y quitado el temor en la gente laboría que sin remedio va desamparando el reino y la labor de las minas, tanto en el Parral como en Cuencamé y los demás reales de esta gobernación.

El medio arriba propuesto, único a mi sentir es, y el más eficaz y menos costoso, conforme a la presente exigencia del tiempo, que se puede ofrecer para preservar este reino del cáncer de perdición que con apresurados pasos le va cundiendo; mas no el que pide la compasión de ver esterilizada y sin jugo una tan tierna planta, no el que mi celo desnudo de temporales útiles propiamente desea, para que en servicio de las dos majestades, tranquilidad y aumento de los vasallos se riegue y fertilize con las aguas del santo evangelio y restituída a su ser, no sólo se conserve en el, sino que crezca poblándose las haciendas y reales de minas y labores que con tan repetidos infortunios se han despoblado y quede en perpetuo corriente el beneficio de sacar plata y fruto de los reales quintos sin añadirle nueva costa a su majestad, antes excusando la que con cualquier rumor de indios se le sigue a sus reales cajas.

Materia es esta en que proponiéndola, sólo (se me trasluce) sazón o contra-tiempo, propio plato de una sangrienta y peligrosa emulación, y que el ejemplar de otros más encumbrados sujetos en dignidad detrás y riquezas y demás irreprehensibles costumbres obligara a contenerme fiel servicio de Dios y de su majestad y bien público. No me compeliere agitarla, olvidando los riesgos propios que más justo será padecerlos (como diversas veces lo he repetido en este escrito) un particular, a cambio de que no se destruya todo un reino y que se consigan tantas utilidades. Corto y demasíadamente corto me confieso que anduve en la descripción y narración de las buenas costumbres y propiedades de la nación tarahumara cuya docilidad y política dignas de todo aplauso y cariño juzgo por instrumento eficaz para la dilatación del santo evangelio y breve restauración y aumento y extensión de este reino, y para resolver los medios necesarios para conseguir este fin sin gasto de la real hacienda; presupongo y dejo por presupuesto y advertido que los

presidios de San Hipólito y San Sebastián hacen de gasto de su majestad en cada un año de seis mil doscientos a seis mil trescientos pesos (cuyo monto) consumidos; por no útiles estos presidios, se ha de aplicar en parte o en todo para establecer y firmar los medios en que consiste la adipsencia del fin que se desea, y para devenir sin confusión a la explicación de mi intento es necesario llevar sabido lo siguiente.

Siete puestos hay de término a término desde San Francisco de Conchos a San Pedro de la Laguna en distancia de 30 leguas que, dejando todas las poblaciones de este reino a la banda del sur, cogen el ala y dejan de la parte del norte de las naciones tobosa, salinera, y concha, y todas las demás (minime discrepante) que se recela o supone salen o pueden salir a hacer daño a nuestros países. Presupongo (expulsos los salineros y cabezas del Tizonazo que tienen ocupado el conmedio del reino), los puestos son; el primero, San Francisco de Conchos, doctrina removida de los religiosos de San Francisco a clérigos. El segundo, la hacienda de Ana de Aldaz en el último término del valle de San Bartolomé, copiosa de aguas y tierras; ahora yerma y despoblada por las invasiones de los indios. El tercero, Atotonilco, doctrina removida de dichos religiosos de San Francisco a clérigos. El cuarto donde está situado el presidio del Cerrogordo, dos leguas más arriba con suficientes tierras y aguas. El quinto, la hacienda de Naiza, puesto cómodo de tierras y saca de aguas, despoblado el año de [16]54 por el capitán Alonso Díaz. El sexto, San Juan de Casta, orilla del Río de las Nazas, y más apropósito el puesto y ojo de agua que llaman de Pelayo, metido la tierra adentro, que sirve para congruencias que se dirán y para el resguardo del real de minas de Mapimí. Séptimo, San Pedro de la Laguna, doctrina removida de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús a clérigos. En estos siete pueblos paga su majestad tres doctrinas que son Conchos, Atotonilco, y San Pedro, y la fundada en el Tizonazo puede acostar al Cerrogordo, con que son cuatro, y fundando otras tres en los tres restantes puestos mencionados con competente sueldo del que se excusa en los dos presidios consumidos, quedan fundadas siete doctrinas. Resta ahora saber de que gente se ha de poblar estas doctrinas y con que medios y la utilidad y congruencia que resulta.

Cosa sabida y experimentada es que el medio más eficaz que se aplicó para el freno de los guachichiles y zacatecos fue ponerles pueblos de tlaxcaltecos y tonaltecos y otras naciones domésticas, como hoy se ve en la villa del Nombre de Dios, Chalchihuites, Mezquitic, Tepic, Santa María, Venado, San Luis de la Paz y otras partes. Las provincias de Sonora y Sinaloa, notoria cosa es cuan pobladas están, y cuan pacíficas y sosegadas, pues dicen habrá reducidos al gremio de nuestra santa fe más de 40,000 indios, que no es posible las conserve en paz ni contenga el presidio de 50 hombres si a su natural dócil y tratable, no se aplicase el calor de la doctrina y santo ejemplos de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús, vice apóstoles en aquellas como en otras muchas provincias del mundo. Usan y estilan los padres en dichas provincias con celo del bien de sus feligreses y para que cobre más profundas raíces el santo evangelio, poner atajadores en los caminos para que los indios no salgan la tierra afuera ni olviden ni pierdan los rudimentos de doctrina. Hay algunos doctrineros que han estado en dichas doctrinas más tiempo de veinte y de treinta años con que los más de sus feligreses son sus ahijados y compadres, señuelo y atractivo grande para que, sirviéndose su excelencia de conferir esta materia con el reverendo padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús y demás padres graves de su junta y congregación, dispongan con la eficacia y fervor de su celo y



que pide negocio tan de servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de su majestad y bien público que salgan siete padres doctrineros ancianos, solicitando cada cual doscientas familias de su gremio y doctrina y de las de otros, y que con ellas se pueblen las dichas siete doctrinas, presupuesto que removidas de los religiosos de San Francisco, las dos de Conchos y Atotonilco ninguna injuria se les hace, ni tampoco a los clérigos que aun no tienen de ellas propiedad; además de que el afijar y poner en corriente un negocio tan grande no pide reserva en conveniencias particulares sine que se rompa por cualesquiera dificultades; reservando y diputando por algunos años para las costas que estas fábricas, conducimiento de indios, avío de bueyes y rejas para sus siembras puedan tener, lo que más monta el situado de los dichos dos presidios, pagado el de las tres doctrinas que se añaden, con lo cual, y con que no se pongan atajadores de indios de Sinaloa y Sonora, todos cuantos fueren saliendo se irán agregando y se poblarán de manera estos siete pueblos de doctrina puestos en la raya referida que, ayudados del presidio del Cerrogordo que en dos trozos ha de andar discurriendo por dichos pueblos todos los meses y que no se les paguen a los soldados sus sueldos sin certificación jurada de los doctrineros de haber discurrido por sus doctrinas cada mes de los cuatro que componen un tercio, refrenarán y contendrán en sus límites las naciones de la tierra adentro, que por este medio se irán poco a poco quebrantando y agregando y gozarán del beneficio de la predicación del santo evangelio. Vedándose graves penas el que estos pueblos con pretexto, ni color alguno, sean encomendados ni en su servicio se pretenda por su parte de minero ni labrador alguno domino ni propiedad. Poblarse con esto el real de minas de Mapimí con mayor pujanza de que resultarán muchos mayores útiles que los que despoblándose se perdieron. Poblarse y aumentarse todos los reales de minas y otros muchos. Habrá abundantes cosechas y barata en los bastimentos, ganados y muladas, creciendo la cría sin el azar y pensión de los robos, y finalmente quedará en breves años este reino pujantísimo, aumentado el real haber de su majestad y sin escrúpulos la distribución del dinero, cesando el censo tan considerable que a sus cajas ocasionan los levantamientos de los indios.

Nunca a grandes negocios y empresas grandes, se dejan de ofrecer y iguales dificultades, quier en la entrada lo sean, quier en la apariencia o en el modo elocuente de proponerlas y representarlas, pero cuanto mayores tanto más excelente la gloria del vencimiento y digno este de igual retorno y congratulación esperando la última y mayor de la soberana majestad infinita, que tanto se sirve y aplaude de los que son instrumento de su mayor gloria en la dirección de sus criaturas al fin último para que fueron criadas. No es dudable que propuesto un negocio tan grande por la autoridad y grandeza de su excelencia a religión tan santa, y que con infatigables cuidados se desvela en el bien de las almas, deje de conseguirse; y si fueren mayores las dificultades de lo que yo con mi corto talento he podido penetrar y prevenir, no sin cuidado toque próximamente punto acerca de la nación tarahumara, digna de su política y despierto entendimiento y porque componen cuerpo de república y es gente que afana y trabaja para sustentarse y vestirse, de que por medio de personas celosas y capaces, se les envíe mensaje y embajada y se les propongan estas poblaciones, prometiéndoles tierras, aguas, bueyes y los aperos necesarios para su fomento y asegurándoles todo lo que en orden a él y a estorbarles vejaciones de los españoles fuere acordado por conveniente, y dejando a su albedrío la especie de doctrineros que quieren que les administre generalmente a

toda su nación, medio convenientísimo para que, siendo una boca y de una religión la administración, se excusen competencias entre los doctrineros que pueden detrimenar la extensión de estas poblaciones y los fines con que se fundan. Y dándoseles a dichos doctrineros suficiente estipendio de su majestad, se excuse en cuanto fuere posible que se valgan para sembrar de las tierras de los indios, y que no les regateen los bastimentos ni armen recuas para conducirlos, sino que les dejen a los indios libre el uso y franco el paso para el dispendio. Punto en que la nación tarahumara advierte mucho porque todo lo que tiene de hacendosa tiene de sensitiva. No se me ofrece dificultad en que se consiga este intento con los tarahumaras, así porque el capitán Cristóbal de Nevares, que ha hecho diferentes entradas a aquella provincia, me ha advertido que los mismos tarahumaras se lo han propuesto, y que dándoles aguas y tierras y haciéndoseles buen tratamiento, tienen deseo de salir a poblar, como porque hay ejemplar en las poblaciones y doctrinas de San Felipe y Bocas que hoy son de tarahumaras y pocos tiempos ha eran de tepehuanes, y la última que es la de Las Bocas está en el camino de la ligera dos leguas antes de llegar al Parral, y en la población de dichas doctrinas no sólo no hubo dificultad pero ni aun considerable costa, punto que obliga e incita más a que estas poblaciones se construyan de tarahumaras antes que de sonoras y sina-loas, así por su mayor consistencia y aplicación al trabajo y siembras, como por la cercanía que excusa gastos de conducimiento y por que si acaeciese que los indios inquietos de tierra adentro les hiciera algún daño, sería fácil concitar a los de su extendido y copioso gremio para que, sin costa de la real hacienda, tomasen venganza de los agresores y los talasen y consumiesen todos.

Con lo referido y propuesto en este papel me parece (señor contador mayor) que respondo y satisfago a las preguntas que tan doctamente mueve el de vuestra merced y si al justo cargo que se me hiciere de dilatado y prolijo se añadiere el de notarme y sindicarme de fiscal de algunas acciones, discúlpeme la obligación de vasallo de su majestad y que, siendo preguntado sobre la inutilidad de tantos y tan crecidos gastos, fue forzosa la solución y respuesta, y permita Dios un fin desastrado en mi persona si alguna especie de odio, pasión o mala voluntad me ha movido en la cosa más mínima de cuantas propongo, sino sólo el desear que dándose alcance a la verdad, razón y justicia se congreguen y unan las hojas del libro de este reino tan notoriamente descuadrado, y que cuanto antes fuere posible salgan los presidios de San Hipólito y San Sebastián a unirse con el de Cerrogorido para que se estorben en la parte que pueda los daños y correrías que justamente recelan, en que serán servidas ambas majestades. La divina prospere y guarde a vuestra merced como deseo. Durango y agosto 31 de 1654 años. Besa la mano de vuestra merced su capellán el bachiller Diego de Medrano.

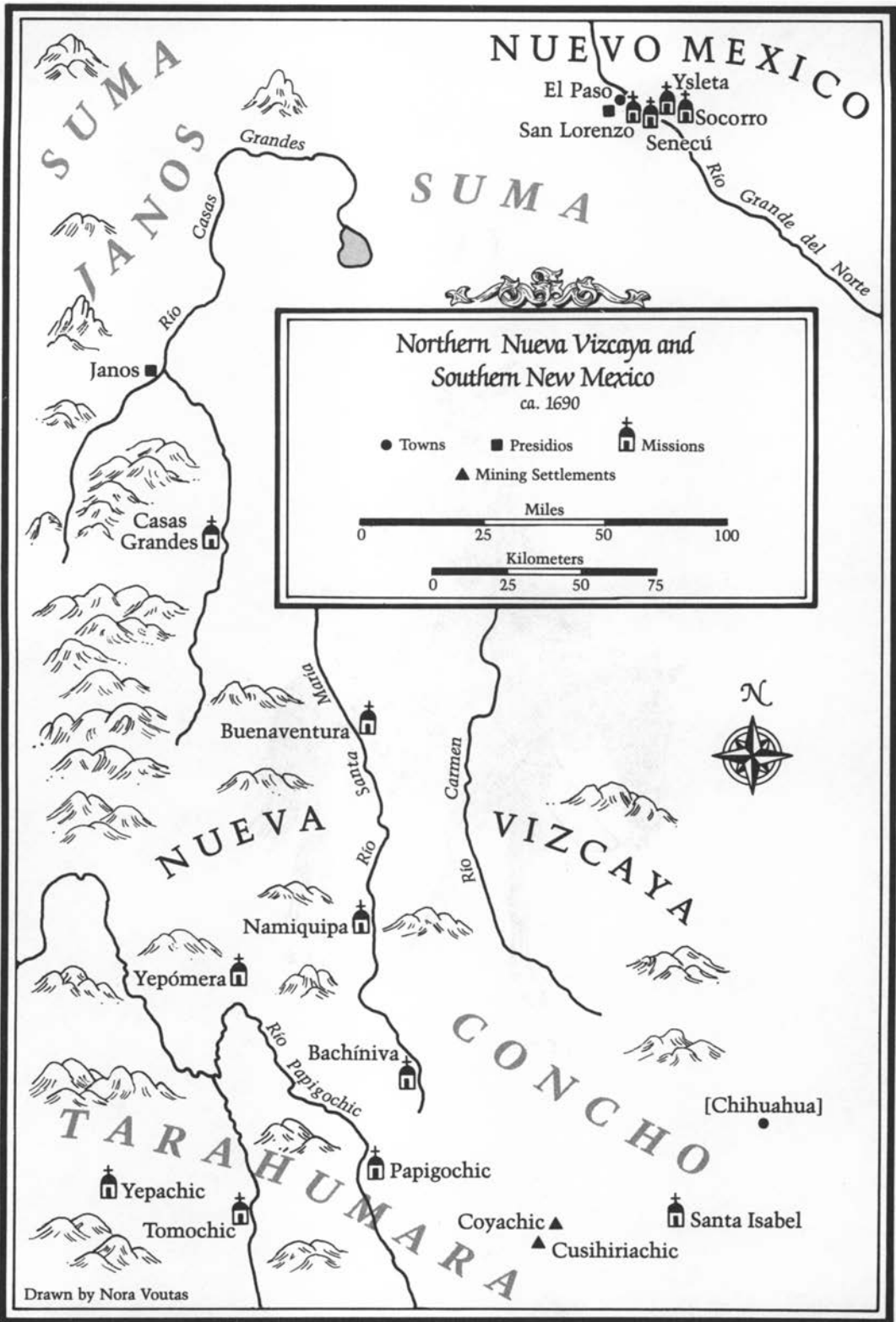
La cosé este y otros traslados del original que se trajo el señor don Juan de Casaus Cervantes de cuyo pedimento le hice y le entregué dicho original y lo firmé de mi nombre. Diego de Medrano.



# IV



*An Explorer*





## Northern Rebellions and New Presidios

(1681–1695)

**L**iterature on military activities in northern New Spain in the late seventeenth century has been dominated by the events surrounding and subsequent to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico. Without minimizing the historical importance of this rebellion which blocked further northern colonization and threatened the stability of territorial acquisition, it should be noted that this was only one major eruption of Indian discontent during this period.<sup>1</sup> The successful ejection of the Spaniards from Puebloan lands emboldened neighboring tribes, especially various Athapaskan groups which swirled around colonial New Mexico in semi-nomadic bands. There had been some signs of growing resentment among the northern tribes, but the Spaniards were callously blind to the problems. For more than a decade Apache bands had been raiding Spanish settlements in New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya; the drought of the 1670s had worked particular hardships on everyone. Faced by widespread shortages, the civil and ecclesiastical leaders intensified native efforts to produce even more for the settled communities. In New Mexico the cumulative effect was open rebellion in August 1680. No one had really foreseen the Indian reaction to the stringent policies of the governors and military officers. After three quarters of a century of occupation and development, few Spanish authorities contemplated a native rebellion in New Mexico, much less the loss of a whole province.

The Pueblo Revolt has been rather thoroughly investigated and does not form a part of this study. The documents presented in this chapter recount some of the reverberations of rebellion in areas surrounding New Mexico to the south. Some historians have been tempted to link Indian unrest south of New Mexico with the Pueblo Revolt. Although much of the frontier was indeed affected by the defeat of Spanish arms in the north, it is clear from these documents that unrest in the north arose from other causes as well.

This chapter opens with a document concerning Admiral Isidro Atondo y Antillón, who had been named the commander of the presidio of Sinaloa and the *adelantado* in the conquest of the Californias in 1679. While massing a major expedition at Nío near the Sinaloa coast, Atondo was thrust into a jurisdictional fight over the control of the Sinaloa presidio almost as soon as his appointment

arrived from México. By the time word reached Sinaloa about the disastrous loss of New Mexico, the admiral was in no mood to jeopardize the California venture to rescue the distant province. He was bitterly criticized by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya for not answering appeals for assistance, but given the previous history of New Mexico and Atondo's determination, his refusal at the time appears reasonable.<sup>2</sup> Rather than rush to the rescue, Atondo displayed complacency typical of many frontier leaders. He would divert neither men nor money to save New Mexico, which he probably felt was in no mortal danger anyway. His California expedition moved out on schedule—only to meet defeat and failure for similar reasons of Indian rebellion and drought. The Atondo document presented here illustrates problems typical of jurisdictional disputes between governors and viceroys. It also shows the “westward” concern of the Sinaloa colony. The ideas of expansion into and exploitation of the Tierra Incognita were still alive and strong despite the loss of a whole province.

The complete loss of New Mexico sent the Spaniards and their equally frightened allies fleeing downriver to the Pass of the North. For a century El Paso had been exactly that—a pass where the Río Grande chewed its way through stark mountains and turned east away from the road between Durango and Santa Fe. Always a place of water and rest, its natural advantages and bands of Mansos and Sumas had attracted New Mexican missionaries, who established a permanent presence there in the 1650s. The growing Spanish settlement at El Paso soon spilled into the valleys of northwestern Chihuahua. Along the Río Casas Grandes to the southwest, settlers from El Paso in the early 1660s founded the nucleus of another Spanish community which saw modest but steady growth during the next two decades. Agrarian-minded colonists saw great potential in the Casas Grandes district. Although the river and floodplain at El Paso were more extensive, the Casas Grandes valley was fertile and had dependable water. By comparison the Río Grande valley at El Paso was hemmed in by the sandy Chihuahuan desert, but the hills and plains around Casas Grandes were better watered, and the grasslands promised to support large herds of cattle.

The influx of settlers was accompanied by the establishment of more Franciscan missions along the Casas Grandes and Santa María rivers. Bending the interpretation of the *Recopilación*, the missionaries served both the new colonists and the native bands of Suma, Janos, Concho, and Chinarra Indians. Almost predictably, these groups were soon adversely affected by the Spanish immigrants and their herds, thus setting the stage for inevitable trouble. As alluded to earlier, the first act in the drama of far northern revolt was played in Santa Fe in 1680. No doubt these more nomadic Chihuahuan bands noted the astonishing success of the Pueblos to the north and took heart to overthrow Spanish dominion in their own homelands. However, the revolt did not immediately materialize; four years elapsed before rebellion finally broke out south of the Río Grande.

Nearly 3,000 New Mexican refugees converged on El Paso, placing sudden demographic pressures on the fledgling community. After an almost panic-stricken retreat from New Mexico, the survivors had escaped with little more than the clothing they wore. A tremendous effort would be needed to attain even a semblance of European life on the frontier. Many wanted no part of El Paso because it was still dangerously close to the victorious rebels upstream. Some were demoralized by their expulsion, and the prospect of an uncertain existence while an at-

tempt at reconquest was planned was even less comforting. The colonists petitioned the displaced Governor Antonio de Otermín to allow them to return to safer and better-established regions in the south.<sup>3</sup> For some this meant México. But Otermín refused permission for them to abandon the province. He was planning a reconquest and needed every able-bodied man he could muster. In the months that intervened while a reply to the petitions was awaited from the viceroy, many refugees infiltrated the Casas Grandes valley anyway, thus intensifying pressures on the land and the native populace by encroaching on ancient Indian terrain.

Unfortunately for Otermín, his expedition of reconquest in the winter of 1681 failed miserably. The disheartened soldiers returned to El Paso to await a better day and a better leader. Otermín continued as governor until 1683, when he was replaced by Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, more a military governor of an exiled colony than a politician. Jironza erected the new presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Glorioso San José del Paso del Norte that was designed to stem further invasions of Nueva Vizcaya by the Río Grande route as well as stabilize the settlements of the New Mexican refugees.

The middle documents in this chapter deal with the Suma revolt, which was largely caused by the migration from New Mexico. It flared in the spring of 1684 at Janos and Casas Grandes, and during the summer spread east to destroy other Franciscan centers south of El Paso, menacing the larger community itself. After the attack at Janos, units were sent from the El Paso presidio to Casas Grandes to buttress its beleaguered militia. Commanders argued the merits of strengthening their field forces and the danger implicit in deploying their small reserves, which would leave both pueblo and presidio vulnerable to certain attack. Despite their quarrels, the captains put enough men into the field to break the revolt late in 1684; the usual mass execution of Indian ringleaders ensued. The Suma rebellion further destabilized the region, scaring more settlers into fleeing to supposed safety in the south. Any fresh notions about reconquering New Mexico were postponed. All of northern Nueva Vizcaya became increasingly concerned that the unrest would spread. Already one province had been lost, and a dangerous pattern seemed to be forming. Town militias were strengthened. Presidial commanders kept wary eyes on the Tarahumara and the borders of Sonora; and the astonishing reports of French incursions into neighboring Texas added to the tensions of a newly recognized insecurity.<sup>4</sup>

In 1693 Governor Juan Isidro de Pardiñas Villar Francos y Camaño was replaced by Gabriel del Castillo, and the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, used the occasion of the change of government to appoint Don Joseph Francisco Marín, knight of the Order of Santiago, a *maestre de campo*, as the *juez de residencia* for Pardiñas. This meant that the routine review of the ex-governor could also serve as a full inspection of the military condition of Nueva Vizcaya, which had gained much attention since the collapse of New Mexico. Furthermore, the viceroy was preparing the ground for the reconquest of New Mexico by shoring up defenses along its southern limits. An accurate assessment of Nueva Vizcaya's needs was imperative in order to avoid weakening military strength by suppressing garrisons or transferring complements of soldiers.

Marín's report to the viceroy is one of the more complete accounts for northern New Spain during this period. Since Charles W. Hackett has reproduced and



translated the series of documents comprising the Marín report, it has not been included in this study of the development of the presidios in the north.<sup>5</sup> Marín's general conclusions, however, differed little from what might have been expected. He recommended a realignment of presidial forces to use the limited manpower more effectively. Having given a lengthy description of the size of Nueva Vizcaya and a comprehensive listing of the Indian tribes, he stressed the need for a large garrison of men on the Sonoran frontier. Secondly, he recognized the effects of a population decline and recommended an immediate increase in the numbers of Spanish settlers. Marín was obviously influenced by the on-site recommendations of Spanish military officers. The opinions of Juan Fernández de Retana and Juan Fernández de la Fuente carried great weight in his report. The north would not see such a thorough inspection again until the arrival of General Pedro de Rivera in 1726.

The long, final document of this chapter is an excerpted version of the campaign journal of Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, perhaps the most respected frontier captain of the 1690s. The Pima rebellion of 1695, on which this document focuses, has been a little-studied event. Historically, the rebellion and the campaign of pacification had more effect on the Spanish principals than on the Pimas Altas of northern Sonora. In the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Spanish military units, composed largely of old New Mexican militia, combed the hills and deserts for hostile Indian bands throughout the decade of the 80s. By 1690 it seemed important to establish a new force on the Sonoran frontier. Accordingly, the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, authorized a presidio to be established at the most suitable place.<sup>6</sup> Opinions were conflicting regarding the site for the presidio. The opinion that prevailed was that of Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, a veteran Indian fighter and experienced presidial commander, who wanted a presidio without a place—a genuine “flying company.” He got his wish and his command but died before being able to implement them. That left the dominant military figure on the northern frontier Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, the primary author of this campaign diary.

Fernández's policy in the early 90s had been to seek and destroy the enemy. In 1693 and 1694, the years following Ramírez's death, he mounted successful field campaigns against Apachean bands to the north of Janos. He easily convinced Governor Gabriel del Castillo of the need to mass Spanish forces during the summer of 1695 for a decisive blow against Apache strongholds in the Gila valley.<sup>7</sup> While these companies were moving north to rendezvous at Janos, word was received that the Pimas Altas had retaliated against a punitive expedition from Sonora's flying company. The detachment had gone to punish the murderers of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta and some Christian Indians, but the brutality of the punishment triggered an open rebellion. Sonora feared a repeat of the New Mexican debacle, so the combined forces of the north were diverted to the western deserts to bring peace by force back to the Pimería Alta. This is the setting of this campaign journal.

Large excerpts from this journal were chosen to illustrate the level of bureaucratic recording that was required of Spanish forces in the field. The stress on legality is evident in the careful explanation of administering oaths, supplying witnesses, and monitoring interpreters. The journal has been edited down to the most pertinent sections; repetitious entries citing only orders to round up and

feed the cavalcade were excised. In many ways the journal reveals the procedures and expectations of a frontier cavalry, many of which are exact archetypes for U.S. cavalry operations in the same area two centuries later.

The Pima revolt document of 1695 was also chosen because several major frontier personages appear as principals in the desert drama. Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente was a major campaign officer in the seventeenth century; Captain Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate had served as a governor of the exiled colony of New Mexico; Domingo Terán de los Ríos, who died on the campaign, was the first named governor of Nuevo Santander (Texas); Francisco Xavier Saeta was the first Christian martyr of the Pimería Alta; and Eusebio Francisco Kino, renowned mission builder and explorer, emerged in the role of peacemaker. It was immediately after this campaign ended that Kino returned to México to plead the cause of missionary expansion in the northwest.<sup>8</sup> His efforts were successful even to the extent of regaining permission for the Jesuits to return to the Californias. Undoubtedly, as a member of Atondo's expedition, his tragic witness of military brutality at La Paz in Baja California, and later at Tupo in the Pimería Alta, influenced him to seek complete independence from military authority in the Californias. This unique arrangement was granted in conjunction with the establishment of the Pious Fund of the Californias whereby the missions would initially pay for the soldiers sent to protect royal interests on the peninsula. This unusual situation will be discussed in some detail in the documents contained in Volume Two.

#### NOTES

1. Evidence for this theory was gathered and the thesis of a "Great Southwestern Revolt" proposed by Jack Forbes in *Apaches, Navajos, and Spaniards*. Prolonged drought threatened native communities, and the comparatively opulent Spanish missions and towns were the natural objects of envy. Religious explanations for the decline of native fortunes were offered by Indian leaders. With combined motives of hunger and religious justification the various tribes of the north attacked the centers of Spanish colonization.
2. See Luis Navarro García, *Sonora y Sinaloa en el Siglo XVII* (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos de Sevilla, 1967), pp. 262–264.
3. See Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and approaches thereto, to 1773*, Vols. II and III (Carnegie Institution, 1926, 1937) and *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682* (University of New Mexico Press, 1942).
4. A.G.I. Guadalajara 29, "Gobernador y Capitán de la Nueva Vizcaya informa a V.M. . . . noticias de gentes Extrangeras por la parte del Norte . . .," January 15, 1689.
5. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 365–463.
6. The official decree from the viceroy established the "Presidio de las Fronteras de la Provincia de Sonora." For nearly ten years the soldiers of this garrison rode as a flying company with no fixed headquarters. When the commandancy finally decided on a permanent location, the valley of Cabullona was chosen at a place known as Santa Rosa de Corodégua-chi. The presence of the presidio occasioned the change of name to simply "Fronteras," by which the locale is known today.

## Northern Rebellions and New Presidios

7. A more detailed background for these campaigns will be found in *Military History of the Spanish-American Southwest: A Seminar*, Bruno J. Rolak, editor (Ft. Huachuca, Arizona, 1976).

8. For a more complete analysis of the Pima revolt of 1695 and Kino's role, see Charles W. Polzer and Ernest J. Burrus, *Kino's Biography of Francisco Xavier Saeta* (Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971).

## The Governor and an Admiral Dispute Each Other's Authority

*In the final decades of the seventeenth century the commander of the presidio of Sinaloa held far more power than the captains of the other Nueva Vizcaya presidios. This was primarily due to the Sinaloa presidio's location and isolation from the rest of the province. It was near the west coast, across the Sierra Madre from Durango and Parral. In the following century this geographical separation caused Sinaloa and Sonora to be administratively detached from Nueva Vizcaya, but while it remained part of the original jurisdiction the captain at the presidio of Sinaloa occupied a unique command. He was charged with protecting a huge region. Bounded on the east by the continental divide and on the west by the sea, the area in effect ran north to include all of Sonora and the Pimeria Alta. Lying near the coast, the garrison also had the dual role of guarding its river port of Nío and the mainland coastline along the Gulf of California. That the task was impossible for a single presidio only served to increase the importance of its commander.*

*In 1680 the position was elevated even further when the new commander of the presidio of Sinaloa was designated by the viceroy to prepare and mount a colonizing expedition to California. Chosen for this task was Admiral Isidro de Atondo y Antillón. To facilitate the California enterprise and to go with his added responsibilities and authority, the viceroy gave Atondo the political title of alcalde mayor of Sinaloa as well. The viceroy had the power to do this but it broke a long-standing practice. With few exceptions it had been the custom—and definitely the perceived prerogative—of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to appoint his choice to the non-military post of alcalde mayor. Viceroy Conde de Paredes wanted both positions combined in the person of Atondo.*

*This document illustrates the administrative and military wrangling that occurred when Governor Bartolomé de Estrada y Ramírez attempted to exercise his superiority over Atondo. Estrada y Ramírez had been governor of Nueva Vizcaya before in 1670–71 and was thus no stranger to the office or its powers. In this case, however, he was uninformed of Atondo's double appointment by the viceroy. Atondo ignored Estrada's request to send men to bolster the Parral militia in the wake of the New Mexico disaster, and the governor's candidate for alcalde mayor was likewise rebuffed by the admiral when he arrived with his letter of appointment in Sinaloa. Several months of contentious correspondence by the two strong-willed commanders ended with a victory for Admiral Atondo and the viceroy. Henceforth, the military position became known as Capitán Vitalicio of Sinaloa.*

**T**he governor of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya gives account to your majesty<sup>1</sup> that your royal *cédula* of February 22, 1680, has not been carried out nor has the relief been given him which he asks of your viceroys. Moreover, the governmental jurisdiction which he exercises in the province of Sinaloa has been usurped from him on pretext of the conquest of California.<sup>2</sup>

Sir:

I have received the royal *cédula* of your majesty of February 22, 1680, in which your majesty orders that the captains of the presidios of Sinaloa,<sup>3</sup> Cerrogorordo, and San Sebastián, which come under the jurisdiction of this kingdom and are of the province of the viceroy of Nueva España, are to be subject to the command of your governors in this kingdom, present and future. Accordingly, I sent out an order on September 7 of this year to Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón,<sup>4</sup> who is in charge of the conquest of California and currently captain of the presidio of Sinaloa. Because of the conquest, he was given charge of the presidio, and this is the only reason for his undertaking this position. According to the order of your majesty he was informed that he was to send me twenty soldiers from the forty that are in the presidio in order to serve this kingdom in the campaign of which I was in charge. Although he was sent testimony of your majesty's order, it was not enough that he comply with what was fitting and what your majesty had ordered in regard to the campaign. Rather, he went in pursuit of the enemy himself. Although he was able to inflict some punishment, it would have been much better if the soldiers had come. Having been informed by the admiral that I had requested twenty soldiers from him, your viceroy declared in an order of December 10 of that year that the request not be granted.

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1. King Carlos II, 1665–1700.

2. By the early seventeenth century Spaniards had scouted the Pacific coast as far as Cape Mendocino, and the bays of San Diego and Monterey had been discovered and explored. Sinaloa became a staging area for several unsuccessful attempts to settle Baja California to prevent its harboring pirates who menaced the Manila galleons. Admiral Atondo was given control of Sinaloa for five years in order to facilitate the California enterprise. It was not until 1697, however, that the Jesuits established the first permanent settlements on the peninsula.

3. The presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa was established on the river of the same name in 1590. Today it is the town of Sinaloa de Leyva.

4. Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, a peninsular Spaniard, was born in 1630. A life-long naval officer, he established a good record as *alcalde mayor* and lieutenant captain-general of Sinaloa from 1673 to 1675. In 1678 he was given a five-year contract by the government to conquer and occupy Baja California. Upon construction of the ships, his group set sail on March 18, 1683, and arrived at La Paz 14 days later. By July 14, however, with supplies nearly exhausted, the expedition was forced to return to Sinaloa. They embarked and on October 6 established San Bruno farther up the coast. Although the Cochimi of the area were receptive to Christian teaching, the general sterility of the land and unhealthy climate were not conducive to settlement, and a year later the colonizing effort was abandoned. Fate reserved another role for Atondo. When word arrived that Dutch ships were laying in wait for the Manila galleons, the admiral put to sea, joined the fleet, and escorted it safely to Acapulco in December 1685. Atondo died in 1690.

Not only has the admiral not complied with your majesty's order and royal *cédula*, but he has gone on to hinder and usurp the jurisdiction of this kingdom, which has always been held without dispute in this province. Although all my predecessors appointed *alcaldes mayores*, the admiral has hindered my prerogative in this regard and disregarded the other edicts which I have likewise issued with absolute power. He contends that he could do this because he has military control of the presidio as well as support from your viceroy, from whom I have sought assistance, explaining the need for the soldiers requested and another fifty more for the defense and pacification of this kingdom. I also mentioned to the viceroy about the considerable royal assets your majesty holds in this kingdom and how they could be even larger if we were at peace. To date I have not had an answer.

Ultimately, in view of what occurred in this city and its environs and having been given an account of it by the reverend bishop<sup>5</sup> and the residents, I went in person to their aid. I have given an account to your viceroy and noted that I requested that soldiers come to serve where they are needed. All of this is written down in the transcripts of the edicts that I am enclosing for your majesty. Because I have little hope in getting either request, I am giving this account to your majesty with the following suggestion. In order that the presidial captains obey the governors of this kingdom as your majesty has ordered, the most effective way would be for the governors themselves to name the appointments to these posts and for the royal treasury officials to pay only the salary of those captains nominated by your governors. I have no other purpose except to serve your majesty. When these orders arrive and if your majesty decides to issue them, I will be nearing the end of the period in office with which your majesty honored me.

May our Lord watch over your Catholic and royal person as Christianity dictates. Durango, April 16, 1681.

Bartolomé de Estrada.<sup>6</sup>

When any war operation takes place, the [illegible] must remain on alert and give an account to the viceroy and on the first opportunity to the royal council. Accordingly, a *cédula* was issued on February 22, 1680, whose transcript was sent with the said testimonies for its execution. Since the Indian hostilities were continuing to cause many deaths, [the governor] asked Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, captain of the presidio of Sinaloa, to aid him with twenty men from the forty-three soldiers of that presidio in order to punish the Indians for their crimes. Notwithstanding the requirement of the *cédula*, Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón did not comply with the request. Moreover, having had recourse to the Conde de Paredes, viceroy-bishop of New Spain,<sup>7</sup> he declared that there was no opportunity to send the said troops. Furthermore, the governor's appointment of an *alcalde mayor* for that presidio has not been carried out as it should have been according

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5. This was Bartolomé García de Escañuela, bishop of Durango from 1677 to 1684.

6. Bartolomé Estrada y Ramírez, a native of Oviedo, Spain, was interim governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1670 to 1671. He returned to his former position as public auditor in México until he was made governor and captain-general for a full term (1679–1684). He died in Parral in 1684 and was interred in the convento de San Agustín in México.

7. Tomás Antonio Cerda y Aragón, Marqués de la Laguna and Conde de Paredes, viceroy from 1680 to 1686. However, unlike his immediate predecessor, he was not a bishop.

to his prerogative and that enjoyed by his predecessors. The Conde de Paredes, viceroy of New Spain, decided in favor of Don Isidro, relying on the answer of the fiscal of México in regard to the contractual conditions by which Don Isidro de Atondo was charged with the conversion and settlement of the Californias and in which it was stipulated that the admiral be given both the political and the military jurisdictions of the presidio of Sinaloa. A cédula was dispatched in regard to this.

Sir: Yesterday, May 20, I received your letter of April 4. I would be very pleased if you are enjoying the health which I hope our Lord continues to bestow upon you as your august person so deserves. At your feet I offer that which I currently have in order to employ it in all that would be of service to you. Likewise, I received the title of *alcalde mayor* and captain of war for this province by his majesty's cédula. This is an honor worthy of much esteem for me, and all of my life I shall maintain the respect and gratitude due such an honor. Sir, without delay I presented myself before the *cabildo* with my title, and, as evident from the testimony I asked to remit, the Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón opposed your granting me this right. In virtue of this, you should undertake those measures which will best provide for the restoration of your rights. In this way, you will have my total submission. When you want to issue me a command, I will respond with all love and due courtesy. Only through your well-being will the villa of Sinaloa have more years of my help and protection. I will not forget to write you on every occasion that is necessary. Dated in the aforementioned villa, May 20, 1680. Your servant who respects you and kisses your hand, Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza.<sup>8</sup>

On May 20, 1680, in the villa of San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa, the following officials were present in the royal presidio and house of the Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, his majesty's governor and lieutenant captain-general for political and military affairs of this villa and its jurisdiction: *Alférez* Joseph Romo de Vivar,<sup>9</sup> *alcalde ordinario*; *Alférez* Andrés Lopéz de Guzmán, *regidor de primer voto*; and Don Prudencio Tello, *regidor de segundo [voto]* and *procurador*.

Capitán Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza, resident of this villa, presented his title of *alcalde mayor* and captain of war, which was dated April 3, 1680, and signed by Don Bartolomé de Estrada, knight of the Order of Santiago and his majesty's governor and captain-general for the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, and made official by Miguel de Aranda,<sup>10</sup> royal notary. Having listened to the reading of this

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8. A resident of San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa, Fontes de Espinoza was appointed *alcalde mayor* of that province by Governor Estrada in 1680. His opposition by Atondo was the pivotal point of the jurisdictional dispute.

9. José Romo de Vivar was one of the original colonizers of Sonora and resided at Bacanuchi. In the 1670s he was identified as a wheat farmer and by the end of 1680 the *rancherías* of Cananea, Cocóspera, and Huachuca were under his jurisdiction. The following year he was sent with 25 soldiers by Governor Cuervo y Valdez on a peace mission through the Indian pueblos of Sonora. In 1693 he was deputy *alcalde mayor* and *capitán de guerra* for the mining reales of San Juan Bautista and Nacozari.

10. Documents with his signature indicate that Miguel de Aranda served as a royal scribe from 1675 through 1693. His name appears on the Parral militia muster for 1648, and in 1670 he was identified there as a merchant and captain.

document by the secretary, those present desired to proceed with the installation of Capitán Don Gabriel Fontes as *alcalde mayor*.

Thereupon Admiral [Atondo] brought to their attention the title he has as his majesty's governor and lieutenant-general in political and military affairs for the villa and its jurisdiction which was issued by his excellency the viceroy of New Spain. In the general meeting held in México on November 28, 1678, Don Bartolomé de Estrada attended as the governor-elect of Nueva Vizcaya, voting with the others present. It was decided to grant the admiral political control of the province of Sinaloa and military control of the presidios for which his majesty (God keep him) entrusted him in two royal *cédulas*. Since the admiral is in orderly and peaceful possession of what was passed on to him by Captain Don Pedro [sic] Hurtado Castilla,<sup>11</sup> who had obtained the political and military mandates in virtue of royal titles presented to him, the aforementioned admiral and officials in the best interests of peace and tranquility for this province suspended the granting of that jurisdictional mandate until everyone is able to report to whomever they should. It was signed by Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, Joseph Romo de Vivar, Andrés Lopéz de Guzmán, Prudencio Tello. Before me, Diego de Salas, royal secretary.

In the mining settlement of San Joseph del Parral on June 26, 1680, General Don Bartolomé Estrada Ramírez, knight of the Order of Santiago and his majesty's governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the province of Nueva Vizcaya, said that, even though he has legally and rightfully conferred the title of *alcalde mayor* and captain of war of the villa of San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa on Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza, he has received reports by letter and dispatch that the Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, captain of that presidio, has prevented the officials from handing over jurisdiction for that office on the pretext that he has dispatches from his excellency, the viceroy, allowing him political and military control over the villa.

According to the proceedings of the general meeting which was held in México, his excellency, the governor, offered to give the aforementioned title to the admiral if the office it embodied helped to promote and facilitate the conquest of the Californias. However, the admiral, having unfairly taken possession of his government, wished to usurp the power which his excellency, the governor, was willing to turn over to him gradually. The admiral based this action on the above-mentioned pretext and the fact that his predecessor in Sinaloa, General Don Pedro Hurtado de Castilla, had handed over to him the jurisdiction which he had obtained by virtue of his titles of *alcalde mayor* and captain of war, conferred by the then governor and captain-general of the kingdom, Don Lope de Sierra Osorio.<sup>12</sup> For this reason it seems that the officials of the town forsook their obligation by

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11. Alonso Hurtado de Castilla, Atondo's predecessor as *alcalde mayor*.

12. Lope de Sierra Osorio, a law graduate of the University of Salamanca, where he was also a professor, was a member of the royal council before coming to New Spain as *oidor* of the Audiencia of México and advisor to the Inquisition. He served one year as governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya, 1677–1678. In 1678 he was appointed president of the Audiencia of Guatemala, where he served until 1681. He then returned to Spain and reoccupied his seat in the royal council. He died in Madrid in 1701.



failing to receive the newly designated *alcalde mayor* and by forming a council and *junta* in the *presidio*. Although all of this meant that they were subject to punishment and fines, his excellency realizes that they acted without ill will and thus suspends any such fine or punishment.

Moreover, in view of the fact that the jurisdiction, which belongs to his government under rights granted to him and his predecessors by the king, is usurped and damaged and said title suspended, it is necessary to provide for a suitable solution. Because the governor is so tied down with official matters and the war with enemy Indians continues, he cannot go personally to attend to the situation, so he ordered this dispatch be prepared. In it he orders that the council and officials of the town of Sinaloa immediately call an official meeting in one of their houses—and in no one else's—to receive Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza as *alcalde mayor* and captain of war and to hand over to him the power of royal justice so that he might perform his duties as his predecessors have done. The officials of the town are required to comply with and execute this order under pain of a 500-peso fine to the royal exchequer for ornamentation of the royal houses in Durango. It is so ordered that the residents and inhabitants of the town, whenever necessary, assist and cooperate with the officials in regard to the above. Their failure to do so will result in their being punished according to the full rigor of the law. If Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo persists in being an obstacle to the possession of said jurisdiction, the members of the council should notify him the number of times required by law that he should desist and that he content himself with what belongs to him and what his predecessors have enjoyed. Moreover, according to legal procedure and before witnesses, the officers should submit to his excellency any reports of difficulties or damages which might result from the above situation so that remedial measures may be taken.

Now that he is in possession of the office, Don Gabriel Fontes will use it according to his title and will not consent to anyone else exercising his power unless such person is designated by him or by whomever else is authorized to do so. He will also do everything possible to do justice to that which relates to the support and relief of the above-mentioned conquest headed by Admiral [Atondo], including the construction of ships, since this aid is of service to his majesty. Likewise, the governor orders the *alcalde mayor* to report on all the dispatches and judicial edicts that the admiral may issue regarding the disputed office from the day he entered the villa until he is accepted as *alcalde mayor*. After having done this according to judicial procedure, he will remit this information to this government, issuing edicts and dispatches when necessary. As presiding judge, he is to do this in the presence of two witnesses called to assist him and to sign the edicts and dispatches. An affidavit of this dispatch should remain in this government along with the other documents related to this matter. It is thus decreed, ordered, and signed by his excellency, Don Bartolomé de Estrada. Before me, Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary.

Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, political and military governor of the villa of Sinaloa and its province, admiral of the kingdom of California and chief commander of the armada, informs his majesty that ships are being constructed in this province for use in the conversion and reduction of the non-Christian Indians of his majesty's kingdom.

## Dispute Over Authority

I must say that inasmuch as it is indispensable and important for this servant of his majesty to attend to certain important and necessary matters for the town and dockyard of Nío,<sup>13</sup> where the ships are being built, and since this means great savings for the royal treasury, I cannot be in the villa of Sinaloa.

By virtue of the dispatch of his excellency the viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, dated May 4 of this year, I order the *alcaldes ordinarios* and the other *regidores* who are in the villa of Sinaloa not to give jurisdictional power to anyone for any reason even though certain orders may be shown to them. Since I am in rightful and orderly control of this jurisdiction, my authority is required to call a town meeting in order to handle such matters. Anyone who acts counter to this order is subject to a fine of 500 pesos destined for his majesty's treasury. This is what is best for the peace and tranquility of these provinces and the service of his majesty. Moreover, I will make a public protest against those *alcaldes* and others of the *cabildo* for all and whatever harm and losses that occur by disobeying my order. I order that the viceroy be informed of my order and that it be joined to his reply.

Thus I decree, order, and sign it as *alcalde mayor* and *juez receptor* because the secretary is not here in the villa and is at present ill and in the town and dockyard of Nío. The witnesses who assisted me were *Alférez* Tomás de Peralta, Captain Pedro García, and Alonso de Vega. Dated in this villa of Sinaloa, September 28, 1680. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, *alcalde mayor*, *juez receptor*. Witness, Alonso de Vega.

### OBEDIENCE

In this villa of Sinaloa on this date, I the admiral did read and announce the above edict to *Alférez* Antonio de Gasteátegui<sup>14</sup> and *Alférez* Joseph Romo de Vivar, *alcaldes ordinarios* of said villa. They said that they understand it and that, in observance of their rights, they should have a transcript of his majesty's order dated May 4 of this year and also of this order. The witnesses and undersigned signed this with me, the admiral, in my capacity as *alcalde mayor* and *juez receptor*: Antonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, *alcalde mayor* and *juez receptor*. Witness, Tomás de Peralta. Witness, Pedro García de Medrano. Witness, Alonso de Vega.

### REQUEST

In the pueblo and dockyard of Nío, jurisdiction of Sinaloa, on October 3, 1680, we the *alcaldes ordinarios*, Antonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar, and Prudencio Tello, *regidor-procurador* of said *cabildo*, attest to the fact that Captain Don Gabriel Fontes presented an order from the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to *Alférez* Joseph Romo, one of our *cabildo* who was alone at the time in the villa of

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13. Nío was a town and dockyard 30 kilometers downstream from the villa of Sinaloa on the Sinaloa River.

14. He also appears in the records as Gastegui.

Sinaloa. In this document his excellency orders that we of the cabildo immediately give Fontes possession of the office of alcalde mayor of said villa subject to a penalty of 500 pesos if we fail to do so. For this reason the said alcalde ordinario, together with his excellency Felix Francisco Quintero, Balthazar de Acosta, and Lorenzo de Pasos, residents of the villa, gave him possession of this office. Since we, Alférez Antonio de Gasteátegui and Prudencio Tello, were in the province of Sonora, we were not present for this transfer of power.

Realizing what was happening, Captain Juan Antonio de Anguis,<sup>15</sup> commander and caudillo of the presidios of these provinces and lieutenant in political affairs in this villa for Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, went to the house of Don Gabriel Fontes to inform him and demand with an edict that he not exercise any jurisdictional power, or he would be subject to a 1,000-peso fine.

Having arrived at the villa from Sonora on the second day of his taking office and being informed of what happened, we, the officers, considered the action taken as right and proper in view of the governor's order. Learning of our arrival, the admiral enjoined us with an order issued by his majesty and an order of the viceroy and captain-general of New Spain in which his excellency prohibits any other person from exercising political power during the period of the admiral's government. In the edict he enjoined us with protests and a fine of 500 pesos not to disturb his peaceful possession of office he holds by order of his excellency. He cited the peace and tranquility of these provinces and warned of the disturbances and losses which could follow. Nevertheless, being mindful of what the governor ordered us to do, if the admiral persists in disrupting the aforesaid taking of office, we will enjoin his compliance one, two, or more times according to law.

We, the officials, traveled to the town of Nío, which is seven leagues from this villa, and in the presence of the present secretary we enjoined the admiral once, twice, and as many times as may be necessary to certify Don Gabriel Fontes in the office he has been given, protesting all injuries and losses that may ensue. His grace was present and has heard and understood what was said.

#### REPLY

By virtue of the grant he held by royal title as political and military governor of the villa of Sinaloa and its province, and by having orderly and peacefully occupied said office since his arrival, he said that he cannot and must not allow any other person to exercise power in the villa nor in its jurisdiction during his tenure as governor. He added that this complies with the order of his excellency the viceroy and captain-general of Nueva España which is dated May 4 of the present year, signed by his excellency, and notarized by Manuel Sariñana. Accordingly, his excellency orders the admiral not to permit any other person to take office during

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15. Juan Antonio de Anguis was Atondo's primary aide, both militarily and politically, and naturally intervened in the dispute between Estrada and Atondo. He was left in charge of Sinaloa during Atondo's expedition to Baja California and was charged with gathering provisions on the Yaqui River for the enterprise.

the period of his government. The admiral showed this order to me, the present secretary, so that I could make a copy of it and of the auto. His grace then notified the cabildo members and authorized personnel in correct form to deliver these documents to the town council of the villa for their safekeeping.

Likewise, in my presence the admiral sternly warned the officials not to become involved in changing anything in regard to the government, but rather to leave his grace in possession of that which he has or be subject to a 500-peso fine applied in behalf of his majesty's royal treasury. This is all done for the peace and tranquility of the republic and this province, for which I the secretary so informed the following people: Antonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar, and Prudencio Tello, who all said that they understood it and signed it with the admiral. Witnesses of this were: Alférez Tomás de Peralta and Don Lorenzo Pasas Lázaro. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón. Antonio de Gasteátegui. Joseph Romo de Vivar. Prudencio Tello. Before me, Diego de Salas, royal secretary.

I sign this in witness of the truth, Diego de Salas, royal secretary.

In the villa of San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa on October 7, 1680, we, the *alcaldes ordinarios*, council and government of said villa, have fulfilled our duties as mentioned in the edicts and have made a copy and transcript of what Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón contends is his right of government, which is also included with the opinion of the fiscal of the royal Audiencia of México. Moreover, we have seen the determination with which the admiral has responded to our demands. He not only holds to sole control of his government but goes so far as to decree fines so that we will not allow Captain Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza to intervene in the political affairs of the government.

Nevertheless, after the captain presented his title, which was issued by the governor and captain-general, he was given full approval and the power to exercise his commission by the cabildo present in the villa, and this was ratified by the remaining members who arrived later. These actions give evidence of the opposition to the admiral.

These orders were issued to prevent the outcry and problems which could occur considering the fact that the admiral has the force of arms and the power to order his soldiers to forcibly impede Captain Don Gabriel Fontes from taking office. This is an action which might have happened if it were not for the intervention of certain persons of the admiral's status and of Christian zeal who, looking to the greater service of his majesty and the well-being of this republic, have pleaded for a peaceful solution. We in the cabildo agree that this is the best avenue to follow. Therefore, we will inform the governor and captain-general of this kingdom about all that is taking place.

With Captain Don Gabriel Fontes present in the cabildo, we decided to suspend him in the exercise of his mayoral office and leave the determination of this right to the disposition and will of the governor to whom we send these edicts, attentive to that which his excellency orders and requires in faith.

We close this and sign it as *juez receptor* and in council as *alcaldes ordinarios* and the *regidor* and *procurador*, who are the members present for this matter in the said villa. Antonio de Gasteátegui, *alcalde ordinario*. Prudencio Tello, *regidor*. Joseph Romo de Vivar, *alcalde ordinario*.

EDICT

In the mining settlement of San Joseph de Parral on November 17, 1680, General Don Bartolomé de Estrada Ramírez, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of this kingdom, ordered that the documents and edicts regarding the appointment powers of the governor be gathered together. He did this after having seen the orders and letters executed in the villa of Sinaloa regarding the unwillingness of Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, captain of the presidio, to allow Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza to take possession of and exercise the office of alcalde mayor of said villa. The right to nominate him belonged to the governor, who would have gone in person to the villa of Sinaloa had he not been so involved in his majesty's service and the defense of this kingdom in war and other causes.

The present secretary attaches to the bottom of this order certification of the governor's predecessors in this kingdom, who have decreed and provided for the office of alcalde mayor for said villa. The list identifies from whom and to whom the office was given with the day, month, and year as written down and seen in the registers for commissions of titles that are held in this office of this government. I have had affidavits copied for all these edicts, one to be sent with a written report to his excellency the viceroy of New Spain, and the other to the royal audiencia that sits in the city of Guadalajara, in order that they may settle the problem without the anxieties, scandals, and disturbances that could be caused here in this villa.

Thus it was decreed, ordered, and signed by his lordship, Don Bartolomé de Estrada. Before me, Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary.

*Original in the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 29*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**l gobernador del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya da cuenta a vuestra majestad de no haberse dado cumplimiento a vuestra real cédula de 22 de febrero del año pasado de 1680 y de no haberle dado los socorros que tiene pedidos a vuestros virreyes y de habersele usurpado la jurisdicción del gobierno que ejerce en la provincia de Sinaloa con pretexto de la conquista de la California.

Señor:

Habiendo recibido la real cédula de vuestra majestad de 22 de febrero del año pasado de 1680, en que vuestra majestad se sirve de mandar que los capitanes de los presidios de Sinaloa, Cerrogordo y San Sebastián, que caen en la jurisdicción de este reino y son de la provincia de vuestro virrey de la Nueva España, estén a la orden de vuestros gobernadores de este reino, presentes y futuros. Con su conformidad despache orden en 7 de septiembre del dicho año a vuestro almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón que está entendiendo en la conquista de California, capitán actual del dicho presidio de Sinaloa por cuya conquista se le dio este puesto y es el único motivo de su empresa como constará a vuestra majestad en el asiento que hizo me remitiese veinte soldados de los cuarenta hombres que tiene

dicho presidio, para que sirviesen en este reino en la campaña en que yo estaba entendiendo. Remitiéndole testimonio de la orden de vuestra majestad no bastó para que cumpliese con lo que convenía y vuestra majestad había mandado con que en la campaña, que sin embargo, salió en busca del enemigo. Aunque se consiguió hacer algún castigo, pudiera haber sido mucho mayor si vinieran los soldados. Y habiendo ocurrido el dicho almirante a vuestro virrey a representarle que yo le pedía dichos veinte soldados, declaró vuestro virrey por mandamiento de 10 de diciembre de dicho año, no haber lugar y no sólo no se ha dado cumplimiento a la orden y real cédula de vuestra majestad, sino que se ha pasado a embarazar y quitar la jurisdicción de este reino que en la dicha provincia ha tenido siempre sin letigio; nombrando todos mis antecesores alcaldes mayores, embarazando la posesión del que yo nombré y los demás autos que así mismo he despachado con poder absoluto por hallarse dueño de las armas del dicho presidio y auxiliado con los despachos de vuestro virrey a quien yo he ocurrido, representando las razones que asisten a este gobierno y la necesidad que hay de estos soldados y otros cincuenta más para la defensa y pacificación de este reino. Representándole así mismo el grande abrazo de los reales haberes de vuestra majestad en este reino, que eran muy considerables y pudieran ser mayores si estuviera en paz. Y a la fecha de está no he tenido respuesta. Y últimamente con ocasión de lo sucedido en esta ciudad y sus contornos, de que habiéndome dado cuenta el reverendo obispo y todos los vecinos de todos estados de ella, vine en persona a su socorro. Y he dado cuenta vuestro virrey y notando en el que tengo pedido y en que los soldados de los dichos presidios vengán a servir donde la necesidad les pide, como todo consta de los testimonios de autos que remito a vuestra majestad. Y porque desconfío de conseguir lo uno y lo otro, doy cuenta a vuestra majestad representándole que, para que obedezcan los capitanes de los dichos presidios a los gobernadores de este reino como vuestra majestad lo tiene mandado. El medio eficaz será que provean los dichos gobernadores estos puestos y que los oficiales reales de esta caja no paguen los sueldos y situación sino fuere a los capitanes nombrados por vuestro gobernadores. En que no tengo más fin que el que debo al servicio de vuestra majestad; pues cuando lleguen estas órdenes, si vuestra majestad se sirviere de darlas, estaré ya en los fines del gobierno con que vuestra majestad me honró, cuya católica y real persona guarde Nuestro Señor así de como la cristianidad a menester. Durango y abril 16 de 1681. Bartolomé de Estrada.

Si pasa alguna operación de guerra, ha de quedar en defensa los [ilegible] y dar cuenta al señor virrey y en la primera ocasión al consejo. Y en esta conformidad se expidió cédula en 22 de febrero de 1680, cuyo traslado viene en dichos testimonios y en su ejecución. Continuándose las hostilidades de los indios enemigos ejecutando muchas muertes para castigar semejantes excesos, pidió al don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, capitán del presidio de Sinaloa, le socorriese con veinte hombres de los cuarenta y tres soldados de dicho presidio. Y sin embargo de haberle requerido en dicha cédula, no dio cumplimiento y, habiendo ocurrido al señor obispo virrey, declaró no haber lugar enviar dichos soldados. Y tampoco se ha dado cumplimiento al nombramiento que hizo el dicho gobernador de alcalde mayor de dicho presidio siendo así que le toca [ilegible] únicamente como lo han hecho todos sus antecesores, habiéndolo declarado a favor del dicho don Isidro, el señor conde de Paredes, virrey de la Nueva España, fundándose en la respuesta que

dio el fiscal de México, de que en las capitulaciones en que se le encargó la conversión y población de las Californias al dicho don Isidro de Atondo, fue condición de que se le había de dar las dos jurisdicciones política y militar del presidio de Sinaloa, de que se despachó cédula.

Señor:

Recibí su carta de usted ayer, 20 de mayo, su fecha de abril 4 y me holgaré infinito goze usted de la salud que deseo la continúe Nuestro Señor con los asensos que mucha persona merece, a cuyos pies ofrezco la que al presente tengo para emplearla en todo lo que fuere del servicio de usted. Así mismo recibí el título de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de esta provincia con la cédula del donativo de su majestad, honra digna de muchísima estimación para mí y que toda mi vida viviré con el debido agradecimiento y reconocimiento que se debe a tanta merced. Señor, luego al punto me presenté en el cabildo con mi título a lo cual el almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón repugnó en lo mandado por usted, como consta del testimonio que le pedí que remito, consta a usted. Y en virtud de ello usted ponga el remedio que más convenga al reparo de su jurisdicción, a que me tendrá usted con todo rendimiento para cuando me quisiere mandar que acudiré con todo amor y debida cortesía, cuya vida me guarde más felices años para amparo y remedio de esta villa de Sinaloa. Y no me olvidaré de escribir a usted en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren. Fecha en dicha villa y mayo 20 de 1680 años. Servidor, cirado de usted que le estima y su mano besa. Beso la mano de usted. Don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza.

En la villa de San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa, a 20 días del mes de mayo de 1680 años, estando en el real presidio y casa del almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, gobernador y teniente de capitán general por su majestad en lo político y militar de esta dicha villa y su jurisdicción, y en ella haberse juntado los capitulares de dicha villa conviene a saber: al alférez Joseph Romo de Vivar, alcalde ordinario; el alférez Andrés López de Guzmán, regidor de primer voto; y don Prudencio Tello, regidor de segundo y procurador. El capitán don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza, vecino de esta dicha villa, presentó un título de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de dicha provincia de Sinaloa, a su fecha en 3 de abril pasado de este presente año, firmado del señor don Bartolomé de Estrada, caballero de la orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad, refrendado de Miguel de Aranda, notario real. El cual habiéndolo leído el presente secretario y oídolo todos los susodichos quisieran meter en posesión de tal alcalde mayor al dicho capitán don Gabriel Fontes. Y entonces dicho almirante presentó el título que tiene de gobernador y teniente de capitán general en lo político y militar de dicha villa y su jurisdicción por su majestad, despachado por el excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España. Según se resolvió, la junta general que se hizo en la ciudad de México a los 28 días del mes de noviembre de 1678, en la cual se halló dicho señor don Bartolomé de Estrada siendo ya electo gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya, quien votó y firmó con los demás señores que se hallaron en ésta, a ser conveniente se le hiciese la merced de lo político de la provincia de Sinaloa y lo militar de los presidios por lo que su majestad que Dios guarde tanto encarga en dos reales cédulas. Y por estar dicho almirante en quieta y pacífica posesión que le dio el capitán don Pedro [sic] Hurtado de Castilla que obtenía di-

chos cargos de político y militar en virtud de reales títulos que le presentó, por lo cual todos los susodichos, almirante y capitulares, suspendieron dar la dicha posesión hasta dar parte cada uno a quien debiere para la mayor paz y quietud de esta provincia. Y lo firmaron: don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, Joseph Romo de Vivar, Andrés López de Guzmán, Prudencio Tello. Ante mí, Diego de Salas, secretario real.

AUTO

En el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral en 26 días del mes de junio de 1680 años, el general don Bartolomé Estrada Ramírez, caballero del orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey nuestro señor, dijo que, por cuanto habiendo su excelencia despachado título de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra a don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza de la villa de San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa como cosa que le pertenece y es de su gobierno, ha tenido noticia por despacho y cartas que el almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, capitán del presidio que está en dicha villa, ha embarazado y perturbado a los capitulares de dicha villa que diesen la posesión de dicho oficio, con pretexto y socolor de decir tiene despachos del excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España para obtener lo político y militar en dicha villa. Porque en la junta general que se hizo en la ciudad de México, en que su excelencia se halló siendo ya gobernador de este reino en virtud de despacho de su majestad, ofreció que si dicho oficio condujese algo en orden a alivio y fomento de la conquista de las Californias en que está entendiendo el dicho almirante le daría título de él. Habiendo tomado posesión de su gobierno y pidiéndolo, cosa muy desigual, que su excelencia cortés y atentamente lo quisiese dar a que se lo quieran usurpar. Y con dicho pretexto y el de decir que el general don Pedro Hurtado de Castilla, su antecesor en dicho presidio le dio posesión en dicho oficio político, siendo así que el dicho don Pedro lo obtuvo y sirvió de título de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra dado por el señor don Lope Sierra Osorio, gobernador y capitán general de este reino que fue. Y porque así mismo parece que los capitulares, regidores o diputados de dicha villa faltaron a la obligación que tenían en haber dejado de recibir a dicho alcalde mayor y en haber ido a hacer cabildo y junta en el dicho presidio, por lo cual merecían ser multados. Y por conocer su excelencia que los susodichos obraron sin malicia alguna suspende dicha multa y pena. Y atendiendo a que la jurisdicción, que toca a este gobierno y su majestad le ha dado a su excelencia y sus antecesores desde sus primitivos descubrimientos, está usurpada lesa y dicho título suspenso, en que conviene proveer del remedio conveniente, y buscando el más eficaz en consideración a que las ocupaciones y continua guerra con que su excelencia se halla de presente con los indios enemigos no le permiten a ir personalmente, mandó se haga este despacho por el cual manda a los dichos cabildo, regidores y capitulares de la dicha villa, que luego al punto que lo reciban hagan junta o cabildo en una de sus casas y no en otra alguna, y reciban al dicho don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza por alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra y le entreguen la vara de la real justicia para que lo use y ejerza como lo han hecho sus antecesores y lo cumplan y ejecuten dichos capitulares, pena a cada uno de quinientos pesos en reales aplicados por mitad. Real cámara de su majestad y aderezos de las casas reales de la ciudad de Durango y manda a todos los vecinos estantes y habitantes en



dicha villa y su jurisdicción, que siendo necesario asistan, cooperen y ayuden a los dichos capitulares a los susodicho en todo y por todo, pena que los que lo contrario hicieren, serán castigados por todo rigor de derecho. Y si el dicho almirante don Isidro de Atondo persistiere en perturbar dicha posesión y jurisdicción, los dichos capitulares le requieran una, dos y más veces y las que el derecho requiriere, se abstenga y contenga en lo que le pertenece y según lo han usado sus antecesores. Y no más protestando de los daños, inquietudes y escándalos que se causaren y de lo que sobre esto se hiciere, causare o resultare lo pondrán por razón en forma judicial y ante testigos y lo remitirán a su excelencia para proveer lo que convenga. Y estando ya en posesión de dicho oficio, el dicho don Gabriel Fontes lo usará según su título y no consentirá que ninguna persona alce vara de justicia, sino fuere por nombramiento suyo y de quien se la deba dar. Y le manda justicia que en todo lo que tocare a alivio y fomento de la dicha conquista en que entiende el dicho almirante, así en la fábrica de los vasos como en todo lo demás lo fomente y ayude y haga ayudar en lo posible por ser del servicio de su majestad. Y así mismo, manda al dicho alcalde mayor que luego haga información de todos los despachos y autos judiciales que el dicho almirante hubiere hecho tocantes al dicho oficio de alcalde mayor, desde el día que entró en dicha villa hasta el en que le recibieren. Y hecho y ajuntado todo en forma judicial, lo remitirá a este gobierno actuando y despachando en caso necesario ante sí como juez residencial con dos testigos que le asistan y firmen los autos y despachos. Y que de este despacho quede testimonio en este gobierno, acumulado a las cartas y despacho que sobre lo referido vino y así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó su excelencia don Bartolomé de Estrada. Ante mí, Miguel de Aranda, secretario real.

#### AUTO

El almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, gobernador en lo político y militar de la villa de Sinaloa y su provincia, almirante del reino de la California y cabo principal de la armada, que de cuenta de su majestad se está fabricando en dicha provincia para pasar a la conversión y reducción de los gentiles de dicho reino por su majestad.

Digo que por cuanto me es forzoso e importante al servidor de su majestad para el pueblo y astillero de Nío, donde se están fabricando dichas embarcaciones, a disponer algunas cosas importantes y necesarias a la brevedad de dicha fábrica en que consisten grandes ahorros de la real hacienda, y no puedo por las razones susodichas estar de asistencia en dicha villa de Sinaloa. En virtud del despacho del excelentísimo señor virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, su fecha 4 de mayo de este presente año que se les ha hecho notorio, mando a los alcaldes ordinarios y demás regidores que en dicha villa se hallasen que con ningún pretexto ni causa de posesión de justicia mayor a ninguna persona que la pidiere, aunque para ello muestre despachos y provisiones hasta en tanto que por mi autoridad sean llamados a cabildo como se acostumbra para dichos actos, por cuanto me hallo en quieta y pacífica posesión. Pena de quinientos pesos a cada uno que lo contrario hiciere, que aplico para la cámara de su majestad que así convenga la paz y quietud de estas provincias y servicio de su majestad. Y protesto a los dichos alcaldes y demás cabildo todos y cualesquiera daños y menosotroscabos que se pueden recrecer en hacer lo contrario. Y mando se le notifique este mi auto y que se ponga al pie de su respuesta. Y así lo proveí y mandé y firmé como tal alcalde

mayor, juez receptor, por no estar en esta dicha villa el secretario que se halla en el pueblo y astillero de Nío enfermo. Con los testigos de mi asistencia que fueron el alférez Tomás de Peralta, el capitán Pedro García y Alonso de Vega. Que es fecho en esta villa de Sinaloa en 28 días del mes de septiembre de 1680 años. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, alcalde mayor, juez receptor. Testigo, Tomás de Peralta. Testigo, Pedro García de Medrano. Testigo, Alonso de Vega.

#### OBEDECIMIENTO

En la dicha villa en el dicho día mes y año, yo el dicho almirante hice leer y notifiqué el auto de arriba a los alférez Antonio de Gasteátegui y Joseph Romo de Vivar, alcaldes ordinarios de esta dicha villa. Los cuales dijeron que lo oyen y que para en guarda de su derecho se les deba testimonio del mandamiento de su excelencia, su fecha 4 de mayo de este presente año y de este auto. Y lo firmaron conmigo el dicho almirante como alcalde mayor, juez receptor y los testigos e infrascriptos. Antonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, alcalde mayor, juez receptor. Testigo Tomás de Peralta. Testigo, Pedro García de Medrano. Testigo, Alonso de Vega.

#### REQUERIMIENTO

En el pueblo y astillero de Nío, jurisdicción de Sinaloa, en 3 días del mes de octubre de 1680 años. Nosotros los alcaldes ordinarios, Antonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar y Prudencio Tello, regidor procurador de dicho cabildo, decimos que atentos a que dicho alférez Joseph Romo, uno de nosotros, hallándose solo en la villa de Sinaloa donde somos cabildo, el capitán don Gabriel Fontes, vecino de ella, le demostró un mandamiento del señor gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya, en que manda su excelencia a nosotros dicho cabildo que luego que visto sea, se le dé la posesión de alcalde mayor de dicha villa. Pena de quinientos pesos al que lo contrario hiciere. Por lo cual dicho alcalde ordinario, junto al excelentísimo Félix Francisco Quintero, Baltazar de Acosta, y Lorenzo de Pasos, vecinos, otros, de dicha villa y con ellos le dio posesión, a la cual no nosotros hallamos y del dicho alférez Antonio de Gasteátegui y Prudencio Tello por estar en la provincia de Sonora.

Y siendo sabedor de dicha posesión, el capitán Juan Antonio de Anguis, cabo y caudillo de los presidios de estas provincias y teniente en lo político en dicha villa por el almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, fue a la casa de dicho don Gabriel Fontes y le notificó y requirió con un auto que pena de mil pesos, no alce vara de justicia.

Y habiendo llegado nosotros los dichos capitulares de dicha provincia de Sonora a dicha villa al segundo día de dicha posesión, y héchose nosotros saber la dimos por buena y bien dada en virtud de dicho mandamiento. Y siendo dicho almirante sabedor de nuestra llegada, nosotros requirió con un auto proveído por su majestad y un mandamiento del excelentísimo señor virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, en el cual le manda su excelencia no consienta se introduzca otra persona en el gobierno político durante el tiempo que dicho señor almirante lo gobernó. En el cual auto nosotros requiere con protestas y que pena de quinientos pesos no le perturbemos la pacífica posesión que posee por dicho excelentísimo señor, protestando nosotros la paz y quietud de estas provincias y menos-

troscabos y alborotos que se siguieren. Y atentos a que dicho señor gobernador nosotros manda que, si dicho señor almirante persistiere o instare en perturbar la dicha posesión, le requiramos una, dos y más veces según derecho. Nosotros los dichos capitulares nosotros pusimos en camino para este dicho pueblo de Nío, que dista de dicha villa siete leguas, y en presencia del presente secretario requerimos una, dos y más veces y las que demás fueren necesarias a dicho señor almirante dé fe a dicho don Gabriel Fontes en la posesión que se le tiene dada, protestándole todos los daños y menos troscabos que se siguieren y estando su merced presente y habiéndolo oído y entendido.

#### RESPUESTA

Dijo que, por cuanto su merced por real título de su majestad en que le hizo merced de gobernador en lo político y militar de la villa de Sinaloa y su provincia y está en quieta y pacífica posesión de dicho oficio como ha estado desde que entró a ejercerle, no puede ni debe consentir que otra persona levante vara de justicia en dicha villa ni su jurisdicción durante el tiempo de su gobierno, como se expresa en el mandamiento del excelentísimo virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España. Su fecha 4 de mayo pasado de este presente año. Firmado de dicho señor excelentísimo y refrendado de Manuel Sariñana. En que parece por él que su excelencia ordena y manda a dicho señor almirante no consienta que otra persona alguna se introduzca durante el tiempo de su gobierno. El cual dicho mandamiento demostró ante mí, el presente secretario, dicho señor almirante, para que saque un tanto de él y del auto que su merced notificó a los dichos capitulares y autorizados en bastante forma entregarlos su merced a los dichos regimientos de dicha villa para su resguardo.

Y así mismo, por ante mí el presente secretario, dicho señor almirante protestó a dichos capitulares no se entrometan en innovar cosa alguna en razón de gobierno, sino que dejen a su merced en la posesión que obtiene. Pena de quinientos pesos a cada uno que desde luego su merced aplicaba y aplicó para la real cámara de su majestad, por convenir así a la paz y quietud en que se halla la república y esta provincia, lo cual yo el secretario les notifiqué a los dichos: Atonio de Gasteátegui, Joseph Romo de Vivar y Prudencio Tello, los cuales dijeron que lo oían y lo firmaron con dicho señor almirante. Siendo testigos el alférez Tomás de Peralta y don Lorenzo de Pasas y Lázaro. Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón. Antonio de Gasteátegui. Joseph Romo de Vivar. Prudencio Tello. Ante mí, Diego de Salas, secretario real.

Hago mi signo en testimonio de verdad, Diego de Salas, secretario real.

En la villa de San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa en 7 días del mes de octubre de 1680 años, los alcaldes ordinarios, cabildo y regimiento de dicha villa habiendo hecho las diligencias mencionadas en estos autos como por ellos consta y habiendo sacado el tanto y testimonio por el cual el almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón se constituye gobierno de dicha villa y provincia, el cual va inserto también con el parecer del señor fiscal de la real audiencia de México. Y viendo a los requerimientos que hicimos al dicho almirante, con resolución responde no tan solamente admitiendo la posesión dada, sino pronunciando multas para que no admitamos al uso y gobierno en lo político al dicho capitán don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza. A quien luego que presentó su título despachado por el señor gobernador-capitán

general de este reino se le dio entero cumplimiento admitiéndole al uso y dándole posesión por los capitulares que se hallaron en esta dicha villa, confirmándolo los que después llegaron. De que ha resultado la repugnancia por dicho almirante, como consta de las diligencias.

Fecharon estos autos en cuya atención y mirando al obviar los daños, ruidos y sinsabores que ya se podían tener, atendiendo a que dicho almirante se halla con la mano del gobierno de la guerra cuyos soldados, dispuestos a su orden, los tenía para proseguir con fuerza al embarazo en la dicha posesión dada al dicho capitán don Gabriel Fontes, cuya fuerza se hubiera experimentado a no haberse atravesado de por medio personas de su posición y cristiano celo, que mirando al mayor servicio de su majestad y bien de esta república han solicitado el medio de la paz, el cual viendo nosotros de mancomún y en nuestro cabildo ser el más acertado dar de todo lo referido cuenta como a nuestro superior al señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino.

Teniendo en dicho cabildo a dicho capitán don Gabriel Fontes, convenimos en que se suspendiese en el uso de su alcaldía dejando el derecho a salvo a la disposición y voluntad de dicho señor gobernador a quien se remitan estos autos con atención a que se está a lo que su excelencia ordenare y mandare en fe. Y de lo cual lo cerramos y firmamos como juez receptor y en forma de cabildo los alcaldes ordinarios y el regidor y procurador que son los capitulares que nosotros hallamos presentes a lo determinado en dicha villa que lo firmamos. Antonio de Gasteátegui, alcalde ordinario; Prudencio Tello, regidor; Joseph Romo de Vivar, alcalde ordinario.

#### AUTO

En el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral en 17 de noviembre de 1680 años, el señor general don Bartolomé de Estrada Ramírez, caudillo del orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino, habiendo visto estos autos y cartas fechos en la villa de Sinaloa sobre la renuncia del almirante don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón, capitán de aquel presidio, en no haber dejado tomar posesión y obtener y usar el oficio de alcalde mayor de dicha villa a don Gabriel Fontes de Espinoza a quien su señoría, a quien le toca, lo había nombrado. A cuya causa fuera su señoría en persona luego a dicha villa de Sinaloa, a no hallarse con las muchas ocupaciones quien tiene del servicio de su majestad y reparo de este reino en la guerra y otras causas. Respecto de lo cual mandó que estos dichos autos y cartas se acumulen a los que sobre esta razón hicieron. Y que el presente secretario ponga al pie de este auto certificación de los gobernadores, sus antecesores en este reino, que han despachado y proveído el dicho oficio de alcalde mayor de dicha villa, con distinción de quienes y a quienes lo daban, día, mes y año según constare y lo verá en los libros de los asientos de títulos que están en el oficio de este gobierno. Y hecho sacados testimonios de todos estos autos, el uno para remitir con consulta al excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España y el otro a la real audiencia que reside en la ciudad de Guadalajara para como quien puede lo mande remediar sin las inquietudes, escándalos y alborotos que aquí o en dicha villa se pueden causar. Y así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó su señoría, don Bartolomé de Estrada. Ante mí, Miguel de Aranda, secretario real.

## The El Paso Presidio Pursues the Sumas

*Other than a scattering of frontiersmen, no other defensive force existed at Casas Grandes to oppose the outbreak of the Suma revolt in May 1684. The nearest available garrison was the presidio at El Paso, formed from New Mexico refugees in 1683. Reluctantly sent to Casas Grandes by the new governor of the exiled colony of New Mexico, the El Paso contingent quickly found themselves plagued by the rebels' ability to elude the Spaniards almost at will. In addition to the New Mexican Roque Madrid, captains who would dominate the military effort in the far north now begin to make their mark. The Apaches have appeared in force and the Spanish commanders have come to the realization that the Suma, Janos, and Manso rebels are in league with them and together have formed an aggregate force against the incursions of the Iberians.*

Governor and Captain-General, Sir:

**F**rom the area of San Diego<sup>1</sup> I reported to your excellency on my journey up to that point. Now I do so again, giving you an account of the whole trip up to the present time. I left the Río [Grande] del Norte following the trail of the Mansos,<sup>2</sup> the same trail I had given up on the first time. I left at around two in the afternoon and made camp just before dawn because the pass through which we had to go would be difficult to cross. We waited until daybreak so as to see our way down. We noticed a fire from which three Apaches were fleeing. One of them ran off alone while the other two set out cross-country. I and my soldiers pursued the two; seeing themselves imperiled, they finally barricaded themselves in a cave. There they made their stand, while we dismounted so as to capture the Apaches alive. Two of my companions were wounded: Francisco Márquez in the arm and Captain Pedro de Leyva near his temple. God favored us, and we captured

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1. San Diego is approximately 15 kilometers southwest of Casas Grandes at the confluence of the Río Piedras Verdes and the Río San Miguel.

2. The Mansos were a semi-nomadic, sometime riverine group centered in the area of El Paso. They were probably Uto-Aztecan speakers and seem to have been related to the Suma and Jumano. Many of them peacefully settled at the Franciscan missions at El Paso and Samalayuca immediately to the south, but those that did not increasingly became affiliated with the rebelling Sumas in 1684 and then with marauding bands of Apaches. In the minds of the Spaniards, those who remained hostile were often grouped with the Apaches.

the Apaches, although one suffered some lance wounds. I comforted and entertained the two and asked where I could find water. They led me to the Sierra Florida,<sup>3</sup> where I had to water the animals one at a time.

At the watering place I was joined by Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente<sup>4</sup> and Captain Francisco Ramírez [de Salazar],<sup>5</sup> as well as the men under my charge. They had come to ask if it would not be timely to make peace with the Apaches by sending the one captive who was not wounded to his leader. The captive promised to do so and to return with his chief, adding that the Apaches would help us fight the Mansos. I dispatched him and remained to treat and comfort the wounded Apache. I then continued my journey, always keeping to the same trail. No one knew where there was water, except at the wells of San Francisco, and no one was sure of their precise location.

Now things were such, sir, that the troops were eating pozole made from maize day in and day out and the horses were exhausted, their hooves bruised from so much traveling. Finally Our Lord God granted that we should find the wells of San Francisco. We had traveled for more than twenty-four hours and reached the wells at around eight in the morning, only to find they had been filled in. I had my soldiers guard the wells and then pursued and caught the Indian who had filled them in. The Indian was Jusephe, the husband of Pancha, the Manso woman. I had him tell me where the Mansos were or where he had left them, and under pressure he told me that he would tell the truth. He said that if we traveled fast and did not stop we could reach their ranchería in three days. Since the Mansos had not yet joined up with the Janos,<sup>6</sup> and seeing that we were perishing as it was, I decided to push on.

So as to prevent the Janos and Mansos from joining forces, I ordered some men to take the captive to the valley of Casas Grandes along with a letter from Captain Francisco Ramírez. The three men soon returned, bringing only two sacks of unshelled corn, saying the citizens of Casas Grandes were in grave danger and asking for help. With full agreement of the officers and men, I sent troops with full speed to help these Christian people. With twenty-five of my men and others belonging

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3. The Florida Mountains are in southern New Mexico, just southeast of modern Deming.

4. Fernández de la Fuente was an extremely active military commander. In the 1680s he fought out of Casas Grandes against the Sumas and their allies. The following decade he was the presidial commander at Janos and took part in far-ranging campaigns against rebellious Indians—Apaches in general, Pimas in northern Sonora in 1695, Tarahumaras in southwestern Chihuahua in 1697, and Pima Bajos in southeastern Sonora in 1701.

5. Ramírez de Salazar was born about 1618 in New Mexico. In 1663 he moved with his wife to El Paso and later moved again to the newly colonized area around Casas Grandes. There he became the second *alcalde mayor*, serving in that capacity from 1680 until his death. He was named the first commander of the *Compañía Volante* of the Sonoran frontier. Having received that distinguished office from the hand of the viceroy, he died while returning to the northern frontier in 1693. He owned the hacienda of Ramos northwest of Casas Grandes.

6. The Janos were nomadic hunter-gatherers who occupied extreme northwestern Chihuahua. They shared many traits with the Manso, Suma, and Jocome and allied themselves with them and the raiding bands of Apaches that increasingly came into the area.

to captains Juan de la Fuente and Francisco Ramírez, I continued on to attack the Mansos, who had retreated to the Sierra de Carretas.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, sir, we turned back to help the people of Casas Grandes. We received word that the enemy had been victorious and had taken all the horses, sheep, and goats. After burning the jacales where supplies were stored, the enemy had entrenched themselves in the sierra five leagues from here. After the scouts I had sent out returned and confirmed that the enemy was in the sierra, we left at the hour of prayers and reached the sierra at dawn. We saw that the sierra was so rough, impassable, and without entrances or exits that it greatly favored our Indian enemies. I resolved to end the Indians' audacity, for they were in sight, and I decided to go in on foot if need be. We accordingly attacked at about seven or eight in the morning, and, sir, I have never seen such a battle in all my life. The battle lasted the entire blessed day, until the sun had finally set. The fighting was the most savage ever seen, and I did all the damage I could to them. We killed more than forty and wounded many. Our heroic effort was evident, for I and eleven men in my command were wounded, as well as four Piros and Tiguas who demonstrated their great bravery and loyalty. There were wounded in the other two groups as well, making the total twenty-seven. The puncture wounds looked to be the worst; Acuña was the most seriously wounded. This battle was waged on the 30th day [of September?], and today we are feeling some relief, because the wounds on our faces, legs, arms, and heads have begun to heal. To allow these wounds to heal and to let the horses rest, I decided to rest three or four days.

Yesterday Captain Francisco Ramírez and the Reverendo Padre Provedor Fray Juan Porras<sup>8</sup> came before me to request four men to go with them and the alférez de campo to make a report to your excellency of all that has happened and to see how your excellency is faring. I have received word of the meeting your excellency had because of their treason on being caught asleep at their posts. I therefore did not postpone my trip, and I made haste to come to help these people and punish the enemy in the name of our lord the king. Without my troops, this entire jurisdiction would cease to exist, and the alcalde mayor would remove the population because no one came to his aid. In his *requerimientos*, the alcalde mayor made 2,000 demands of me, so that to best serve Our Lord God, the boldness of the enemies should not cause the depopulation of this jurisdiction. At this time I shall not send the *requerimientos* to your lordship because I have yet to take testimony on them. I shall accordingly deliver them in person for your lordship's decision so that I may execute your orders. Alférez Alonso García<sup>9</sup> will explain everything,

7. The Sierra de Carretas is approximately 60 kilometers southwest of Janos near the present Sonora border.

8. Porras was the resident Franciscan at the mission of San Antonio de Padua de Casas Grandes.

9. This was Alonso García de Noriega II. He was born about 1640 and along with his father and other family members abandoned New Mexico after the 1680 Revolt. Some of his family remained at El Paso after 1692, but Alonso took part in the reconquest as a captain. In the interim he was involved in operations against the Mansos, Sumas, and Apaches in the El Paso and Casas Grandes areas. He married a second time at Santa Fe in 1694 and died in Sevilleta from Apache arrow wounds received in 1696.

telling how your grace and the rest of the officers and soldiers have acted like the brave, noble, and loyal vassals of his majesty that they are. They have earned fame and honor amongst both friends and enemies. Words fail me in trying to tell your lordship of this without exaggeration. Captain Juan de la Fuente has demonstrated his valor and nobility. Captain Francisco Ramírez has asked me to beg your lordship to send 100 Piro and Tigua Indians<sup>10</sup>, if you do not desperately need them yourself. I trust in God, and with these reinforcements victory will be ours.

Your lordship need not fear the cold, for glory be to God, He has not willed it this year. I beg your lordship to send me, provided Captain Don Alonso [García] has arrived, four or five bundles of tobacco, six or eight pounds of chocolate and sugar, and one bundle of paper, because there is none to be found here. I am sending to your lordship the sealed orders which were in the care of Captain Francisco Ramírez. There is nothing else new here to tell your lordship. I only ask your lordship to tell me what is new there and all that concerns the father chaplains and all the soldiers—particularly the *alférez real* and Xavier, who kiss your lordship's feet. I hope God grants you many happy years. From this valley of San Antonio de Casas Grandes. October 3, 1684.

Your humble servant kisses your lordship's feet.  
Roque Madrid<sup>11</sup>

*Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, Provincias Internas 37, 5*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Señor, Gobernador y Capitán General:

**D**el paraje de San Diego, di cuenta a vuestra excelencia, de lo sucedido en mi viaje hasta allí, y ahora lo vuelvo ha hacer, dando a vuestra excelencia cuenta de todo el viaje hasta la hora presente y así digo señor, que salí del Río del Norte siguiendo el rastro de los mansos que habían dejado la primera vez y habiendo salido como a las dos de la tarde y caminando aquella noche hasta el cuarto del alba, paré por ofrecerse un puerto que teníamos que pasar a la vista mala; y aguardando allí a que acababa de amanecer para registrar bajada, se vio una lumbre y de ella salir huyendo tres apaches. El uno se desabrigó de sus compañeros y los dos, cerro arriba y cerro abajo, los seguí con los señores y soldados de mi cargo y viéndose ya perdidos se metieron en una cueva atrincherándose a toda prisa y resistiéndose allí por lo favorable en que se hallaban tirándome a pie con los dichos, mis compañeros a cogernos vivos me hirieron dos compañeros los

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10. The Piros and Tiguas were Pueblo Indians from central New Mexico who had not rebelled against the Spaniards. Many joined them in the retreat to El Paso and remained in the lower area after New Mexico was reconquered.

11. Madrid was born in New Mexico about 1644 and with his wife and small children escaped from New Mexico in 1680. He was active militarily during the exile in the El Paso and Casas Grandes areas. He played a leading role in the 1692 and 1693 Vargas expeditions and returned with his family to New Mexico, where he served as *alcalde mayor* of Santa Cruz from 1699 to 1707.



cuales fueron Francisco Márquez en un brazo y al capitán Pedro de Leyva, junto a la cien, quiso Dios que los cogiéramos aunque al uno con algunas lanzadas los agasajé y acaricié y tomé razón de ellos de donde había aguaje que me llevaron a la Sierra Florida donde me fue forzoso estar dando agua de en una las bestias. Allí se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuente, y Francisco Ramírez [de Salazar] con la gente de mi cargo a pedirme era muy conveniente procurásenos la paz con el capitán de su nación el cual la prometió, y que volviera con su capitán y que haríamos amigos de una vez y que ellos procurarían a los mansos y les darían guerra, en fin lo despaché y quedé haciendo curar y acariciar al herido y proseguí con mi viaje siempre por el rastro sin que hubiera hombre que supiera aguaje alguno sino era él de los ojos de San Francisco que los que lo sabían estaban muy neutrales del gesto y a señores comiendo el real por ración, el maíz hecho pozole de veinte a veinte y cuatro horas con la caballada estropeada y despeada. En fin y quiso Dios Nuestro Señor, diéramos con los ojos de San Francisco al cabo de haber caminado más de veinte y cuatro horas como a las ocho del día y llegando a dichos ojos se sido inhumito al cual le di cerco con los señores soldados de mi cargo y huyendo el indio que lo había hecho se le cogió el rastro y se siguió y cogió el cual fue el indio Jusephe, marido de Pancha.

La mansa tomó razón de él de la parte donde se hallaban los mansos o donde los dejaba y haciéndole aprieto me dijo que él me decía la verdad como lo vería que caminando a toda prisa sin parar, daría con la ranchería dentro de tres días; con cuya razón y la de que no habían juntado con los janos, viendo que perecíamos, se determinó por no dejar de proseguir en el seguimiento del rastro por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los janos.

El enviar algunos hombres a que lo llevaran de este valle de Casas Grandes con carta que trajeron del capitán Francisco Ramírez, los cuales volvieron a toda diligencia; los tres llevando sólo dos costales de mazorca y pidiendo favor y socorro con nueva que se hallaban apretados y en peligro los vecinos de este dicho valle que con el aprieto de la nueva comparecer de todos los señores oficiales y demás soldados de mi cargo envié el real a toda diligencia a dar favor a dicha cristianidad y yo o veinte y cinco hombres de mi cargo y otros de los campos con los capitanes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramírez proseguimos a dar asalto a los mansos que estaban ya retirados en la Sierra de Carretas. En fin, señor volvimos a diligencia a dar favor y socorro como llevo dicho y hallamos la noticia de que la gente que había dado en este valle con la victoria que llevaban de haber llevándose todas las caballadas y ganados menores y el haberles quemado los jacales donde tenían encerrados los bastimentos, estaban de asiento cinco leguas de este valle en la sierra y habiendo enviado espías y traído la noticia de que estaba en la dicha sierra salimos a la hora de la oración y fuimos al amanecer a la dicha sierra donde por reconocer lo áspero de ella y lo incontrastable tan a favor de los indios enemigos y no tener entradas ni saber ninguno salida alguna resolviéndome a que no quedaran con mayor avilantez pues los teníamos a la vista determiné el entrar a pie o como pudiéramos como lo hice y dándole guerra, como a las siete y ocho del día fue señor, la mayor guerra y batalla la que tuvimos que no se ha visto otra que le haya semejado desde que tengo uso de razón. Duró la pelea todo el sagrado día hasta ponerse el sol y fue la guerra la más cruda que se ha visto. Híceles todo el daño y destrozo que se pudiera. Matándoles más de cuarenta e hiriéndoles muchísima gente y se puede recontar el mucho empeño que hicimos pues yo y once

hombres de los de mi cargo hemos salido heridos y cuatro indios puros y tiguas que han peleado con sobrado valor mostrado, mucha lealtad de los demás de los otros dos campos también han tenido estoquesos que con unos y otros han sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos, que es de más riesgo según la herida fue Acuña. Y esta pelea fue el día treinta de [ilegible] y hoy día de la fecha nos hallamos con alivio, pues han empezado a purgar los heridos que han sido en la cara, piernas, brazos y cabeza, por cuya causa y dar descanso a la caballada. Me determiné a esperar tres o cuatro días y ayer me presentó el capitán Francisco Ramírez, y el reverendo padre proveedor, fray Juan Porras cada uno su requerimiento a que les tengo respuesto, pidiéndoles cuatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el alférez de campo dar cuenta a vuestra señoría de todo lo sucedido y saber el estado en que se halla vuestra señoría por allá pues he tenido la noticia de la junta que tengo avisado a vuestra señoría con la traición de cogerlos durmiendo, por cuya causa no dilataba más mi viaje y lo aceleraba todo lo posible, y me requiere en nombre del rey nuestro señor, le dé favor y socorro hasta echar con castigo al enemigo de aquí. Pues de faltar de aquí mi campo se acabaría esta jurisdicción despoblándola el dicho alcalde mayor por faltarle a dar favor haciéndome en dichos requerimientos, dos mil cargos que mirando al mayor servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y que no tengan mayor avilantez los enemigos con el despueblo de esta jurisdicción, teniendo modo de dar cuenta vuestra señoría de todo. Como más largamente cuenta de dichos requerimientos, que por testimonios de ellos y que me lo den de mi respuesta no se los remito a vuestra señoría y los llevaré en persona pues sólo espero la razón de vuestra señoría para con sus órdenes ponerlas en ejecución y de todo dará razón bastante el alférez Alonso García, que su merced y los demás señores, oficiales y soldados han acudido como nobles leales y valerosos vasallos de su majestad ganando todos créditos y reputación con amigos y enemigos procurando cada cual aventajar sus personas, que para podersele decir a vuestra señoría sin encarecimiento, y con verdad, me falta discurso, haciendo lo mismo con su gente el capitán Juan de la Fuente que en todo ha mostrado su valor y nobleza, y el capitán Francisco Ramírez, quienes me han pedido haga súplica a vuestra señoría, de que me remita cien indios puros, y tiguas, si acaso no se viere vuestra señoría en algún aprieto; pues con eso fío en Dios de conseguir la victoria que vengan si acaso los enviare vuestra señoría sin temor de que hay fríos, que gloria a Dios no han dado este año, y lo que ahora suplico a vuestra señoría me haga favor de enviarme si es que ha venido el capitán don Alfonso me socorra con cuatro o cinco manojos de tabaco, seis y ocho libras de chocolate y azúcar y una mano de papel, que es género que por acá no se halla, remito a vuestra señoría el pliego que estaba en poder del capitán Francisco Ramírez. Otra cosa de nuevo, no hay que dar aviso a vuestra señoría y sólo le pido a vuestra señoría, me avise de toda novedad de por allá y reverencia vuestra señoría las de los reverendos padres capellanes y de todos los señores y soldados muy en particular del alférez real y de Xavier que besan los pies vuestra señoría y con tanto Nuestro Señor me guarde a vuestra señoría los muchos y felices años que deseo y he menester de este valle de San Antonio de Casas Grandes y octubre a 3 de 1684 años.

Beso los pies de vuestra señoría su mayor criado,  
Roque Madrid

## El Paso del Norte Presidio Muster

*Roque Madrid's force returned to El Paso from Casas Grandes in October 1684, and the following month Governor Jironza mustered all the men of the presidio of El Paso. Each man was expected to have a stock of musket balls (at least fifteen), a pound of gunpowder, an arquebus, sword, shield, leather jacket, riding mount and at least one spare. Others presented themselves with additional mounts and personal weapons.*

*Nearly all these men were refugees from the New Mexico colony and many returned there after the reconquest. Biographical details are gleaned from the Parral Archives and Spanish Archives of New Mexico.*

**I**n this pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at El Paso<sup>1</sup> on the 14th day of the month of November of 1684, Captain Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate,<sup>2</sup> governor and captain-general of this realm and province of New Mexico and its presidio for his majesty, said that due to what might happen in the wars which we have so unexpectedly and continuously with the rebellious apostate Indians and their other allies and confederates and the common enemies of the Apache nation, we ought to maintain all care and vigilance to see and inspect the arms, munitions, cavalry, and other war equipment. He ordered the sargento mayor and captain of the presidio, Roque Madrid,<sup>3</sup> to appear before his

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1. Although the Franciscans had established the mission of Guadalupe in 1659, the civil settlement at El Paso dates to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Spanish survivors from New Mexico and their Indian allies gathered there before commencing the first attempt at reconquest the following year.

2. Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, born about 1650 in Aragón, Spain, came to New Spain in 1680 as a professional soldier. He was governor and captain-general of New Mexico from 1683 to 1686 and founded the presidio of San Elizario. In 1688 he led an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer the province and from 1689 to 1691 served again as governor of the province. In 1693 he was appointed capitán vitálico of the Compañía Volante of Sonora and later the same year became alcalde mayor of Sonora and lieutenant captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya. During his eight years as commander of the flying company, he was kept busy containing Indian hostilities, including the Pima revolt of 1695. He died in Sonora in 1717.

3. When the new presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Glorioso San José was established at El Paso by Governor Jironza in 1683, Madrid was appointed its first commandant.

lordship with all the company under his command; and they passed muster in the following manner:

Sargento mayor, captain, and commander and chief, Roque Madrid, passed muster before his lordship with arquebus, sword, dagger, leather jacket, saddlebags, helmet, shield, twenty balls and one pound of powder, an equipped horse and twelve horses and two mules bareback; and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate      Roque Madrid

Alférez Diego Hidalgo passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, saddlebags, twenty balls and one pound of powder, a saddled horse, five others more and one bareback mule; and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Diego Hidalgo

Sergeant Don Miguel de Pedroza, passed muster with arquebus, carbine, sword and dagger, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, twenty balls and one pound of powder, a saddled horse, three others and a bareback mule; and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Don Miguel de Pedrosa

The captain of the campaign, Francisco Madrid, passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, twenty balls and one pound of powder, a saddled horse and four bareback; and in proof of this he signed with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco de Madrid.<sup>4</sup>

The adjutant, Joseph López,<sup>5</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, twenty balls and one pound of powder, one saddled horse and three others bareback; and in proof of this he signed with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Joseph López

The alférez of the campaign, Felipe Bravo de Lagunas,<sup>6</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, coat of mail, saddlebags, shield, fifty balls and one pound of powder, a saddled horse and four bareback; and in proof of this he signed with his lordship.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Felipe Bravo

The alférez real, Antonio de Solís,<sup>7</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword and dagger with shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and one pound of powder, an armored horse and another bareback; and in proof of this his lordship signed it and, because

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4. Francisco Madrid, born in New Mexico in 1639, was probably a brother of Roque Madrid. He, too, had escaped the massacre in New Mexico with his wife and four small children. He died prior to 1705.

5. López was born in México in 1640 and had a wife there.

6. Felipé Bravo de Lagunas was born in Puebla in 1645. He rose to the rank of captain by 1689.

7. Solís was a breveted lieutenant in New Mexico in 1692. Two years later, as an alférez, he was serving in the flying company of Sonora and during his tour in that province participated in campaigns against the Pimas, Apaches, and Sumas.

the aforesaid did not know how, at his request Captain Francisco Xavier signed for him.

Don Domingo Jironza C. As requested, Francisco Xavier

Sergeant Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara<sup>8</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword and dagger, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, twenty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback; and in proof of this he signed with his lordship.

Don Domingo Jironza C. Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara

Captain Francisco Xavier<sup>9</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, six balls and a half pound of powder; a saddled horse and two bareback; and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Don Domingo Jironza C. Francisco Xavier

Captain Pedro Veneros de Posada is shown to have passed muster in the preceding list with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder; one armed horse; twelve bareback and one mule. The aforesaid has been sent by order of his lordship to México; and in proof of this his lordship signed it.

Don Domingo Jironza.

Juan de Vargas Machuca<sup>10</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and one pound of powder; a saddled horse and five others bareback and a mule. He did not sign this as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did Captain Francisco Xavier.

Domingo Jironza C. As requested, Francisco Xavier

Juan de Ticatu passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; saddled horse; two others and a mule bareback. He did not sign, not knowing how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Eusebio Vargas<sup>11</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

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8. Pedro Ladrón de Guevara campaigned against Janos, Apaches, and Mansos during this same year. He was serving under Vargas in 1691.

9. Francisco Xavier, born in 1630, was the captain in charge of the trade caravan to Parral in 1660. In 1681 he was a widower, with his five children and an orphan in his household, and was alcalde of San Lorenzo near El Paso.

10. Juan de Vargas Machuca, born in 1663, was single in 1681. He subsequently married Ana Holguín of New Mexico.

11. Eusebio de Vargas later served under Diego de Vargas. He was killed by Indians in 1695.

El Paso del Norte Presidio Muster

Andrés Gonzáles passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse; two bareback and a mule. In proof of which he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Andrés Gonzáles

Antonio de Ojeda<sup>12</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and another bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Agustín Griego<sup>13</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse, five bareback and one mule. He did not sign this as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did the captain of the presidio, Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid

The squad corporal Felipe Serna<sup>14</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, fifteen balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and four bareback. In proof of which he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Felipe de la Serna

The squad corporal Juan de Dios Lucero<sup>15</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword and dagger, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls, a saddled horse, five bareback and two mules. In proof of which he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Juan de Dios Lucero.

The squad corporal Antonio Gómez<sup>16</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse, three bareback and two mules. In proof of which he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio Gómez Robledo

The squad corporal Lázaro de Pedraza passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls, one pound of powder; a saddled horse and two bareback, and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Lázaro de Artiaga y Pedraza

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12. Antonio de Ojeda was married to Bernardina Bernal of New Mexico.

13. Agustín Griego was born in New Mexico in 1657 and was single in 1681. He subsequently married Josefa Luján.

14. Serna, born in 1641, and his wife, Isabel Luján, were pre-revolt settlers in New Mexico.

15. Juan de Dios Lucero de Goday, one of the sons of the pre-revolt settler Juan Lucero de Goday, was born in New Mexico in 1655. He subsequently participated in the reconquest of the province and was appointed alferez in 1692.

16. Son of Francisco Gómez Robledo, Antonio was a native of New Mexico. In 1681 he was single.

Alférez Domingo Martín Varúa<sup>17</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and two bareback. He did not know how to sign his name. His lordship signed this and at his request so did Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Roque de Madrid

Joseph Madrid<sup>18</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and eight bareback. He did not sign this as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did Adjutant Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Antonio de Avalos<sup>19</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request so did the captain of the presidio, Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid

Alonso Rodríguez<sup>20</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and another bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request Captain Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Antonio de Córdoba<sup>21</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and four bareback. In proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio de Córdoba

Antonio de Escalante passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and two bareback. In proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio de Escalante

Juan Ruiz passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse, five bareback and one mule.

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17. Martín was born in New Mexico in either 1637 or 1641.

18. Joseph was probably a son of Roque Madrid. He was born in either 1637 or 1641 in New Mexico and was married in 1681.

19. Avalos, a native New Mexican, was born in 1631.

20. Alonso Rodríguez Varela was born in New Mexico in 1639. He married Juana de Valencia of Parral and they had five children. They were living in New Mexico when his wife was accused of sorcery in 1703.

21. A native of México, Córdoba married Eugenia de Herrera of New Mexico. He was acting as notary of El Paso in 1695 but died sometime before 1710, when his widow and children were residing in Santa Cruz, New Mexico.

El Paso del Norte Presidio Muster

He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request so did Captain Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Diego Montoya<sup>22</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and five bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request so did Captain Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Miguel de Linares passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags and fifteen balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and two bareback. In proof of this his lordship signed it and with him at his request so did Captain Francisco Xavier.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Xavier

Nicolás de Ortega<sup>23</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls, a saddled horse and two bareback. He did not know how to sign this. His lordship signed it and at his request so did Captain Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Rafael Telles Jirón<sup>24</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder; one saddled horse, two bareback and a mule. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed and at his request so did Captain Francisco Xavier.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the aforesaid,  
Francisco Xavier

Antonio de Herrera<sup>25</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, saddlebags, shield, thirty balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and five bareback. He did not know how to sign. His lordship signed this and at his request so did Alférez Felipe Bravo de Laguna.

Domingo Jironza C.      Felipe Bravo

Joseph de Contreras<sup>26</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, five

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22. Diego Montoya was born in New Mexico in 1658. His wife was Josefa de Hinojos, with whom he had six children. They were living in Santa Fe in 1697 and later moved to Bernalillo.

23. Ortega and his wife Juana Hernández and a son were living in Santa Fe in 1697.

24. Jirón was a son of the encomendero of San Felipe and Cochití, José Telles Jirón, and Catalina Romero. Born in 1660, he was a bachelor in 1681 and was acting as interpreter for the Piros. The following year he married Mariana Montoya de Esparza. He served as a captain under Vargas in 1692 and was in charge of the troop and supplies at Halona.

25. A native of New Mexico, Herrera was born in 1653. After the reconquest of New Mexico he and his family remained in El Paso.

26. Joseph de Contreras was the son of Andrés de Contreras and María de Salinas y Valdés of San Luis Potosí. He was born about 1646 and first married Magdalena de Carvajal (or García) in El Paso. His second wife was María de Valencia, whom he married in 1693.



balls, and a pound of powder, a saddled horse, two bareback and a mule. In proof of this he signed with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C. Joseph de Contreras

Ignacio de Santa María passed muster with arquebus, sword, leather jacket, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback. In proof of this there signed at his request and with his lordship, Antonio de Córdoba.

Domingo Jironza C. As requested, Antonio de Córdoba

Joseph de Casillas passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, five balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and two bareback, and in proof of this he signed it with his lordship.

Domingo Jironza C. Joseph Casillas

Pedro Madrid<sup>27</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request so did the captain of the presidio, Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Nicolás García passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and four bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request also Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Juan de Perea<sup>28</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and another bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request also the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. By request of the above, Joseph López

Juan de Archuleta<sup>29</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls, a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. By request of the above, Joseph López

Francisco de Santiago passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and four bareback. He did not

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27. Pedro Madrid was probably a brother of Roque. Born in New Mexico in 1641, he served as adjutant in 1681. He and his wife Yumar Varela Jaramillo had five children when he passed muster in 1680. They remained in El Paso.

28. Perea was single in 1681, when he was listed as the family head with his mother and sibling on a list of those returning to New Mexico.

29. There were two Juan de Archuletas, apparently first cousins, in El Paso at this time. They were grandsons of Asencio de Archuleta, who arrived in New Mexico with Oñate in 1598. The elder Juan was born on either 1655 or 1661 and was married; the younger was born about 1662 and was a bachelor although accompanied by a family of twelve relatives.

sign this as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. By request of the above, Joseph López

Miguel de Velásquez passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, leather jacket, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder. A saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign this as he did not know how. His lordship signed it and at his request the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C. By request of the above, Joseph López

Sebastián de Molina passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not know how to sign. His lordship signed this and at his request also Captain Roque de Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Felipe Sánchez passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, thirty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not know how to sign. His lordship signed it and at his request also Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Andrés de Ortega passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; a saddled horse. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request also Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Joseph Domínguez,<sup>30</sup> as is certain from the former muster roll, has listed an arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse, three others and two mules bareback. He was sent by the governor and captain-general to México. In proof of which his lordship signed this.

Domingo Jironza C.

Luis Durán<sup>31</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; one saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C. Roque Madrid

Pedro de Avalos<sup>32</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder; one saddled horse and three bareback. He did not

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30. José Domínguez de Mendoza was probably the illegitimate son of Ana Velásquez and was born in 1657. He was with a company of soldiers dispatched to meet the supply train from México at El Paso when the Revolt began. He married Juana López in 1682 and fled from the refugee colony the same year. He had returned by the date of this document and reentered New Mexico with the reconquest. In 1692 he rescued his sister and her five children from Indian captivity.

31. Durán, born in 1651 in New Mexico, was identified in 1681 as a married citizen on the roster of those returning to New Mexico.

32. Avalos, who was born in 1656 or 1657, married Francisca de Torres in 1681. In that same year during the Otermín campaign he discovered, and subsequently registered, a mine in the Fray Cristóbal Mountains. He was listed as a soldier at El Paso in 1694-95.

sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Domingo Luján<sup>33</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls, a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request also Captain Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid

Nicolás Rodríguez<sup>34</sup> passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, saddlebags, twenty balls and a pound of powder, one saddled horse and three bareback. He did not know how to sign. His lordship signed this and at his request the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Francisco Martín passed muster with arquebus, sword, shield, twenty balls and a pound of powder, a saddled horse and three bareback. He did not sign as he did not know how. His lordship signed this and at his request also the adjutant, Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      At the request of the above,  
Joseph López

Missing from this company are Joseph Montero and Francisco de Rivera,<sup>35</sup> who deserted while they were on guard duty and had custody of the horses. They took with them seven horses and all their battle equipment. They deserted while the captain and commander-in-chief was in pursuit of hostile Apaches. When his lordship learned of their flight, he enlisted two other soldiers so as to have the complete number, and none missing. That this is true and in proof of it I, the aforesaid captain of the presidio, Roque Madrid, signed this statement.

Roque Madrid

Also during the expedition ordered by his lordship to seek out the apostates of the Manso nation who had rebelled with their allies and confederates of the Casas Grandes area—where I punished and gave just battle to the apostate Christians of the Suma, Janos, and other nations—Gerónimo Martín and Melchor de Herrera

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33. Luján was away from the province at the time of the Revolt. His wife and children were held captive until the reconquest a dozen years later, apparently because Domingo had a Cochiti half-brother. During Otermín's campaign of 1681, he got into trouble by giving his half-brother gunpowder against the strict orders of the governor. He was killed in 1693 while chasing a cow on horseback.

34. This was Nicolás Rodríguez Rey, who was a sergeant in the Parral militia in 1668 and made alférez the following year. In 1677 he was identified as a captain and with that rank was in El Paso with two male servants in 1681. He was a sargento mayor during the Otermín campaign.

35. Possibly a brother of Juan de Rivera, a native of New Mexico, who was living at Ysleta below El Paso at this time.

fled from their posts while I was on the campaign. The governor and captain-general sent out Captain Don Alonso de Aguilar with Antonio de Ayala, the alférez, and Felipe Bravo de Lagunas, and Juan Ruiz.<sup>36</sup> They returned and reported that Captain Don Alonso had remained in San Joseph del Parral and that Antonio de Ayala had gone on to México. Seeing that these two positions were vacant, his lordship filled them by enlisting two other soldiers. He also enlisted another to fill the vacancy left by the death of Alférez Juan de Lagos, who died in the war against the rebellious apostates.<sup>37</sup> He also enlisted another soldier, so the required number of spaces has always been full and complete. Likewise, Alonso Rodríguez,<sup>38</sup> the blacksmith, deserted while he was on guard with the horses, as did Joseph Martín as well. These soldiers deserted while I was captain of the company and in pursuit of the hostile Indians of the Apache nation. That this is true and in proof of it I signed it with my name on the 15th day of the month of November of 1684.

Roque Madrid.

This was presented to me, Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara, secretary of government and war. In proof of this I signed it.

Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara,  
secretary of government and war

*Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas 37, 5*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n este pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso en 14 días del mes de noviembre de 1684 años el capitán don Domingo de Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincia de Nuevo México y su presidio por su majestad dijo que por lo que puede suceder en las guardias que tan de continua y pensada materia tenemos con los indios apóstatas alzados y confederados y los enemigos comunes de nación apache se necesitaba de estar con todo cuidado y vigilancia y haber y reconocer las armas, municiones,

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36. Unrest among the Indians at Janos and Casas Grandes spread to neighboring settlements to the south, where reinforcements were sent. This statement would appear to refer to this precautionary measure. This captain was Alonso Rael de Aguilar, a native of Lorca, Spain, who married Josefa García de Noriega in El Paso in 1683. He served as secretary of government and war and lieutenant-general under Vargas during the reconquest of 1692 and subsequently held positions as alcalde of Santa Fe, Protector of the Indians, and mayor-domo of La Conquistadora. In the early eighteenth century he was identified as an alcalde ordinario, a secretario, and sargento mayor. He died in 1735.

37. Juan de Lagos and nine Indian auxiliaries were killed on June 2, 1684, when the combined forces of Ramírez de Salazar from Casas Grandes and Andrés García from El Paso attacked the stronghold of the rebels who threatened Casas Grandes after their uprising at Janos.

38. Rodríguez was born in New Mexico in 1639. He was identified in the 1681 militia muster at El Paso and was married at the time.

avíos de caballos y demás pertrechos de guardia. Mandaba y mandó al sargento mayor y capitán del presidio Roque Madrid, pareciese ante su señoría, con toda la compañía de su cargo a alistar y pasar muestra en la forma acostumbrada que en obediencia de dicha orden, el dicho capitán, cabo y caudillo pareció ante su señoría, con toda la compañía de su cargo a alistar y pasar muestra en la forma acostumbrada que fue pasando muestra en la forma siguiente:

El sargento mayor, capitán, cabo y caudillo Roque Madrid pasó muestra ante su señoría con arcabuz, espada, daga, cuera, bolsas, morrión, adarga, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballos armados doce y dos mulas en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza      Roque Madrid  
Petriz de Cruzate

El alférez Diego Hidalgo pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballos ensillados cinco y una mula en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.      Diego Hidalgo

El sargento Miguel de Pedroza pasó muestra con arcabuz, carabina, espada, daga y cuera; bolsas, adarga, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora; caballos ensillados tres y una mula en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza Cruzate      Don Miguel de Pedroza

El capitán de campaña Francisco Madrid pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, bolsas, adarga, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco de Madrid

El ayudante Joseph López pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, bolsas, adarga, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo y para que conste firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Joseph López

El alférez de campaña Felipe Bravo de Lagunas pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, malla, bolsas, adarga, cincuenta balas, y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo de Jironza C.      Felipe Bravo

El real alférez Antonio de Solís pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, daga, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo armado y otro en pelo y para que conste lo firmó su señoría y por no saber el susodicho firmó a su ruego el capitán Francisco Xavier.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego Francisco Xavier

El sargento don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada y daga; cuera y bolsas, adarga, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara

El capitán Francisco Xavier pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, bolsas, adarga, seis balas y media libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Xavier

El capitán Pedro Veneros de Posada, consta en la lista de antecedentes haber pasado muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora; caballos armados doce y una bestia mular en pelo. El susodicho ha sido despachado por orden de su señoría a la ciudad de México y para que conste lo firmó su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.

Juan de Vargas Muchuca pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado cinco y una mula en pelo. No firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Xavier.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego Francisco Xavier

Juan de Ticatu pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado dos y una mula en pelo. No firmó por no saber; firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego del contenido Joseph López

Eusebio Vargas pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo. No firmó por no saber; firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego del contenido Joseph López

Andrés González pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado dos y una mula en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Andrés González

Antonio de Ojeda pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y otro en pelo. No firmó por no saber; firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego del contenido Joseph López

Agustín Griego pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado, cinco y una mula en pelo. No firmó por no saber; firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán del presidio Roque Madrid.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid

El cabo de escuadra Felipe Serna pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, quince balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Felipe de la Serna

El cabo de escuadra Juan de Dios Lucero pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada y daga, cuera, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas, caballo ensillado cinco y dos mulas en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Juan de Dios Lucero

El cabo de escuadra Antonio Gómez pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado tres y dos bestias mulares en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio Gómez Rodrigo

El cabo de escuadra Lázaro de Pedraza pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Lázaro de Artiaga y Pedraza

El alférez Domingo Martín Varúa pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo; no supo firmar. Lo firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid.

Joseph Madrid pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y ocho en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Don Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López.

Antonio de Avalos pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán del presidio Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Roque Madrid

Alonso Rodríguez pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y otro en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Antonio de Córdoba pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio de Córdoba

Antonio de Escalante pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.      Antonio de Escalante

Juan Ruiz pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado cinco y un macho en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Diego Montoya pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cinco en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Madrid

Miguel de Linares pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas y quince balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría a su ruego el capitán Francisco Xavier.

Domingo Jironza C.      Francisco Xavier

Nicolás de Ortega pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo; no supo firmar, lo firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Madrid.

Francisco Madrid

Rafael Telles Jirón pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado dos y un macho en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Francisco Xavier.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del dicho  
Francisco Xavier

Antonio de Herrera pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, bolsas, adarga, treinta balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cinco en pelo; no supo firmar, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el alférez Felipe Bravo de Laguna.

Domingo Jironza C.     Felipe Bravo.

Joseph de Contreras pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, cinco balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado dos y una mula en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.     Joseph de Contreras

Ignacio de Santa María pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, cuera, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.     A su ruego  
Antonio de Córdoba

Joseph de Casillas pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada adarga, bolsas, cinco balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y dos en pelo y para que conste lo firmó con su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.     Joseph Casillas

Pedro Madrid pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán del presidio Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Nicolás García pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Juan de Perea pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y otro en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Juan de Archuleta pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas, una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Francisco de Santiago pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y cuatro en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.



Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Miguel de Velásquez pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, cuera, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, lo firmó su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Sebastián de Molina pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no supo firmar, lo firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Felipe Sánchez pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, treinta balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no supo firmar, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Andrés de Ortega pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, balas y una libra de pólvora y un caballo ensillado; no firmó por no saber, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Joseph Domínguez según consta de la lista atrasada tiene alistado arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado tres y dos mulas en pelo; y el susodicho fue despachado por el señor gobernador y capitán general a la ciudad de México y para que conste lo firmó su señoría.

Domingo Jironza C.

Luis Durán pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Pedro de Avalos pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Domingo Luján pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el capitán Roque Madrid.

Domingo Jironza C.     Roque Madrid

Nicolás Rodríguez pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsa, veinte balas y una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no supo firmar, firmó su señoría y a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.     A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Francisco Martín pasó muestra con arcabuz, espada, adarga, bolsas, veinte balas y

una libra de pólvora, caballo ensillado y tres en pelo; no firmó por no saber, firmólo a su ruego el ayudante Joseph López.

Domingo Jironza C.      A ruego del contenido  
Joseph López

Y así mismo faltan de esta compañía que hicieron fuga estando en guardia y custodia de la caballada Joseph Montero y Francisco de Rivera; los cuales se llevaron siete caballos y los demás pertrechos de guardia con que estaban aviados y esta fuga hicieron estando el capitán, cabo y caudillo en corredería de los enemigos apaches que sabida la fuga por su señoría dio a otros dos soldados plaza para que el número estuviese cabal y no hiciese falta y por verdad y para que conste lo firmé yo el dicho capitán del presidio. Roque Madrid.

Roque Madrid.

Otro si en la campaña que salió por orden de su señoría a buscar los apóstatas alzados de la nación mansos de sus aliados y confederados del valle de Casas Grandes donde hice castigo y justa guerra, a los apóstatas cristianos de nación sumajanos y otras, hicieron fuga de sus guardias Gerónimo Martín y Melchor de Herrera; en este tiempo que anduve en campaña despachó el señor gobernador y capitán general al capitán don Alonso de Aguilar con Antonio de Ayala, el alférez Felipe Bravo de Lagunas y Juan Ruiz quienes volvieron y dieron noticia como el capitán don Alonso se había quedado en el Real de San Joseph del Parral y el dicho Antonio de Ayala había pasado a México. Y viendo su señoría que estas dos plazas habían vacado las llenó alistando otros dos soldados con más otra que vacó por muerte que fue la del alférez Juan de Lagos quien murió en la guerra que se les dio a dichos apóstatas alzados; que también se alistó a otro soldado y siempre ha estado lleno y cabal el número y adelantadas las plazas ha tenido su señoría. Y así mismo hizo fuga Alonso Rodríguez el herrero y la caballada donde estaba en guardia de ella y también la hizo de dicha caballada. Joseph Martín y esas fugas hicieron esos soldados estando yo el dicho capitán de la campaña haciendo corredería a los indios enemigos de nación apache y por ser así verdad y para que conste lo firmé de mi nombre en 15 días del mes de noviembre de 1684 años.

Roque Madrid

Pasó ante mí don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara, secretario de gobernación y guerra de que doy fe y lo firmé.

Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara.  
Secretario de gobernación y guerra.

## Captain Ramírez de Salazar Asks the Viceroy's Help

**A**s it is the vassal's obligation to report his affliction to his leader, so is it the subject's duty to report his sufferings to his superior. I do not mean to say, your excellency, that I am the most long-suffering and afflicted person in Nueva Vizcaya. However, although I am only your excellency's unworthy and humble servant, I have taken it upon myself to describe our needs, our travails, and the imminent danger which faces us. I must give a detailed account of all this, for this grave and disastrous state of affairs concerns me. Forgive me, your excellency, for the length of this report. Although my governor and captain-general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya surely understands the misery in which we live, the abuses we tolerate, and the danger in which we find ourselves, what with the many reports, letters, and dispatches I have sent him, he has done nothing. I, the *alcalde mayor* of this valley and settlement of San Antonio de Casas Grandes<sup>1</sup> in the jurisdiction of [Nueva] Vizcaya, a post I hardly deserve, find myself surrounded by enemies. These enemies are Sumas, Janos, Jocomes,<sup>2</sup> Mansos, Chinarras,<sup>3</sup> Conchos, and other unknown nations from afar. Ever since the 6th day of May of last year, 1684, until this day, these Indian nations have sorely troubled us, the people of this frontier valley.<sup>4</sup> Although we have tried again and again to reduce these barbarians, we have not succeeded.

The first attempt, your excellency, was made when both the Christians and the infidel Indians in the surrounding villages rebelled. On June 10, 1684, one

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1. Spanish occupation in the Casas Grandes valley had its beginnings in 1663, when Sumas there asked for missionaries and Captain Andrés López de Grasia of El Paso went with his family and others to promote a settlement. Grasia became the first *alcalde mayor* and by the following year could report that the church of San Antonio de Padua de Casas Grandes had been built a short distance downstream from the large prehistoric site that gave the valley its name. By 1680 Ramírez de Salazar had become the second *alcalde mayor*.

2. The Jocomes were probably related to the Sumas and Janos. They occupied extreme northwestern Chihuahua and the adjacent edges of today's New Mexico and Arizona. They very quickly became assimilated by Apaches.

3. The Chinarras occupied an area to the south of Casas Grandes in the upper regions of the San Miguel and Santa María rivers. They were reported to have been nomadic and hunters of the buffalo that ranged into the high valleys east of the main mass of the Sierra Madre. They may have been related to the Conchos, who bordered them to the south.

4. On May 6, 1684, Janos and Sumas Indians had attacked and burned the Franciscan mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad at Janos, 60 kilometers northwest of Casas Grandes. By the 13th the revolt had spread to Casas Grandes itself with the burning of the Sumas houses around San Antonio de Padua.

month after the uprising, we attacked them about thirty leagues from here. Our force consisted of twelve men I had assembled in my jurisdiction and about thirty men with arquebuses from Sonora under the leadership of Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, captain of the Spanish militia. These men had come from Sonora because it is closest to this valley. When we reached the mountain, known as the Sierra del Diablo because it is so rough, the Indians manifested no desire for the peace we had come to offer but instead showed the fury with which the devil has infected them. Although it was the height of the dry season, and the enemy far outnumbered us and the rough terrain was to their advantage, we could not let them triumph. We therefore emerged victorious, endangering only one Spaniard and some of our Indian auxiliaries. Although my impulses were, sir, to attack again the next day—perhaps seeking my own quick demise—it was decided in a meeting not to attack or lay siege but rather that each of us should return home to his jurisdiction.

When I reached this settlement, I again made a comprehensive report to the governor of this kingdom. Because the governor was in Durango, his lieutenant promised to forward my report speedily. However, because the situation warranted prompt action, I carried my letters to Parral. On the 8th of August I received a letter from governor Don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga, who, being my beloved superior, comforted us all with the news that he had seen a report to your excellency describing the state of this land. However, he could not send the aid I so urgently required because the Indians around Parral had also rebelled. Furthermore, there was a lack of horses in Parral, and lastly this place was too far away.

Realizing that this settlement is an important frontier and moreover the key place involved in commerce with nearby Sonora, I appealed to the *alcalde mayor* of Sonora.<sup>5</sup> There were sufficient people in his jurisdiction to give me the help I needed, and he could greatly benefit from the pacification of our enemies. The rebellious Indians caused great damage in his jurisdiction, laying waste to the fields, stealing animals from the citizens, and carrying away their livestock. The *alcalde mayor* was moved by my petition, and to serve our mutual interests and those of their majesties, he supplied me with the necessary arquebuses and Indian auxiliaries.<sup>6</sup> The day arrived when we were all to join forces, and I brought what few men I could assemble in my jurisdiction. We followed the trail of the Indians from one mountain range to another and spent days campaigning. When we found ourselves near the Río [Grande] del Norte, we headed toward it knowing that the Mansos there had rebelled. We knew it was very possible that the rebels had congregated there, as in fact they later did, and retreated to some nearby place. We therefore decided unanimously to go to El Paso.

When we arrived we told the governor why we had come.<sup>7</sup> A group had already left to look for the Mansos and returned a few days later with a report on the Indians' trail they had found. We judged that the Mansos were on their way to join

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5. Francisco Cuervo y Valdez.

6. These were the thirty men under Fernández de la Fuente.

7. The governor of New Mexico, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, who was forced to remain at El Paso by the rebels in New Mexico.

forces with the Indians we were looking for, so we set out in pursuit of the Mansos. The governor sent some of his men to join our party,<sup>8</sup> and together we pursued the enemy for many days, recognizing the threat of the enemy Apaches all the while. When we were encamped about fifty leagues from the Casas Grandes valley, we received word that the enemy had turned back by a different route. Knowing we were still far away, they attacked the settlement and the convent of the Franciscans.<sup>9</sup> The few citizens who had stayed behind to protect the convent were powerless to defend themselves against the atrocities. The enemies had even used poles to bludgeon our people, leaving their bows and arrows behind. God helped us, but the Indians burned what supplies we had, took the horses that were in the corrals, and took a multitude of small livestock. They left the survivors annihilated and destitute and without houses in which to live. For this reason everyone moved into the church, and we have lived in it for nine months now.

Such then, your excellency, is the ruined state of this place. Since the rebellion, the Indians have taken more than 2,000 cattle and horses and almost another 2,000 smaller animals. Every rancher in this jurisdiction and in that of Sonora has lost livestock, for the Indians have nothing else to eat. Of everyone, it seems I have suffered most. The Indians have burned three of my haciendas for extracting silver and have destroyed so much that would have greatly benefitted his majesty. Finally, sir, we returned to the settlement. Throwing aside our emotions at such a sad sight, we heard the enemy was encamped in another sierra, which, as we later discovered, was inaccessible. On this occasion some soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa had come to help us and I asked them to aid us in attacking the enemy.<sup>10</sup> In a group we went into the sierra, where we found the enemy assembled. Although we tried different means of subduing them, their resistance was such that the battle lasted all day. We fought up and down on the mountain sierra, in the canyons, and among the rocks so that our troops were forced to fight on foot. We lost our horses, saddles, blankets, and many other things. There were so many enemies and the mountain was so rugged that we had to fight on foot.

Finally, seeing how more than thirty of our men were badly wounded, we decided to assemble more people. After fifteen days we managed to gather a few more Indian auxiliaries but very few Spaniards. In order to preserve the strength of our army, I made another request to the captain and leader of the presidio of El Paso. By this time the captains of Sinaloa and El Paso both wished to return to their jurisdictions. Reverend Father Fray Juan de Porras, missionary in this area, also made the same request; namely that the captain again cooperate with us.<sup>11</sup> I promised him 600 beef cattle, recognizing the lack of food in El Paso. He accepted my offer and for the third time we set out to attack the enemy. We found them in another sierra about eight leagues from the first, and with God's help we attacked them again. The battle lasted all day; we killed many of them and captured a few, although only a few of the Sumas were Christian. As always, these Indians find

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8. Jironza had sent fifty men from El Paso under Captain Roque Madrid.

9. This attack on San Antonio de Padua de Casas Grandes occurred on September 15.

10. This force consisted of eighteen soldiers and thirty men.

11. This request was to Governor Jironza.

their strength in the mountains, and they fled to all parts. It was impossible to pursue them, although we all wished to vanquish them.

This campaign, sir, was the last in which I received any outside help; all the others returned to their homes. So that we should not be exposed to this same danger as before, I reported to my governor and captain-general<sup>12</sup> on the great peril we faced. I told the governor how few of us there were and how many were the enemy. I told him how the presence of so much livestock, here and in the province of Sonora, in El Paso, and in many other places, attracted the enemy. Because it was so probable that our enemies would join forces with the Apaches, I asked him to either send us help or give us permission to leave this place. The governor responded with an order forbidding anyone to leave the valley or its surroundings, and like humble vassals we obeyed. Several days later, on the first of December, I received a letter from the Sargento Mayor Diego de Quirós,<sup>13</sup> a miner in the real of San Juan de la Concepción.<sup>14</sup> He told me that a great many Indians were gathered at Ojo Caliente, which is on the estancia belonging to Captain Domingo de Apresa [Falcón].<sup>15</sup> I accordingly assembled twelve men, plus eight lancers from the estancia and more than 100 Indian auxiliaries. On the 11th of December I attacked the Indian enemies for the fourth time. We found the enemies on the flatlands, and there were more than 2,000 of them. His divine majesty gave us a miracle, for we attacked with such ferocity and killed so many of them that they threw themselves, screaming, in front of the horses, begging for peace. I made peace with them in the name of God and his majesty, ordering the Christians to return to their villages within fifteen days and the rabble to return to their own territory.

After this success, I set out for Parral to give an account of all this to my governor and captain-general. I also asked him to reinforce this frontier, because neither I nor the citizens could stand any more. There was nothing left to fight with, nothing to eat, and one gravely endangered himself by going out to seek sustenance for his family. Every night we had to stay awake guarding what few horses we had left as well as our lives and the church. Because the governor would not allow us to leave, I asked him to send help. His lordship told me that he would inform your excellency but that in the meantime I should remain here. He also ordered that all those people fleeing New Mexico should settle at Janos<sup>16</sup> and he

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12. The governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Neyra y Quiroga.

13. A native of Parral, Quirós later became alcalde mayor of Sinaloa from 1687 to 1692.

14. San Juan de la Concepción was the site of one of the first silver strikes in what later became the Cusihuiriac chic district. Discoveries were made in 1681. It is 20 kilometers northeast of Cusihuiriac chic and is known today as Cieneguilla.

15. Domingo de Apresa Falcón was an important person in his time. He came to Parral as a merchant in the 1630s and became active in mining. In the 1640s and 1650s he acquired several mining haciendas, and in 1664 he was an official in the Parral mining guild. Later he was an official in charge of the local quicksilver concession. In the 1670s he was a captain in the militia and again concentrated his efforts on mercantile affairs. In 1689 he was killed on one of his haciendas near Parral by Concho Indians.

16. The Franciscan mission of Soledad had been constructed at Janos in 1663 but was destroyed in this revolt. By 1686 a new presidio was established there.

would assure them both land and livestock. I took this order with me and promulgated it wherever I went. I took the order with me to the province of Sonora to see if the Indians were keeping the peace. I reached the province and promulgated the order, but it has not yet been executed. I received word that some of the Indian rebels had gone to the frontier and sued for peace, which was given for the second time. The entire province was suspicious of this peace and there was good reason for doubt.

I then returned to this valley, having received word that the Indians had been misbehaving in my absence. On the 11th of this month of April I received word from Sonora by means of a letter from certain trustworthy persons, as well as a religious belonging to the Society of Jesus, and another secular. The letter contained the news that the Indian nations had again rebelled. The truth of this is sustained. I know for a fact that they have attacked a village and visita of Santa María [Bácerac],<sup>17</sup> the first mission in Sonora, three times and have stolen horses from there. I knew that the nations responsible were those I referred to at the beginning of this report, for the others have made peace in Parral. These rebellious nations, knowing that there are few of us in this valley, are determined to lay waste to this place. I have said so many times, and our enemies are determined to succeed. Such then, your excellency, is our miserable state. Each day we wait for this rabble to cause us further ruin. Many are so afraid of their cruelty that they have fled their homes, ranches, and this terrible poverty. In short, this place is becoming depopulated. We too, shall soon have to leave this place, even though leaving this church will cause us great pain. I trust that your excellency will not permit this to continue, for you are a pious man and a zealous Catholic.

The church in Carretas<sup>18</sup> has been burned, as has that of Janos.<sup>19</sup> The sacred vessels have been profaned, the holy vestments have been trampled, and Our Lord has been again crucified by a new breed of barbarians. Our holy virgin has been destroyed, as have many other saints. Your excellency cannot permit the ministers to be killed, as was a Seraphic minister cruelly murdered even though his labors were much to the credit of his order.<sup>20</sup> Your excellency cannot permit the barbarians to do to this temple what they did to the one at Santa Ana del Torreón, the one at San Pedro Alcántara, and the one at Santa María Nativitas.<sup>21</sup> If this settle-

17. Bácerac was an Opatá village on the Río Bavispe in far northeastern Sonora. A Jesuit mission had been there since 1645.

18. The Franciscans established the mission of Santa María de las Carretas in 1663; it was burned and destroyed in the 1684 revolt but never reoccupied. It was located along the Río Carretas southwest of Janos, near the modern hacienda of the same name.

19. Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos had been constructed in 1663 but was burned in 1684. By 1686 a new presidio was established at Janos called San Felipe y Santiago, and in 1717 the town and another church with the new name were formally refounded.

20. This comment probably refers to the Franciscan missionary at Janos, Manuel Beltrán, killed May 6, 1684, during the destruction of his church.

21. The early history of these missions is sketchy but this statement seems to indicate that they, too, suffered damage during the revolt. All were on the Río Santa María and founded by the Franciscans in the 1660s. Santa Ana del Torreón was primarily a Suma mission, probably located just south of present-day Galeana. Farther upstream was San Pedro

ment is abandoned, not only will the enemy take it over but their strength will be augmented. The truth of what I say is further substantiated by the reverend fathers Fray Nicolás López, the custodian who came from New Mexico,<sup>22</sup> and Fray Francisco Farfán.<sup>23</sup> Also the now-deceased Antonio de Otermín,<sup>24</sup> former governor of that province of New Mexico, could have provided testimony to substantiate what I say. I believe your excellency, knowing the true state of affairs, would remedy all these wrongs by sending the necessary help to this settlement. Necessity requires prompt action, and we would risk our very lives to remain here past August. I know that the presidio of Sinaloa serves as a rearguard for the province of Sonora. Because the enemy causes great damage there, and because this settlement is so near the Sonora border, I ask your excellency to order the captain of that presidio to come to my aid with soldiers when I need them. We are too far from other places to get help from them.

If your excellency so orders, we shall be able to bring these apostates back into the arms of the holy faith or at least live in this valley with a degree of safety. I am sure my governor and captain-general has informed you of our circumstances at even greater length. I pray to God that He may grant your excellency many fruitful years of saving this land. April 14, 1685. I kiss your excellency's, the Marqués de la Laguna's,<sup>25</sup> hand.

Francisco Ramírez de Salazar

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#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**O**bligación es siempre del vasallo recurrir en sus ahogos a su capitán como también es del súbdito en sus desconuelos a su superior; no digo excellentísimo señor ser el más desconsolado, ni menos el más afligido en la Nueva Vizcaya si al tamaño de otros afligidos, y al peso de otros desconsolados y como las necesidades son tantas, los trabajos padecidos indecibles, y los peligros tan manifiestos me determiné aunque indigno humilde siervo de vuestra excelencia comunicárselos todos, y dar cuenta por extenso como a quien incumbe de

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Alcántara de Namiquipa, with mostly Conchos, and at the very headwaters of the river was Santa María de Nativitas de Bachíniva, primarily for Tarahumaras.

22. López was from New Mexico only in the sense that he worked in the El Paso area. He had been instrumental in settling Indians at the El Paso missions and the year previous had returned from an extended exploratory trip to the La Junta and Pecos River regions. He concentrated much of his efforts in trying to influence local politics.

23. Farfán was born in Cádiz about 1643 and arrived in New Mexico before the revolt in 1680. He spent the exile in El Paso and in 1694 personally recruited and conducted more than 200 new colonists from México to Santa Fe.

24. Otermín was governor of New Mexico from 1677 to 1683. He died in the latter year, a fact obviously known to Ramírez de Salazar.

25. Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón, viceroy of New Spain from 1680 to 1686.



tanto desastrado suceso. Digo pues excelentísimo señor que aunque mi gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Vizcaya tendrá por mis informes, cartas, y despachos dado cuenta por extenso del estado y miseria en que vivimos, del peligro en que nos hallamos, y de lo mucho que toleramos, no obstante perdonándome lo dilatado del informe digo señor que en este valle y puesto de San Antonio de Casas Grandes jurisdicción de la Vizcaya me hallo (no mereciéndolo) alcalde mayor tan acosado de los enemigos que son sumas, janos, jocomes, mansos, chinarras, conchos y otras naciones no conocidas por ser de partes remotas, que desde 6 del mes de mayo del año pasado de 1684, hasta la fecha de ésta, vivimos todos los de este valle y frontera con más que continuas pensiones, y aunque han sido tantas cuantas repetidas las diligencias que hemos hecho a su reducción nunca la hemos podido conseguir la primera diligencia, señor excelentísimo que se hizo luego que se sublevaron así los cristianos de estos pueblos, como los infieles que se hallaron más cercanos fue salir a 10 de junio de dicho año y mes siguiente de su alzamiento y como a treinta leguas más o menos dimos sobre ellos doce hombres que junté en esta mi jurisdicción ayudándonos con algunos arcabuceros el capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, capitán de la milicia española que serían como hasta treinta de la provincia de Sonora como más inmediata que todos juntos llegamos a la sierra (que su aspereza se llama del Diablo) donde a su entrada nos recibieron mostrando en sus corazones, no el deseo de la paz que les ofrecíamos, sí la rabia que el demonio les tenía ya comunicada, y como el tiempo era tan riguroso en su sequedad la ventaja en el enemigo tanta (por ser la sierra tan áspera) tan copioso su ejército, no sólo no pudimos conseguir el vencerlos, pero de no quedar de ellos vencidos salimos muy victoriosos, peligrando en medio de tan manifiesta ruina un solo español y algunos indios amigos. Y aunque mis impulsos señor (quizás buscando mi mayor precipicio) era de volver el día siguiente a darles otro albazo o hacer pie cerca de dicha sierra, se determinó por junta que hicimos y parecer de todos que no convenía por aquella ocasión, y así nos volvimos cada cual a su jurisdicción y casa. Llegado pues a este dicho puesto, hice luego cuenta (habiéndola ya dado antes) con propio que hice al señor gobernador de este reino que por estar en la ciudad de Durango me respondió su lugarteniente despacharía con brevedad mi dicho informe. Y como el remedio a tanto daño pedía presteza, arrivé con cartas al Parral, y a 8 de agosto tuve una del señor gobernador don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga, quien como superior amoroso me consuela a mí y a todos con un informe que me avisa haber hecho a vuestra excelencia del estado de la tierra. Y viendo que lo que pedía en mi despacho que era socorro no me lo podía dar por estar ya sublevadas otras naciones cercanas del Parral, por ser tanta la falta de las bestias y estar tan dilatado este puesto, determiné conociendo ser esta una frontera tan necesaria llave de todo el reino, camino y puerto de diversos comercios de ir a la provincia de Sonora como más inmediata, que llegado pedí al alcalde mayor se condoliese de este valle pues en su jurisdicción había la necesaria gente para poder darme socorro, y de ello se le seguía mucho provecho a toda dicha provincia por los muchos daños que en ella se experimentaban de los enemigos, talándoles las milpas a los indios, hurtando las bestias a los vecinos, y en ellas propias llevándoles los ganados, y conmovido a mi petición y ruego, bien común de todos y servicio de ambas majestades me concedió la gente necesaria de hombres arcabuceros como de indios amigos. Aplazado el día que nos habíamos de juntar, le cogí los pocos de mi jurisdicción y en conserva todos caminamos por su rastro y de sierra

en sierra anduvimos días en campaña, y viéndonos ya por los términos del Río del Norte caminaban para dicho puesto y también por saber que la nación mansa perteneciente a dicho pueblo se había también sublevado y que era muy posible haberse todos congregado (como después lo hicieron) y retirándose por aquellas partes determinamos unánimes y conformes pasar a dicho territorio de El Paso, que llegados, luego informamos a dicho señor gobernador los motivos, causas, y razones de haber entrado en dicho paraje del cual había ya salido un trozo de gente en busca de dichos mansos que a pocos días volvió con noticias de la derecera que habían cogido; y juzgando que dicha nación caminaba a hacer junta general con los demás que nosotros buscábamos salimos todos los nuestros en su alcance siguiendo sus rastros, y en nuestra conserva envió dicho señor gobernador un trozo de hombres que juntos y congregados caminamos en pos de dichos enemigos muchos días, reconociendo las fieras de los enemigos apaches y otros parajes. Más estando alojado como cincuenta leguas de este valle de Casas Grandes tuvimos noticia como dichos enemigos habían dado la vuelta por diferentes caminos, y cuando más dilatados nos contemplaron se arrojaron a este dicho puesto, dando a un tiempo en el convento (que por nuestra dicha tenemos del señor San Francisco) y que en las Casas Grandes de todos los vecinos, habiendo sin poder defenderlo tantas atrocidades como ellos quisieron, valiéndose no de arcos y flechas sino de palos que prevenidos traían para matar así a los hombres pocos que habían quedado en guarda del convento y de las casas sino también para consumirlas más la providencia de Dios como infinita les socorrió; empero ejecutaron su mal y su rabia en quemar cuantos bastimentos todos teníamos para nuestro sustento sin reservar, ni aún lo del santo convento llevándose cuanta caballada estaba encerrada en los corrales y así mismo muchísimo número de ganado menor de todos los vecinos, dejándonos ya en él todos pobres, aniquilados e imposibilitados, sin casas donde vivir, motivo para que todos los vecinos se retirasen a este dicho convento así por lo dicho como por guardar este santo templo, en él quedamos, y en él a nueve meses vivimos. Tal fue señor excelentísimo esta ruina, tal fue esta pérdida que desde que se alzaron se han llevado más de dos mil bestias casi otras dos mil de ganado menor y en dichas bestias a todos cuantos criadores hay por esta jurisdicción y la de Sonora muchísima cantidad de ganado mayor por no tener otra cosa dichos enemigos que comer; de todo lo referido quien mayor parecer ha padecido he sido yo pues de más a más me han quemado tres haciendas de sacar plata, y desperdiciado y abrazado muchos efectos de que pudiera dar mucho provecho a su majestad. En fin señor luego que tuvo el real acuesta nueva tan lastimosa marchamos a este puesto y dejando aparte el sentimiento de ver tanta lástima, tuvimos noticia de que estaba como cinco leguas el enemigo favorecido de otra sierra tan incontrastable cuanto después experimentamos. En esta ocasión habían venido a dar socorro algunos soldados del presidio de Sinaloa a quienes hice un requerimiento nos ayudasen a dar un avance a dichos enemigos y así todos juntos entramos en dicha sierra donde hallamos juntos los enemigos, y aunque procuramos por diferentes caminos reducirlos, su obstinación era tal que no daba lugar a su rendimiento este avance duró casi todo el día peleando con ellos ya por lo alto de la sierra ya por las barrancas, y ya por entre peñas de tal suerte que rendido ya el ejército de andar a pie, perdidos los caballos, sillas, capas, y otras muchas cosas siendo motivo de esto la multitud de enemigos, la aspereza de la sierra y que era forzoso andar a pie, y viendo también que ya de los nuestros estaban más de

treinta hombres malheridos, determinamos, como pudimos salir destrozados, todos apedreados, y todos derrotados. Después de este segundo avance determinamos de congregar más gente y en quince días se congregaron algunos indios más de los amigos con algunos aunque pocos españoles; y para mayor abundancia de nuestro ejército hice (por quererse ya ir a sus jurisdicciones dichos capitanes así de Sinaloa como de El Paso) otro requerimiento al capitán y caudillo del presidio de El Paso (que también se lo hizo el reverendo padre fray Juan de Porras misionero de este partido) en que le vuelvo a pedir coopere como en la antecedente función prometiéndole (atendiendo a la mucha necesidad que en el dicho puesto de El Paso padecen) seiscientas reses entre todos los regidos para su sustento (que todos dimos acabada de la dicha función) y que admitida dicha oferta y concedida mi petición, salimos todos por tercera vez y les hallamos en otra sierra como ocho leguas de la antecedente donde mediante la ayuda de Dios se les dio tercer albazo, en cuya pelea que duró todo el día se mató mucha gente y se apresó alguna aunque poca cristiana de estos partidos de sumas, y como siempre su defensa es la sierra, se desparramaron de tal fuerte por todas partes que no fue posible el seguirlos aunque los impulsos eran del todo sujetarlos. Este fue señor el último avance en que me hallé con algún socorro de gente la cual vuelta a sus casas quedamos por no quedar sujetos con los mismos riesgos que de antes nos teníamos de ello hice luego información a mi gobernador y capitán general significándole el riesgo en que quedábamos, como lo que estamos eramos muy pocos, los enemigos muchos, el puesto acomodado por el ganado, que hay acomodado para su vivienda pues con él atraerían muchas naciones, que era el medio así de la provincia de Sonora como de El Paso, Salinas y otras muchas partes seguro medio para convocarse también con los apaches, y que así le pedía así por mí como por todos nos diese permiso para despoblarnos o que nos enviase socorro. De esta petición señor resultó un mandamiento de su señoría ordenándonos no saliésemos de dicho valle ni menos algún vecino de los alrededores; a que como humildes vasallos obedecimos. Pasados algunos días tuve a primero de diciembre una carta del sargento mayor Diego de Quirós, minero del real de San Juan de la Concepción quien me avisa de una junta numerosa que estaba en un puesto llamado el Ojo Caliente, estancia del capitán Domingo de Aprea [Falcón] a que salí con doce hombres que junté y ocho lanzas de los vaqueros de dicha estancia con más de cien indios amigos y a 11 de diciembre les di cuarto albazo hallándolos en tierra llana y siendo la multitud tanta que pasaba de dos mil indios obró la Divina Majestad en tamaña un milagro, pues fueron tales los impulsos con que les acometimos, tal el destrozo que en ellos hicimos y tanto lo que se mató de enemigos, que a gritos se nos metían entre los caballos, pidiendo la paz, la cual en nombre de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su majestad que guarde quedando dentro del término de quince días, volverse los cristianos a sus pueblos, y toda la demás canalla a sus territorios. Púseme luego con este buen suceso viaje al Parral a dar cuenta a mi gobernador y capitán general de todo esto y de otras muchas cosas acerca de esta materia principalmente de que pusiese fuerza en esta frontera por no poder yo ya tolerar más, ni tampoco podía ya de tener los vecinos, ni menos que tenían ni ya que vestir, ni que comer, que todo era sólo atender al riesgo y peligro de la vida no poder salir alguno a buscar el sustento necesario para su familia, velando todas las noches así la poca caballada que quedaba como nuestras vidas y el santo templo, y otras innumerables pensiones que estábamos padeciendo, y que de no dejarme salir de dicho puesto, me diese el

socorro que le tenía ya pedido. A estos cargos me respondió su señoría informaría a vuestra excelencia y que me detuviese y esté en dicho puesto hasta tanta que llegaba la resulta de esa ciudad de México y que en el ínterin mandaba y mandó por un mandamiento a todos los que saliesen derrotados de Nuevo México queda su pérdida que todos viniesen a poblar al llamado Janos, asegurándoles en el ganado suficiente para criar y tierras muy parajes para cultivar, el cual mandamiento traje e hice notorio en las partes que hallé, y con él pasé a la provincia de Sonora y también por ver que los indios habían cumplido las paces que les concedí y también por saber que las habían a dar a dicha provincia a la cual llegué y después de haber hecho notorio el dicho mandamiento que traje (que hasta hoy no ha tenido ejecución) supe que algunos de los dichos indios alzados bajaron a una frontera y que pidieron las paces, las cuales como yo había hecho les concedieron por segunda vez aunque toda la provincia estaba recelosa de dichas paces por haber motivos bastantes para presumir lo contrario, y que de ningún modo darles crédito; y habiéndose vuelto a este valle por aviso que tuve de algunos sucesos causados de dicho indios en el ínterin que estuve a 11 de este presente mes de abril he tenido noticia de dicha provincia de Sonora por carta de personas fidedignas como de un religioso de la Compañía de Jesús y de otro secular se han vuelto a rebelar dichas naciones, congregándose otra vez a sus maldades cuya verdad consta pues por carta, que tengo se sabe haberse arrojado por tres veces a un pueblo y visita del partido de Santa María [Bácerac] primera misión de las de Sonora y llevándose así mismo caballada, y haberse reconocido ser solas las naciones primeras que al principio de mi relación refiero, pues todas las demás me consta haber entrado ya de paz en el real del Parral, solas éstas por reconocer la poca fuerza de gente que hay en este valle, ser su intento (como diversas veces lo han dicho) el asolarla por las conveniencias que arriba refiero, viven y permanecen constantes en su destinación. En este estado, excelentísimo señor, se halla a la fecha de esta mala canalla, esperando cada día de ellos alguna nueva ruina, y más cuando y la fuerza de las necesidades, el miedo a sus crueldades obliga a muchos a dejar sus casas, ranchos, y pobreza pues poco a poco se va cada día despoblando. Acción que habremos también de ejecutar nosotros por último, y aunque el dejar este santo templo será de mucho desconsuelo para todos, la fuerza nos obligará a alargarlo. No creo excelentísimo señor que atendiendo vuestra excelencia con ojos piadosos y católico celo este punto, y haber quemado el templo del pueblo de Carretas, el del pueblo de Janos, profanado los vasos sagrados, roto todas las vestiduras crucificado otra vez a Nuestro Señor nuevo género de (formados) como a pedradas y flechazos, destrozado a su Santísima Madre y a otros muchos santos permitirá que mueran los miseros ministros, como mataron con crueldad a otro de la religión seráfica cuyas administraciones corren por cuenta de esta seráfica orden, ni tampoco permitirá, que hagan lo propio con este templo santo con el de Santa Ana del Torreón, con el San Pedro Alcántara y Santa María Nativitas y sus ministros pues es constante verdad que de despoblarse este puesto no sólo se apoderarán de él y de los demás por ser cercanos, sino que se convocarán con mayor fuerza, por la poca que en nosotros reconocen. A cuya verdad en todo y en parte de lo que tengo referido me remita a los reverendos padres fray Nicolás López Custo, que salió de la provincia de Nuevo México y el reverendo padre fray Francisco Farfán que también en parte al ya difunto Antonio de Otermín gobernador que fue de dicha provincia con cuya testificación creo que vuestra excelencia se condolerá de tan-

tas lástimas poniendo remedio de gente y socorro en este puesto, siendo la brevedad tal cuenta se supone en mi relación y cual pide la necesidad, pues a más no poder aguardar a todo riesgo de la vida será hasta el mes de agosto pues en adelante ya no será posible el alejarlo. Tengo experimentado que el presidio de Sinaloa es para resguardo de la provincia de Sonora donde ejecutan también dichos enemigos sus tiros y éstas sus fronteras tan cercanas a este puesto pido a vuestra excelencia ordene y mande a su capitán y caudillo acuda con el socorro de soldados las veces que necesitare en este valle pues por otra parte la hallamos muy dilatado cuando éste nos puede a todos, y junto este socorro con el que esperamos de vuestra excelencia podremos o ya a tanto apóstata al gremio de la iglesia o vivir con algún seguro en este valle más porque presupongo que mi gobernador y capitán general habrá aún más la lamenta a vuestra excelencia de otras muchas circunstancias y así dejó y no en pedir a la Divina Majestad guarde a vuestra excelencia felices años para el remedio de sus tierras y consuelo de tan [ilegible] 14 de abril de 1685 años. Excelentísimo señor marqués de la Laguna quien besa su mano.

Francisco Ramírez de Salazar

## Ramírez de Salazar Accuses Governor Jironza of Failing to Aid Him

*In this document Captain Ramírez de Salazar has accused New Mexico Governor Jironza of failing to give him adequate men and supplies for his campaigns against the Sumas and their allies in the area of Casas Grandes. The governor defended himself by presenting witnesses who testified that his actions saved the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes. His primary responsibility was the exiled New Mexican colony, and he understandably retained his best forces there to thwart any attempt to drive the Spaniards from their refuge at El Paso.*

**I**n the town of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de El Paso on the 12th day of April, 1685, the governor and captain-general, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, began proceedings in his defense. He had heard that Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, alcalde mayor and capitán de guerra of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, had written the governor and captain-general of San Joseph del Parral viciously insinuating that Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate had never helped him fight the rebellious apostates. The alcalde mayor also sent a letter to his excellency and so that the royal council shall know the truth, his lordship ordered the maestre de campo Francisco Gómez Robledo,<sup>1</sup> the present alcalde ordinario, to summon all the military officers who have served during his lordship's administration. Each officer would then, under oath, describe the times they helped the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes by his lordship's order. Each officer would also say who funded each expedition and who supplied the provisions and other necessities. The alcalde ordinario would then date each deposition and send the originals to his excellency the viceroy of New Spain. The secretary of government and war would tell the alcalde ordinario of his lordship's order. Thus I order, decree, and sign before my secretary. Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. Before me: Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war.

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1. Gómez Robledo was the son of Francisco Gómez, interim governor of New Mexico 1641–42. He was born about 1628 in New Mexico. The family was accused of being Jewish, but was cleared in a trial in México. He was mayordomo of the confraternity of La Conquistadora. He spent the exile in El Paso but was reported dead by 1693.

*Ratification*

I, Captain Francisco Xavier,<sup>2</sup> secretary of government and war, immediately notified the *maestre de campo*, Francisco Gómez Robledo, the present *alcalde ordinario*, of the above proceedings on the same day, month, and year. The *alcalde ordinario*, when he understood the above, promised to immediately begin proceedings. He signed before me, the secretary of government and war, Francisco Gómez Robledo.

Before me,  
Francisco Xavier,  
Secretary of government and war

The *maestre de campo*, Francisco Gómez Robledo, the present *alcalde ordinario*, is acting, before me, as *juez receptor* because there is no proper official in public royal service within 140 leagues.<sup>3</sup> He has been notified of legal proceedings instigated by his lordship against the *alcalde mayor* of Casas Grandes and other persons who have strayed from the truth. These persons have told his excellency the viceroy that his lordship has never sent them help when they needed it. In order that the viceroy know the truth, I have ordered all the military officers who have helped the people of Casas Grandes to appear before me. Under oath, they shall say how many times his lordship has sent help and how many campaigns they have engaged in. The officers shall also say who has paid for the supplies, stores, and the other goods of war used in the royal service. Once their testimony has been taken, two, or as many as necessary, shall be authorized to take the proceedings to his excellency the viceroy of New Spain and the royal council of New Mexico. I ordered that these proceedings be legally recorded and that the military officers be summoned and examined. Thus I decree, order, and sign, being the *juez receptor*, before the witnesses Captain Antonio Jorge<sup>4</sup> and Captain Juan Luis.<sup>5</sup> The signatures follow. Before me, *juez receptor*,

Francisco Gómez Robledo      Antonio Jorge      Juan Luis

*Declaration of the sergeant, captain, and head of the presidio, Roque de Madrid.*

Immediately on this day, the 13th of April of 1685, I, the *alcalde ordinario*, with the attending witness, ordered the *sargento mayor* Roque de Madrid, captain and head of the presidio of San José,<sup>6</sup> to appear before me. He swore in the name of Our Lord God and by the sign of the cross to answer truthfully all questions put to him. He was then read the preceding decree verbatim.

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2. This is the same Francisco Xavier listed as passing muster in El Paso in 1684.

3. This was the distance from El Paso to Parral.

4. Jorge was descended from a native New Mexican family. He was born about 1654 and fled to El Paso with his mother and two sisters. As a *sargento mayor* he was married in Santa Fe in 1694 but died less than a year later.

5. Luis was a native of New Mexico and probably descended from Canary Island ancestors.

6. An alternative name for the presidio of El Paso.

Roque de Madrid said that only recently was he named captain and head of the presidio. His predecessor was Captain Sebastián de Herrera.<sup>7</sup> His lordship, seeing the land so infested by our enemies the Apaches, ordered the witness to punish these enemies with a company of twenty-five soldiers from the presidio. The governor and captain-general provided all the necessary supplies at his own expense. The witness and his men found the enemies at Cerro Aguierado and attacked them there. They took some animals from the Apaches which they had taken from the Christian villages of Ysleta and Senecú.<sup>8</sup> The Apaches were routed and some were killed. The witness then returned to the presidio with the soldiers of his command. The witness set out with his soldiers on another occasion when the Sumas, Mansos, Conchos, Jocomes, Julimes,<sup>9</sup> Chinarras, Salineros, Janos, Dientes Negros, and many other apostates had rebelled. His lordship had ordered the witness to convoy the wagon bringing alms to the reverend fathers and supplies for the presidial soldiers and citizens of this land. On this occasion the witness took twenty-five soldiers from his command and his lordship graciously funded the venture.

The witness set out on a third occasion, which was the first time the governor and captain-general had joined the campaign in person. His lordship went to the rancherías of the apostate Mansos, where all the infidel nations had come together, to return them to the arms of the faith. When they reached the rancherías, his lordship and the Reverend Father Chaplain Fray Antonio Guerra<sup>10</sup> spoke to the apostate Christians, ordering them to return to their village and the Christian way of life. The witness and his men, thirty-six soldiers and some Indian archers, remained hidden so as not to alarm the Indians. While his lordship and the padre were exhorting the apostates to amend their ways, an Indian named Juan de Espíritu Santo came to where the witness and the men were hidden. He told them that the Indians were saying, in their language, let us kill the governor first and then the chaplain. The witness accordingly alerted his men and they went to the governor to tell him what Juan de Espíritu Santo had said. The governor told the witness to keep his men on alert and at that moment the Mansos and the other nations showered them with a volley of arrows. His lordship ordered the men to respond with arquebus fire, which they did. The apostates and their allies then fled toward the Río [Grande] del Norte. His lordship ordered the rancherías and all the Indians' belongings burned, which was done. They then returned to this village. The governor and captain-general paid for all the provisions, meat, hard-tack, and other things used during the journey.

The witness set out a fourth time, by order of the governor and captain-general, with fifty veteran soldiers from the presidio and 170 Christian Indian

7. In 1652 Herrera was in the Parral area. From 1681–85 he was listed as sargento mayor and capitán in documents written from El Paso.

8. Ysleta and Senecú were a short distance downstream from El Paso. They were established for Tigua and Piro refugees from the revolt in New Mexico.

9. Little is definitively known about the Julimes. They may have been related to the Concho and do indeed appear to have been at least semi-sedentary. They occupied the region of the lower Río Conchos to its confluence with the Río Grande.

10. Guerra worked among the Suma and Piros.



archers to punish both the Apaches and the apostates and their allies. Word had been received that the apostates planned to attack and burn the convent and this village. The witness and his men traversed the accustomed haunts of the apostates but found the rancherías deserted and abandoned. The apostates were not encountered on this occasion. His lordship supplied the hard-tack, meat, and other necessities on this occasion as well. His lordship also supplied many mounts for the veteran soldiers, because they had none themselves. His lordship had personally reviewed the men on the parade ground and then gave them chocolate, sugar, tobacco, and jerky. Even the Christian Indians were thus supplied. His lordship then reviewed the troops who remained behind to defend the town. The witness says that troops came from Sonora and Casas Grandes, under the leadership of Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, respectively. The captains asked his lordship to help them fight the apostates and their confederates. The governor and captain-general accordingly ordered the witness to set out with the fifty veteran soldiers and the Christian Indian auxiliaries. His lordship supplied them with all the necessary provisions. The troops went to many places but did not encounter the enemy; and the witness, with orders from his lordship, went as far as Casas Grandes. There he heard that the enemies had attacked that settlement and after stealing many cattle and horses had entrenched themselves in some nearby mountains. In conformity with his orders, the witness attacked the enemies in their rugged stronghold. The battle was fierce and waged with fire and blood, and the fight raged first in one place then in another. Twenty-six of our men were wounded, and the witness retreated so that they might heal.

Because there were so many enemies, the witness and captains Juan Fernández de Fuente and Francisco Ramírez de Salazar asked his lordship for more powder and bullets. His lordship immediately sent the *alférez de campaña*, Alonso García the younger,<sup>11</sup> with the ammunition and with more than 100 Christian Indian auxiliaries. His lordship also sent fresh supplies of chocolate, sugar, tobacco, paper, and shoes. Resupplied and reinforced, the witness again attacked the enemy. They had moved to another mountain range even rougher than the first and had also received reinforcements. The battle was so fierce that it lasted from sunrise to sunset. Finally, at 8:00 at night, victory was ours. Many of the enemy were killed and their women and children taken captive. The spoils taken from Casas Grandes were recovered, as were some things taken from the mission at Janos, including a chalice and a paten which had been punctured. The witness and his soldiers entrusted all the cattle and horses as well as the captives to Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes. The witness believes that if his lordship had not sent help, the entire jurisdiction of Casas Grandes would have been destroyed. The first time his lordship sent help was when Captain Antonio de Arvisu and Padre Fray Manuel Beltrán<sup>12</sup> were killed,

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11. This is the same Alonso García de Noriega mentioned previously. See Note 9 of the El Paso presidio document.

12. Apparently Arvisu was Father Beltrán's guard when the two were killed at Janos. Beltrán was a native of México and became a Franciscan in 1675.

and the *maestre de campo* Alonso García had been in charge. The witness said he went out with his lordship on another occasion. His lordship had ordered an escort for Padre Fray Salvador de San Antonio,<sup>13</sup> and the escort was led by the *Sargento Mayor* Luis de Granillo.<sup>14</sup> On their way back, the escort encountered the Indians but had to retreat because several were sorely wounded. Hearing this, his lordship set out in person. He was accompanied by the witness, and during the campaign all the Indian *rancherías*, camps, and watering places were scoured. The Indians were attacked and some were killed, while the women and children were taken prisoner. Having dispatched the escort and the messengers to México, he returned to this settlement.

The witness says he has gone out on five other occasions with his soldiers by order of his lordship. Every time his lordship has supplied, at his own expense, all the hard-tack, meat, flour, pinole, chocolate, tobacco, paper, and other supplies. The witness says that if his lordship had not paid for these supplies, there could not have been any action taken against the enemy. This kingdom is so poor that the supplies could not have come from any other source. The witness says that his lordship has provisioned all the other captains and officers who have campaigned and he, the witness, has been in charge of distribution. The witness said he was more or less thirty-eight years old, and he signed with me and the present witnesses. The witness also stated that ever since the governor and captain-general has governed these provinces, he has personally maintained five extra soldiers at the presidio of San José. Although some soldiers abandoned their posts or were absent, there has always been the full complement of fifty at the presidio. The witness knows for a fact that his lordship maintains the five extra soldiers at his expense because he, the witness, being *capitán*, *caudillo*, and *cabo*, controls the muster rolls.

Before me, the juez receptor, Francisco Gómez Robledo.

Roque Madrid

Antonio Jorge

Juan Luis

*Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas 37, 6*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n el pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de El Paso en 12 días del mes de abril de 1685 años, el señor gobernador y capitán general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate dijo que por cuanto ha tenido noticia de que el capitán Francisco Ramírez de Salazar alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de la jurisdicción de Casas Grandes escribió informando siniestramente al gobernador y

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13. After the reconquest of New Mexico Father San Antonio briefly became custodio of the renewed Franciscan effort there.

14. Granillo was born about 1641. He was an exile from New Mexico and while in El Paso held the rank of *sargento mayor*. He returned to New Mexico with Vargas and was made lieutenant governor of the reconquered province.

capitán general de San Joseph del Parral de que en la guerra de los enemigos apóstatas infieles que se ha tenido con ellos no le había dado socorro ninguno dicho gobernador y capitán general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y que la carta que así escribió dicho Francisco Ramírez el dicho gobernador de San Joseph del Parral la remitió a su excelencia originalmente escribiendo así mismo en conformidad de la dicha carta siendo siniestra la relación que el dicho Francisco Ramírez en ella hacía y que para que a su excelencia y real acuerdo conste de la verdad mandaba y mandó su señoría que el maestre de campo, Francisco Gómez Robledo, alcalde ordinario actual haga parecer ante sí a todos los cabos de guerra que en tiempo de su señoría lo han sido y debajo de juramento declaren las veces que se ha socorrido a dicho alcalde mayor de Casas Grandes y quienes han sido los que han llevado dicho socorro y así mismo quien ha costado y dado los bastimentos y otras cosas a todos los que han salido a funciones y hecha dicha información se le devuelva originalmente para remitirla al excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España y que así se le haga notorio a dicho alcalde ordinario por el secretario de gobernación y guerra; así lo proveyó, mandó, y firmó ante mí dicho secretario Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate.

Ante mí, Francisco Xavier,  
secretario de gobernación y guerra

#### *Ratificación*

Luego incontinentemente dicho día, mes y año, yo el capitán Francisco Xavier, secretario de gobernación y guerra nombrado en cumplimiento del auto de arriba, se lo leí he hice notorio al maestre de campo Francisco Gómez Robledo alcalde ordinario actual en su persona, el cual habiéndolo entendido dijo que está pronto de hacerlo como en dicho auto se contiene y esto dio por respuesta y lo firmó ante mí siendo secretario de gobernación y guerra.

Francisco Gómez Robledo. Ante mí Francisco Xavier, secretario de gobernación y guerra.

El maestre de campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, alcalde ordinario actual, actuando ante mí como juez receptor a falta de escribano público y real por no hallarse en distrito de ciento y cuarenta leguas dijo que por cuanto es notorio un auto en que su señoría me noticia que por cuanto ha sabido que el alcalde mayor de Casas Grandes y otras personas en contra de verdad han informado al excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España de que el dicho señor gobernador y capitán general en los aprietos que ha habido su señoría no les ha dado socorro y para informar a dicho señor virrey de esta Nueva España hiciese parecer ante mí a todos los cabos de guerra que han salido así a dar socorro a dichas Casas Grandes como a otras partes para que ante mí debajo de juramento declaren todas las veces que su señoría ha dado dichos socorros y las más que han salido a correr las campañas y así mismo todos los cabos de guerra declaren quien ha hecho el costo de bastimentos, matalotaje y otros petrechos de guerra en todas las funciones que del real servicio se han hecho que hecha dicha información será quien de ella dos tantos autorizados en pública forma a los que necesarios fueren para con ellos satisfacer al excelentísimo señor virrey de esta Nueva España y al real acuerdo de la ciudad de México que por mí visto y entendido dicho auto lo mandé asentar por diligencia para que por el tenor del contenimiento de éste sean examinados los dichos cabos

de guerra así lo proveyó, mandé y firmé como juez receptor con los dos testigos de mi asistencia que lo fueron el capitán Antonio Jorge y el capitán Juan Luis. Pasan las firmas a la de esta plana. Ante mí como juez receptor Francisco Gómez Robledo, Antonio Jorge, Juan Luis.

*Declaración del sargento, capitán, cabo, y caudillo del presidio, Roque de Madrid.*

Luego incontinentemente dicho día que se cuenta 13 de este presente mes de abril de 1685 años, yo, dicho alcalde ordinario con los testigos de mi asistencia hice parecer ante mí al sargento mayor, Roque de Madrid, capitán, cabo y caudillo del presidio de San Joseph del cual recibí juramento, que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor, y una señal de cruz en toda forma de derecho debajo de cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y se fuere preguntado y habiéndole leído de *verbo ad verbum* el auto que va por cabeza dijo, que luego que fue nombrado por capitán, cabo, y caudillo del presidio, que fue dentro de poco tiempo, que le sucedí en dicha plaza al capitán Sebastián de Herrera, el señor gobernador y capitán general, viendo la tierra y hallándola infestada de los enemigos comunes de nación apache, le mandó salir a este declarante con una compañía de veinte y cinco soldados de los del presidio de su cargo hacerles castigo a los dichos enemigos apaches y dicho gobernador y capitán general dio todos los bastimentos necesarios a su costa y mención y le alcanzó en sus mismas tierras a los dichos enemigos en el Cerro Agujerado donde se les dio el avance y les quitaron unas bestias que habían llevado hurtadas de los pueblos cristianos de la Ysleta y Senecú, y habiéndoles corrido toda la compañía y muértoles algunos de ellos se volvió este declarante con los soldados de su cargo y que así mismo en otra ocasión habiéndose todas las naciones de sumas, mansos, conchos, jocomes, julimes, chinarras, salineros, janos, dientes negros y otras muchas rebeladas y apostados salió este declarante por mandado de su señoría a convoyar los carros que traían las limosnas reverendos padres de esta santa custodia y bastimentos que traían a su señoría para socorrer a los soldados del presidio y vecinos de este país y llevó en dicha ocasión este declarante veinte y cinco soldados de los de su cargo y todo el gasto y costo de dicho viaje así de bastimentos como de otros petrechos los puso su señoría de su bolsa graciosamente. Así mismo declara este testigo haber salido por tercera vez acompañando a dicho señor gobernador y capitán general que fue a la primera campaña que su señoría salió en persona a las rancherías de los apóstatas mansos y junta general que tenían hecha de todas las naciones infieles a que salió su señoría para volverlos a dichos apóstatas al gremio de la iglesia y habiendo llegado a ellas dicho señor gobernador y capitán general en compañía del reverendo padre capellán fray Antonio Guerra les hizo a los dichos apóstatas cristianos mucho requerimientos en orden a que se volviesen a su pueblo y la cristianidad y habiendo dejado juntamente a este declarante ocultó con el trozo de gente que llevaba su señoría que se componía de treinta y seis hombres y algunos indios amigos de arco y flecha su señoría y dicho reverendo padre capellán porque a los apóstatas no les causase alboroto dentro en la ranchería y estándoles exhortando para más bien justo la guerra dice este declarante se llegó a donde él estaba un indio llamado Juan del Espíritu Santo y le dijo, "mira que están preparando en su lengua que maten al gobernador, primero que a nadie y al capellán," con lo cual este declarante previno todos sus soldados y se fue donde estaba dicho señor gobernador y capitán general

y avisándole de lo que había dicho el dicho Juan del Espíritu Santo le respondió su señoría que estuviese alerta con sus soldados y que a este tiempo dichos mansos y todas las demás naciones tirando una carga de flechería y levantando alarido su señoría les hizo corresponder con otra de arcabucería con lo cual los dichos apóstatas y sus aliados se arrojaron al Río del Norte y mandó su señoría quemar todas sus rancherías y trastos y se volvieron a este pueblo y que así mismo todo el bastimento, carne y bizcocho y otras cosas que se llevó a dicho viaje lo puso de su bolsa dicho señor gobernador y capitán general. Y que por cuarta vez dice este declarante salió por mandado del señor gobernador y capitán general con otros cincuenta soldados veteranos del presidio y ciento y setenta indios cristianos de arco y flecha a castigar a los enemigos de nación apache y volver a dar guerra a los dichos apóstatas y sus aliados porque se tenía noticia querían arrojarse en una noche a quemar el convento y este pueblo y habiéndoles pisado todas las partes y lugares donde solían poner sus rancherías las hallaron desiertas y despobladas y que los dichos apóstatas no parecían y que así mismo a todos los que fueron a esta función los avió su señoría de bizcocho, carne, y otras mantenimientos y muchas bestias con que lo avió de las de su andar a los soldados veteranos porque no las tienen y en esta ocasión después de haber pasado muestra personalmente en la plaza de armas habiéndoles llevado demás de los bastimentos chocolate, azúcar, tabaco, chanchacas hasta para los indios cristianos que iban a dicho viaje su señoría se volvió a pasar la segunda muestra de la gente que había quedado para asegurar dicha cristianidad y dice este declarante que habiendo venido todos campos el de Sonora y el de Casas Grandes que eran de los cargos de los capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuente y Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, alcalde mayor de Casas Grandes pidieron socorro a su señoría para hacer guerra a los dichos apóstatas y sus confederados y dicho señor gobernador y capitán general le mandó salir a este declarante con los cincuenta soldados arriba referidos y los dichos indios cristianos volviendo aviándolos de todo lo que necesitaban y envió como dicho es a este declarante en su socorro y que después de haber andado muchas partes de sus tierras y no hallado a los dichos enemigos con el orden que este declarante llevó de su señoría fue hasta las Casas Grandes adonde tuvo noticia que los dichos enemigos habían dado avance en las dichas Casas Grandes y les habían robado sus ganados y caballadas y que estaban hechos fuertes en la sierra cercana a dichas Casas Grandes cumpliendo el orden que este declarante llevaba de reparar en lo áspero de la sierra y fuerte del puesto les y roque a fuego y sangre que fue tan reñida y porfiada de una y otra parte que salieron de la nuestra veinte y seis heridos se retira con los heridos a que se curasen y curarse y viendo que era el número de los enemigos muchísimo se determinó este declarante pedimento de los dichos capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuente y Francisco Ramírez de Salazar a enviar a este puesto a pedir socorro a dicho señor gobernador y capitán general de pólvora y balas y que su señoría se lo envió puntualmente con el alférez de campaña, Alonso García el mozo y que el socorro fue de más de cien indios cristianos en cuya ocasión se llevaron refresco de chocolate y azúcar, tabaco y papel y algún calzado con el cual dicho socorro volvió avanzar a los enemigos que los hallaron en otra sierra mucho más áspera y que se habían reforzado con mucho más gentío adonde fue la batalla tan reñida que duró de sol que rallaba a sol hasta las ocho de la noche, que fue a la hora que se ganó la victoria con muchísimas muertes de los enemigos y presa de sus hijos y mujeres a que se les quitó el despojo que habían

cogido en Casas Grandes y en la misión de Janos y hasta un cáliz y patena que está ya agujerada y que todos los ganados y caballadas allí cogerían este declarante y los soldados de su compañía y la presa así mismo de mujeres y niños de lo de todo ha dicho capitán Francisco Ramírez sin hacer caso de alguno y que allá en su conciencia este declarante que si no es por este socorro que dicho señor gobernador y capitán general dio a dicho alcalde mayor y el que primero había enviado su señoría con el maestre de campo Alonso García cuando mataron al capitán Antonio de Arvisu y al padre fray Manuel Beltrán y hubieran los dichos alzados consumido toda la jurisdicción de Casas Grandes y otras que están inmediatas a ella y que así mismo salió en otra ocasión en compañía de dicho señor gobernador y capitán general que fue cuando su señoría remitía despacho a su excelencia y escolta juntamente para que entrase en esta santa custodia al muy reverendo padre custodio fray Salvador de San Antonio que la dicha escolta iba a cargo del sargento mayor Luis Granillo a los cuales habiéndose vuelto su señoría corriendo las campañas les dieron los indios y maltratando algunos con heridas les obligaron a volverse de este puesto y habiendo visto dicho señor gobernador y capitán general volvió a salir en persona y en su compañía este declarante y les corrió a los dichos enemigos todas sus rancherías, campañas y aguajes y les dio avance les mató y apresó a sus mujeres e hijos y habiendo despachado la dicha escolta y mensajeros que iban a la ciudad de México se volvió a este puesto y que así mismo dice este declarante ha salido en otras cinco ocasiones con una compañía de soldados de los de su cargo por mandado de su señoría a hacer diferentes correrías y que siempre en todas las referidas dicho señor gobernador y capitán general ha dado de su casa y bolsillo todos los bastimentos de bizcocho, carne, harina, pinole, chocolate, y otros mantenimientos, tabaco y papel, porque de otra manera dice este declarante no se podía hacer función ninguna por estar todo este reino en suma pobreza y que así mismo sabe, porque ha pasado por su mano de este declarante que a todos los demás capitanes y cabos de guerra que han salido a campaña su señoría los ha enviado de todo lo referido como es público y notorio y los saben todos los de este reino y que ésta es la verdad y lo que ha visto este declarante por el juramento que dicho tiene en que se afirma y ratifica siéndole leída esta su declaración y declaró ser de edad de treinta y ocho años poco más o menos y lo firmó conmigo dichos testigos de mi asistencia. Y que sabe así mismo este declarante porque lo vio que desde que entró dicho señor gobernador y capitán general a gobernar estas provincias metió el número de cinco soldados del presidio de San Joseph y que aunque después habido algunos fugitivos y ausentes luego al punto se han asentado plazas a otros en su lugar con que siempre ha estado y está el número completo de cincuenta soldados y han habido y hay demás de más de los cincuenta otros cinco más pagados del bolsillo de su señoría, como le consta a este declarante por ser capitán, caudillo y cabo parar en su poder las listas de dichos soldados. Ante mí como juez receptor,

Francisco Gómez Robledo

Roque Madrid

Antonio Jorge

Juan Luis

## The King Orders New Presidios in Nueva Vizcaya

*The great amount of time needed to send and receive information and instructions had a crippling effect on Spain's ability to deal decisively with Indian threats in the far north. Even when royal decisions were firm and explicit the infrequent sailings and weeks-long voyages between Spain and Mexico meant extended delays in transmitting orders to officials in the colony. And in turn the king and his counselors often did not learn of problems until months after the fact. Correspondence between México and the northern outposts involved weeks as well.*

*This document perfectly illustrates that problem. As we have seen, the troubles in New Mexico infected a large area to the south, and in the spring and summer of 1684 pressures came to a head with the revolt of the Sumas and their allies. The hostilities spread to include Conchos and Chinarras, and the always-belligerent Tobosos and Salineros were quick to join in. Word of the outbreaks and pleas for help made their way to Governor Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga in Parral, and by late November he was sufficiently informed so as to alert the viceroy. In time his letter reached México, but it was not until late March of the following year that the viceroy, the Marqués de la Laguna, was ready to inform the king. This report seriously alarmed Carlos II and his ministers; practically all of New Mexico had been lost, and the crown viewed the whole of northern New Spain as still imperiled by the spreading strikes of the natives. Their decision was swift (for the time) and bold (considering it would involve expenditures of money).*

*By June 16, 1685, the king and his advisors had drafted a reply to the viceroy. In it he was ordered to use any means necessary to stem the rebellions. This included spending monies from the México treasury and, if need be, even taking the field himself! Most importantly, the crown was finally bowing to recent events and the mounting of more than a generation of recommendations for new garrisons. The king specifically instructed the viceroy to establish new presidios at two precise places in the beleaguered province—the strategic locations of Cuencamé and Gallo, in the midst of Tobosos southeast of Parral. Several weeks later a ship was ready to cross the Atlantic and the royal orders were on their way to New Spain.*

*From the letter we next see what course of action the viceroy took, and did not take, upon receiving the king and council's instructions. By December of 1685 Carlos II and his counselors had been advised that their orders to establish*

*the two new presidios had not been implemented. Their letters late that year verbally chastised the offending viceroy for his lack of compliance and pointedly warned that he and his officials would be held strictly accountable should their inaction result in further losses to the realm.*

*They repeated the command to establish the new presidios—with stress and in expanded form. More reports of the danger to Nueva Vizcaya had reached Madrid as well, and in the royal councils there was fear that the tide was running in favor of the insurgents. The theater of hostilities had shifted north of the previously ordered new forts and the monarch now added other sites to his instructions. The first were to be established as directed, and joining them were to be two others, far better situated to interdict the threat in the north. In addition, the king wanted the strength of each of the four new garrisons to be double that of his initial order—up from twenty-five soldiers to fifty. Instead of outdated arquebuses, each of the new installations was to have twenty-five modern muskets in its arsenal. This represented a significant improvement in firepower as the new type of weapon was far more accurate and had a longer range.*

*Early in 1686 work on some of the new forts was belatedly underway. At Cuencamé the presidio was built not at the town but a short distance northwest at Pasaje, where pasture was better. The third and fourth were designated for San Francisco de Conchos, on the Río Conchos northeast of Parral, and Casas Grandes, near the Sonoran border. The choice of Conchos proved a good one. A major fortification was constructed near the Franciscan settlement, and, commanded by Juan Fernández de Retana, it soon played the crucial role in suppressing the Tarahumara revolts of 1690 and 1697. Within months the Casas Grandes garrison was moved and the presidio constructed instead at Janos, where it was nearer passes to Sonora and the growing Suma-Apache menace on the horizon. The isolation and exposed position of Janos at a native crossroads on the far edge of Spanish, Mexican, and American control would put its defenders in the thick of raiding Apaches for the next two centuries.*

*There was considerable delay in getting the presidio placed at El Gallo, midway between Cerrogorordo and Pasaje. The king and his advisors correctly suspected that implementation would be slow and spotty, and they continued to hammer away at viceroys and governors for verification that the garrisons were functioning. In February 1686 the orders were repeated again; in June 1688 the newly arriving viceroy was instructed to see to the establishment of the four new presidios; in July 1691 the king reprimanded the governor for placing the soldiers intended for Gallo at Mapimí, 60 kilometers to the northeast. In each of these communications the king requested proof that royal orders on defense were being followed. No such confirmations have been found in the records.*



December 22, 1685

*The King*<sup>1</sup>

**T**o the Conde de Paredes, Marqués de la Laguna,<sup>2</sup> member of my council, chamber, and war council of the Indies; my viceroy, governor, and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain and president of my royal Audiencia of México, or to the person or persons in charge of the government.

Due to unofficial reports received in my Council of the Indies dealing with the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, in my dispatch of June 16 of this year (which was sent with the mercury ship that set sail on July 1) I gave you orders to guard and watch carefully over the situation, doing whatever you deem proper for the purpose. It has been thought useful to have two presidios, one in Cuencamé<sup>3</sup> and one in Gallo,<sup>4</sup> each with twenty-five soldiers. These are precisely the two chief avenues through which the rebel Indians bring the booty from their constant raids. This action was designed to guard against such dangers. The two presidios would give each other a hand and in this way facilitate the commerce of this kingdom with Nueva Galicia. However, you were near these events and the actual state of affairs and might have differed as to the means to prevent these threats. Thus you were to do as you judged most fitting in the matter referred to. I trusted you to devote yourself to this work and to the conservation of those provinces with the great vigilance and attention demanded by such an important matter.

Now in a letter of March 28 of this year, you inform us of the news given you by Governor Don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga at various times (and especially in a letter of November 30 of last year, 1684) concerning the uprising of the barbarian Indians of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, whose boldness is so great that although he tried at various times with soldiers, arms, and religious to subject them, he was unable to do so. As final recourse he had decided to enter the area personally in the hope that those who had the obligation would follow him even though they might have grave doubts as to the success of the enterprise. Resources and supplies for the operation were lacking. He might be obliged to retreat and appeal to you for the prompt succor needed in the form of some amount from the treasury of that city<sup>5</sup> or from Zacatecas. He cited the danger that might threaten if this help was not forthcoming. His arguments left no room for doubt or hesitation in giving prompt aid.

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1. Carlos II, king from 1665 to 1700.

2. The viceroy was Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón.

3. Cuencamé is 120 kilometers northeast of Durango. Mineral deposits were discovered there late in the sixteenth century, and the mining town began haphazardly. By 1602 Cuencamé had its own *alcalde mayor*. Both Franciscans and Jesuits had been in the area, but by 1604 a secular priest was assigned to the mining camp. Tobosos and Salineros caused the near-total abandonment of the mines and town in the 1640s and 1650s. When established, the presidio of Cuencamé was placed in El Pasaje, a location with better pasture 15 kilometers northwest, and soon became known by that name.

4. San Pedro del Gallo was north of the Río Nazas, 90 kilometers northwest of Cuencamé. Before the establishment of the presidio it was a cattle hacienda.

5. México.

On receipt of this news, you summoned a meeting in which it was decided that it was impossible to come to his aid in any way for reasons which were stated. It was decided to tell Governor Don Joseph de Neyra that in view of the impossibility referred to and the presumed obligation of assisting him in the defense of that kingdom, he should use the soldiers of the presidios there and the miners and ranchers in that jurisdiction as his predecessors had done. He should also—in addition to the tithe of one percent they pay from the silver they mine—ask the miners of Nueva Vizcaya as well as those of Zacatecas and Sombrerete and vicinity to increase their tithe to two percent. This, together with assessments on the cattle owners and ranchers, should be kept in a separate account for the founding and support of the presidios that might be placed on those frontiers until my royal treasury might be able to support them.

The recent letters, decrees, and reports, as well as those previously received, were examined by my council with the attention owed to their importance. I took counsel about all this, remembering that realm is one of the richest of all the Indies due to its fruits and gold and silver mines and that in the difficulties of the governor as evidenced in his forcible presentation it might justly be feared that some setback had taken place. I have decided to tell you (as I do in this letter) what a surprise it was that in a matter of such importance the council could have made such a weak decision in proposing the steps to be taken in this grave emergency. I am surprised that you agreed with their position, whereas the obligation of your post ought to have moved you to avail yourself of all possible means to remedy such a fateful situation, even going out in person to subject those Indians. It was the underestimation of such a situation as this and the lack of prompt and suitable remedies that resulted in the loss of New Mexico. If it was too difficult for you to make the journey personally, you should have sent some military commander or commanders who were skilled in combat with forty or fifty troops equipped with arms and munitions. Even with such a small force it seems that there should have been no difficulty that would make success impossible.

If such a misfortune should occur, you and the ministers would be responsible—those ministers who assembled and have caused me such inconvenience. You convoked the meeting for a matter of such importance since you could not ignore the robbery and murder the aforesaid Indians had committed against my subjects. It has been a great affliction to me that you did not summon experienced military men of the realm for the quickest resolution of the difficulty and that you did not use all possible force and human foresight to prevent such damage, which is of great harm to my domains in America. I had rightly believed that in carrying out what I ordered you in the cited dispatch of June 16 of this year you would have taken the necessary measures to avoid such harmful occurrences and thus would have arranged to locate two presidios with twenty-five soldiers each at Cuencamé and Gallo.

I have now decided to place another presidio in San Francisco de Conchos,<sup>6</sup> and each of these presidios is to have at least fifty soldiers. It is believed that this—and

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6. San Francisco de Conchos was a Franciscan mission 90 kilometers northeast of Parral. When the presidio was established there, in order to separate the soldiers from the mission Indians of Conchos, the garrison was located one league up the valley from the mission settlement. Mounded ruins at the site today indicate the presidio occupied an extensive

now even more—is needed to repress the ferocity of those Indians, considering the difficulty of making war against them (especially the Tobosos and their allies) due to the rough terrain where they live and the fact that there are no rivers nor springs for more than 100 leagues around. By means of these three presidios, various mining settlements which are now exposed to their depredations will be made safe.

In appointing commanders for these three presidios, the nominations of my governor of Nueva Vizcaya should take precedence (as I now inform you) and they are to be soldiers who have served in that realm or on campaigns. They should be of good reputation and character. You are to choose one of the three persons proposed to you, and the appointment is to be for life. Neither you nor my governor shall be able to remove them from their posts except for more important assignments or other just cause.

In this connection, I call to your attention that it is my will that from now on this same method shall be used in providing commanders for the presidios of Sinaloa, San Sebastián, and Cerrogrande. The governor's nominations shall have preference and all the other conditions including permanence in office shall be observed. They shall not be removed except for more important employment or other just cause. All this refers back to the orders I gave in a dispatch of February 22, 1680, in accordance with which it is proper that you have command authority over them and are able to avail yourself of these arms when necessary in my royal service, without contradiction or delay and also to stimulate and encourage the natives of that realm to be attracted to the profession of military life with the hope of being employed in these posts to increase their security and to counter the impudence of rebel Indians who throw themselves at Spanish garrisons and presidios.

For these reasons there should be twenty-five muskets as a precautionary measure in each of the four presidios at Cuencamé, Gallo, San Francisco de Conchos, and Cerrogrande. So that they can be precisely and punctually used for this purpose, I order you to furnish them from the armory of that city along with two quintals of powder yearly. The arquebuses currently used by the soldiers are less effective as they are too short and have a limited range.

A salary of 600 pesos yearly shall be assigned to each of the commanders at the presidios of Cuencamé, Gallo, and San Francisco de Conchos. The soldiers there shall receive the same as those who serve in the presidio of Cerrogrande. In accordance with which, I order you immediately upon the receipt of this dispatch to arrange to carry out all the above orders in accord with the methods herein stated. The monies for building the presidios and paying the troops in each should be paid punctually so as to further our aim of maintaining them for the safety of that realm.

I command you, immediately and without delay, to call a general meeting to be attended by military personnel who have experience in those regions. Based on their opinions and that of my governor, you shall decide once and for all the method of waging war against the Concho Indians and the other rebel nations who

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area, complete with room blocks and a detached chapel, but were not arranged within a defensive, walled compound. This is borne out by a plan of the site made in 1758.

make up the eighty-eight rebel groups. Since their land is level and with an abundance of supplies and rivers, the cavalry can maneuver there and more easily prevail over them. You shall apply yourselves to seeking out and providing the means in the form of men and arms, horses and equipment needed to carry out this operation.

You and they shall make a major effort to carry this out and for this purpose shall make use of the means and decisions your zeal may decide upon and use to benefit my royal treasury and to save expenses. This matter is more urgent than any other that may come up, including the new conquests of the Californias.<sup>7</sup> It is to be considered of greater importance because the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya is a shield for [Nueva] Galicia and New Spain.

I am sure you will attend to the fulfillment of these orders with the application and care demanded for a matter of this size, and also because what was omitted in the meeting you previously convoked was that although the assembled subjects were listed, only their opinions were given as to what should be done.

In virtue of this dispatch you shall report to me all that you did in the first meeting as well as in the next one. I shall inform my governor, Don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga, of all this and order him to do whatever is his duty or whatever he may see to be in my royal service for the safety of this realm.

Done in Madrid, December 22, 1685. I, the King.

#### CONFERENCES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. DECEMBER 14, 1685.

Sir: The Conde de Paredes, viceroy of New Spain, sent to the council, in a letter of March 28 of this year, a statement concerning a report made to him by Don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga, governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, about the uprising of the barbarous Indians of those regions.

In his most recent report of November 30, 1684, he had stated that the Indians' boldness had reached such a degree that it was not possible for him to conquer their pride and daring despite his having arranged for Juan de Retana<sup>8</sup> to go to the center of the rebellion with 100 *arcabuceros* and a number of Indians of the Tarahumara nation paid for by the settlers from the funds for peace and war. After five weeks he returned without having had any encounters. He then sent out a second and a third expedition composed of sixty *arcabuceros* with the same results. Then

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7. This refers to the activities of Admiral Atondo y Antillón, noted in the first document in this chapter. At this time it was widely believed that the Californias were islands, separate from mainland New Spain.

8. Juan Fernández de Retana was born in 1652 in the Basque province of Alava, Spain. He arrived in Parral by 1678 and was engaged in freighting and protecting the supply trains. He was appointed the first commander of the new presidio of Conchos with the rank of general and remained in that position until his death there in 1708. In 1688 he led an expedition into western Texas in response to reports of French encroachment. Retana commanded actions against hostile Indians throughout the area, most notably during the Tarahumara revolts of the 1690s. For executing Tarahumara rebels in the 1697 campaign Retana was formally banished from Nueva Vizcaya but held fast to his command during six years of appeals. A royal review finally brought exoneration and commendation from the new Bourbon king after Retana was judged to have only been following the governor's orders.

the governor availed himself of a religious to enter the region accompanied by Indians who had been governors of their own tribes. They also appealed for help, and the governor promptly collected seventy arcabuceros for them. These all turned back in flight when they received reports that a numerous body of the enemy, composed of 500 Indians from five nations, was coming to meet them. They suffered great losses because the enemy, knowing how small their force was, attacked with great vigor and daring in a general uprising, in the course of which they caused many deaths and robbed and stole more than 400 cattle from the haciendas. This numerous body of barbarians had been collected from more than 100 different nations.

As a result of these events, the governor met with the settlers of Parral. After hearing them, he resolved to lead personally an expedition, believing that those whose duty it was to do so would follow him. He judged this to be the last resort and feared greatly for the outcome due to lack of means, provisions, and supplies. He had to go back on his proposal because in that jurisdiction none of these things was readily available. Although thirty cultivated fields were under irrigation, not even four had been planted because the workers had all fled out of fear and suspicion of enemy hostilities. This left the region almost depopulated. Their experiences during the previous entradas had taught them how depraved was the character of the barbarians in that desolate realm. After these losses there was no way to remedy the situation without great cost to the royal treasury, even though a proper defense called for a very prompt and efficacious solution. This was of the greatest importance because the frontier for a distance of more than 500 leagues served as a protective wall for Nueva Galicia with its many rich and important mines, such as Sombrerete, Fresnillo, and Zacatecas. To provide for the defense of that realm he requested that support be provided from the treasuries of México or of Zacatecas. He described the wretched conditions and recounted the dangers that would threaten if help were not given. He stated that there was no room for doubt as to the need for prompt assistance.

Upon seeing this memorial, the viceroy ordered a meeting to be held in which these requests were examined by the fiscal. Everything was considered and it was resolved that although the viceroy was desirous of giving the matter the attention called for and putting down the uprisings by all possible means, he could not use any funds for this purpose from your majesty's treasury due to the other great obligations it had at the time. Clear evidence of these other obligations was given as follows: at one and the same time the large ships had to be dispatched without any hopes of increasing the treasury which was sent to these kingdoms, where a large shipment is needed for the defense of the monarchy. There was also a difficulty with the windward armada<sup>9</sup> which was to set sail as a convoy. Its general had requested 150,000 pesos to support the crews in addition to other supplies and arms given to the posts in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Havana, Florida, Puerto Rico, and Campeche—all of which were within sight of the enemy. All this admitted of no delay in spite of the fact that more than 200,000 pesos were already owed. To this was added the Philippine Islands, whose manpower and supply costs amounted to

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9. This Caribbean-based convoy frequently protected the annual flota.

250,000 pesos. There were also loans made by the royal treasury for various matters at the request of the viceroy, adding up to a total of more than 280,000 pesos which was still owed. There was no possibility of being able to collect this from anyone—not even from the payments made by religious teachers, curates, ecclesiastics, or the taxes on wine and oil and other revenues. Not only was that treasury overburdened but so were all the others in this realm. Having requested funds from your offices, the total received did not amount to 160,000 pesos in spite of the fact that quicksilver was included.

The same took place with the treasury of Guadiana, which was supposed to handle pay for the presidios of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya. Nothing was paid from the treasury of Guadalajara as it had been exhausted by contributions for the conquest of the California islands.

After all the reasons given in the aforementioned meeting, the council gave orders to provide the aforesaid governor with some help so he could discharge his obligation. Moreover, the miners and settlers in those provinces had to defend their persons and property through their own efforts. As long as your majesty's treasury was unable to assist with manpower and money, the governor acted as his predecessors had done using the settlers, miners, and ranchers in his jurisdiction for whatever raids and operations might seem most suitable to him. These were carried out wherever the danger was greatest, and he personally took part in them. The defense of the realm had been entrusted to him, and he had to make certain that everyone contributed so far as possible to support the expense of the expeditions. He was to make use of the soldiers from the neighboring presidios where attacks were not expected. He was also to enlist friendly Indians to take part in these incursions and provide only their sustenance. He was to offer all who rendered his majesty this service whatever remuneration was possible depending on the services rendered.

According to the statement of the governor it was to be feared that the barbarian Indians would become more daring every day unless they were restrained. This would make the situation of the realm more difficult, and as a remedy it would be necessary to place some presidios on the frontiers at a cost greatly beyond the ability of the royal treasury to bear. Those principally concerned by this danger are the miners and settlers. Consequently it was resolved that the governor should inform them that the haciendas would have to be levied with some contribution depending on each one's ability to pay. As for the miners—they were already paying a tenth, plus one percent of the silver they produced (in Perú they pay one fifth). They were permitted to pay only a tenth because of the poor quality of the metal, but now that the ores being extracted are much richer, their payment should increase by two percent in addition to the tenth.<sup>10</sup> This amount, like the assessment from the owners of the cattle ranches and estates, was to be kept in a separate account by the governor for the founding and support of the presidios that were to be placed on those frontiers as well as for the raids they would carry out until the royal treasury could support them.

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10. The standard royal tax on mining proceeds was 20 percent, but as shown here, this was often reduced to stimulate activity and adjusted according to crown needs and the miners' ability to pay.

The same would apply to the miners and settlers of Zacatecas and Sombrerete, as they too are concerned with this defense and would be menaced by the same danger if the barbarians should take control of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya.

The governor was to carry out this resolution in all the points of its content until such time as your majesty had considered all the facts and given other orders according to your good pleasure.

The council examined the viceroy's letter, the letter the governor had written him on November 30, 1684, others previously written to your majesty, and various reports and decrees. This was done with the attention demanded by a matter of such gravity. Consideration was also given to the fact that Nueva Vizcaya is one of the most fertile kingdoms in the Indies, abounding in every sort of fruit and in mines of silver and gold. If it were populated like the others, it would contribute more treasure to your majesty than all the rest. According to the situation the governor described—when he wrote to the viceroy (quoted above) telling how desperate it was—its loss might well be feared unless prompt help were given. And the loss would not be his fault.

Accordingly, this council does not hesitate to manifest to your majesty how much it was surprised at the weak resolution taken by the viceroy and his junta after receiving the governor's urgent request for help. It is surprising that they had not taken the greatest efforts to make use of whatever means were available to handle such fateful events, even if the viceroy had to use all his authority and go in person to subdue those barbarians. The gravity of the situation demanded no lesser effort. Even though this had not been done, the viceroy could have sent some military commander or commanders who were considered more competent along with 40,000 to 50,000 pesos, arms, munitions, and soldiers. It seems that this would not have been too difficult to do. The viceroy should have invited to the junta experienced military personnel from the province so as to arrive at a more suitable decision as to the action to be taken in a matter of such great importance.

In that province more than 100 nations have risen in rebellion. They are a countless multitude of very warlike and martial Indians inhabiting the country from the entrance to [Nueva] Vizcaya and the borders of [Nueva] Galicia on northward toward New Mexico for a distance of about 120 leagues. Within Nueva Vizcaya they insulted, attacked, killed, and robbed the vassals of your majesty. It causes considerable pain to hear this and still greater astonishment that all possible effort and human foresight have not been used to repair damage of such great consequence and injury to all the dominions of your majesty and that an end was not put to it at once.

The council became aware of this from unofficial reports on the state of this realm received in June of this year. It took steps to give special orders to the viceroy in a dispatch of your majesty of the 11th of that month which went with the ship that had carried quicksilver to New Spain.

Based on those reports and considering the importance of the security of that realm, the viceroy was ordered to make great efforts to do whatever he considered proper for this purpose. It was thought very important that he place two presidios of twenty-five soldiers each in Cuencamé and Gallo, as these are precisely the two chief passageways through which the rebel Indians take the booty of the robberies they constantly carry out. And, with these two presidios giving each other a hand, these dangers would be avoided and the commerce of this realm with that of

[Nueva] Galicia and New Spain (which had been ruined) would be helped. Also, since he is close to these events and the whole situation, he should do as he judges most fitting in these matters and take into consideration what he might do differently to repair the dangers and the damage suffered. This was left to his care and he was ordered to give the greatest attention to it since the conservation of the realm for your majesty's service is so important.

These, sir, are the measures that seemed good to the council based on the news that had previously come to it. And now, with the new reports about the bad state in which that realm remains, the council feels that the viceroy and the ministers who concurred in this should be informed as to how much it was surprised that no proper measures were taken in the junta that was called to deal with this matter and that the means it proposed for the defense of the settlers of the realm were not practical. If such ill fortune should befall (which God forbid!) and the barbarians gain control, it would be their fault. New Mexico was lost because the proper preventive measures were rejected and not taken in time, and in like manner the daring and pertinacious natives of Nueva Vizcaya are now following this example with unspeakable courage and vigor and with the hope of victory.

Besides the two presidios which the viceroy was told (in the cited dispatch) to place in Cuencamé and Gallo, another is to be placed in San Francisco de Conchos. Each shall have fifty soldiers and not less. Moreover, they may have more if they are needed to repress and contain the ferocity of the Toboso Indians and the other allied tribes in their raids and hostilities and to cut off their communications with the neighboring eighty-eight rebel nations. It is impossible for an expedition to make war against the Tobosos and their allies in their own very rough territory where there are no rivers, arroyos, or springs for 100 leagues. By means of these three presidios, different mining populations which are exposed to the fury of these barbarians will be secured. A general meeting should be called and attended by military personnel with experience in those places. And with their opinions and that of the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya, the manner of making war on the Conchos Indians and the other rebel tribes that compose the eighty-eight aforementioned nations should be decided once and for all.

These latter Indians live in flat country abounding in supplies and rivers, so it is easy to make war on them.<sup>11</sup> The cavalry can maneuver there, subjecting them and curtailing their pernicious growth, and it would not give up until their reduction was assured. The governor should be aided with all necessary means, men, arms, horses, and equipment. The greatest efforts should be made to do this, and it should have preference over all else, including efforts toward new conquests in the Californias. This matter is to be considered of the greatest importance in view of the evils that threaten. It is quite certain that if Vizcaya is lost (it serves as the wall of defense for the kingdoms of [Nueva] Galicia and New Spain) all the rest of this realm will be in grave danger.

As needed, the viceroy shall appoint the commanders of the three new presidios from the nominations by the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya. Three names shall be proposed and the viceroy shall choose one of them. The appointment shall

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11. This statement, however simplistic, does indicate that the king and council were generally aware of the riverine settlement pattern of the Conchos. It also points up the difficulty of Spanish forces in mounting campaigns in barren, waterless areas.



be for life and the post shall not be vacated nor can the commander be removed except for appointment to a better position or for a just cause. The governor is ordered to choose a soldier of good reputation and credit who has served in that realm or in campaigns as his nominee to present to the viceroy. The viceroy's appointment of commanders for the presidios of Sinaloa, San Sebastián, and Cerrogorordo shall be made in the same way. Three names shall be proposed to the viceroy. First comes nomination by the governor. Then the viceroy shall choose one of them in the same way and the one chosen shall have the same quality of perpetuity. He cannot be removed or transferred except for just cause, promotion, or some important reason. The viceroy shall order these commanders and those of the new presidios to be subject to the orders of the governor. These instructions were given previously in a cédula of the year 1680 so that commanders might possess the proper authority. The governor can avail himself of these arms without opposition when he needs them and asks for them, since delays in this matter can occasion and have occasioned serious harm to the royal service. In this way there will be great profit to your majesty since this will serve as a stimulus and an encouragement for honorable and respected subjects as well as the sons of well-to-do-settlers of the realm to join the militia. They can hope to be nominated for these posts and employed in them and thus will be encouraged and inclined to enter the military profession. As a result, all those weapons and soldiers will be at the orders and disposition of the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya to avail himself of them and to use them promptly when the occasion offers. On account of the audacity and daring of the rebel Indians who rush upon the presidios and armed posts of the Spaniards, it will be fitting, as a precaution, to have twenty-five muskets in each of the four presidios of Cuencamé, Gallo, Cerrogorordo, and San Francisco de Conchos to meet the attacks of the barbarians. The arquebuses which the soldiers now use are limited and have a short range and are not as effective as the muskets. In addition to this, each presidio shall be provided punctually every year with two quintals of powder.

The captains or commanders of the presidios of Cuencamé, Gallo, and San Francisco de Conchos shall be paid a salary of 600 pesos a year. The soldiers shall receive the same amount as those in the presidio of Cerrogorordo. The viceroy is ordered to see that the commanders and soldiers are paid well and on time. Otherwise they will not have the means of living or supporting themselves because they have no other means of livelihood than their wages.

It has been remarked that in the meeting convoked by the viceroy to deal with this matter, the participants' opinions as to what should be done in a matter of such weight and importance are lacking—even though their names are listed. Therefore, in the meetings called to deal with this matter he is ordered to report the opinions of all who do not agree with the majority. All this should be reported so that it will be clear what each one has said. The same should be observed in other meetings of like gravity.

This is what the council has decided to recommend to your majesty as to measures which can be proposed in this affair. If your majesty agrees, the necessary dispatches will be prepared and they will be sent off with the dispatch boat which has been ordered.

Your majesty will decide what best serves you.

Madrid, December 14, 1685

Council of the Indies, December 14, 1685. Agreed on December 3. Calling to your majesty's royal attention the reports of the viceroy of New Spain concerning the rebellion of Indians of Nueva Vizcaya with possible measures to suppress it.

*Original in Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 147. This follows the copy in the Colección Pastells, Vol. 8, Razón y Fe Library, Madrid.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

22 de diciembre de 1685

[El Rey]

**C**onde de Paredes, marqués de la Laguna, pariente de mi consejo, cámara y junta de guerra de las Indias; mi virrey, gobernador y capitán general de las provincias de la Nueva España y presidente de mi audiencia real de México, o a la persona o personas a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno.

Por algunas noticias extrajudiciales que se tuvieron en mi consejo de las Indias del estado del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por despacho mío de 16 de junio de este año (que fue con el navío de azogues que se hizo a la vela el día primero de julio de él) os mandé cuidáseis y celáceis mucho de ella, aplicando a este fin todo lo que tuviesen por conveniente, y por haberse juzgado lo sería el que en los parajes de Cuencamé y el Gallo hubiese dos presidios de a 25 soldados cada uno, por ser estos los dos pasos principales y precisos por donde los indios alzados conducen los robos que continuamente hacen; lo ejecutase así respecto de que se asegurarían estos riesgos dándose la mano los dos presidios y por este medio se facilitará el comercio de este reino con el de la Nueva Galicia. Pero que como quien se hallaba inmediato al hecho de lo que pasaba, y al estado de las cosas, difería en vuestra providencia para que obrasen el reparo de semejantes riesgos y daños previstos lo que juzgase de más conveniente en la disposición referida fiando de vos que os aplicaríais a ello y a la conservación de aquellas provincias con el mayor desvelo y atención que requiera materia tan importante.

Y ahora en carta de 28 de marzo de este año dais cuenta testimonio de año de las noticias que os participó el gobernador don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga diferentes veces y especialmente en carta de 30 de noviembre del pasado de 1684 sobre la sublevación de los indios bárbaros de los contornos del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, y que su orgullo pasó a tanto extremo que aunque intentó varias veces con gente y armas y religiosos sujetarlos, no lo pudo conseguir y por último recurso resolvió entrar en persona a esta empresa con la esperanza de que le seguirían los que se hallasen con obligaciones aunque desconfiara mucho del buen suceso por falta de medios y bastimentos para esta operación y se vería obligado a retirarse como os lo había representado para que a este intento le socorriesedes prontamente con la precisión que requería la materia con alguna cantidad de las cajas de esa ciudad o de las de Zacatecas, protestando los riesgos que de no hacerlo podrían acaecer porque la representación que os hacía no admitía dudas, ni comentarios por el pronto socorro.

Y que con estas noticias formasteis una junta en que reconocida la imposibilidad de socorrerle con ningunos medios por los motivos que en ella se expresaron.

Se resolvió se dijese al dicho gobernador don Joseph de Neyra que respecto la imposibilidad referida y la obligación que supuesto le asistía de cuidar de la defensa de aquel reino se valiese de los soldados de los presidios que tiene; y de los vecinos mineros y estancieros de esa jurisdicción como lo habían ejecutado sus antecesores añadiendo lo que sobre el diezmo y uno por 100 que pagan de la plata que sacan. Solicitan que así los mineros de la Nueva Vizcaya como los de Zacatecas y de Sombrerete y sus vecinos diesen 2 por 100 más del dicho diezmo, y sobre el 1 por 100, otro más que lo que esto produjese, y los repartimientos que hiciese en los dueños de los ganados y estancias lo tuviese por cuenta aparte para la fundación y sustento de los presidios que conviniese poner en aquellas fronteras en el ínterin que mi real hacienda pueda mantenerlos.

Y visto en el dicho mi consejo con las cartas, autos, e informes que sobre esta materia han llegado y había en él antecedentemente con la atención que corresponde a su gravedad y aconsejarme sobre todo, considerando que aquel reino es uno de los más fértiles de todo género de frutos y minerales de plata y oro que hay en las Indias y que en el aprieto que se hallaba el gobernador, como lo verifica su eficaz representación se puede temer justamente haya sucedido algún contratiempo, ha parecido decirnos (como por la presente lo hago) lo mucho que se ha extrañado que en materia de tanta importancia como ésta, tomase la junta una resolución tan tibia como la de los medios que se propusieron en ellas para ocurrir prontamente a tan grave urgencia; y que a vos os hubieseis conformado con parecer cuando la obligación de vuestro puesto os debía empeñar a que valiéndose de todos los medios posibles, acudieseis al reparo de tan fatal suceso yendo en persona a la reducción de estos indios. Pues de despreciarse un caso como éste y no haberse aplicado en tiempo el remedio conveniente, sucedió la pérdida del Nuevo México. Y cuando no tuviese facilidad vuestra ida, debíais haber enviado a su ejecución con algún cabo o cabos militares, hábiles para la acción y hasta 40 y 50 mil armas, municiones y gente pues para una cantidad tan corta como ésta no parece no podía haber dificultad que lo imposibilitase; que caso que haya sucedido semejante desgracia os cayera cargo de residencia, y a los ministros que concurrieron en dicha junta causándome igual reparo que para lo que convocasteis para una materia de esta importancia, no pudiendo ignorar vos los robos y muertes que en vasallos míos han ejecutado los indios alzados que me ha sido de gran desconsuelo, no hubiesedes llamado sujetos militares y prácticos de aquel reino para la más acertada resolución y que a toda fuerza y providencia humana no hayáis atendido a atajar semejantes daños de tan superiores consecuencias y perjuicios a mis dominios en la América. Y debiendo creer que en ejecución de lo que os mandé por el despacho citado de 16 de junio de este año habréis dado la providencia necesaria para evitar tan perjudiciales inconvenientes y dispuesto se hagan los dos presidios de a 25 soldados cada uno en los parajes de Cuencamé y el Gallo.

Ha resuelto ahora se haga otro en el de San Francisco de Conchos y que cada uno de ellos tenga por lo menos un número de 50 soldados, pues se considera que esto (y más ahora) necesario para reprimir la ferocidad de aquellos indios respecto de la dificultad que tiene en entrar a hacerles guerra especialmente los tobosos y sus aliados, por la aspereza de las tierras eso que habitan y que en más de cien leguas no se encuentran ríos ni fuentes. Y que por el medio de estos presidios se aseguran diferentes poblaciones de minas que están expuestos a sus estragos.

Y que para la provisión que habéis de hacer de cabos para los dichos tres presidios haya de preceder nómina de mi gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya (como se lo prevengo) y que ha de ser en soldados que hayan servido en los de aquel reino o compañía de campaña de mayor reputación y crédito, y a vos que precisamente hayáis de decir uno de los tres sujetos que os propusiere y no en otra manera con calidad que este nombramiento ha de ser de por vida sin que vos ni el dicho gobernador podáis quitarles estos puestos, ni removerlos de ellos sino que sea a mayores empleos, o por otra causa justa. Y con esta ocasión os advierto que mi voluntad es, que de aquí en adelante se practique la misma forma en la provisión de los cabos de los presidios de Sinaloa, San Sebastián, y Cerrogorordo precediendo la nómina del gobernador con las circunstancias que van expresadas y de la perpetuidad, y de no poderlos remover sino es en los casos de mayor empleo, o causa justa y que unos y otros hayan de citar a la orden del dicho mi gobierno como lo tengo mandado por despacho de 22 de febrero de 1680 por lo que conviene que sobre ellos tenga el mando y autoridad conveniente y pueda valerse de estas armas siempre que las haya menester para mi real servicio de estímulo y aliento para que los naturales de aquel reino se inclinen a la profesión de la milicia con la esperanza de ser ocupados en estos puestos. Y que para atajar la osadía de los indios rebelados que se arrojan en los parajes y presidios guarnecidos de los españoles y afianzan más la seguridad de estos, deba de haber en cada uno de los 4 de Cuencamé, el Gallo, San Francisco de Conchos y Cerrogorordo 25 mosquetes de prevención los cuales os mando los remitáis de la armería de esa ciudad y más dos quintales de pólvora cada año precisa y puntualmente para ocurrir a semejantes intentos, porque los arcabuces de que usan los soldados no son de tanto efecto por cortos y de poco alcance. Señalándoles (como desde luego señalo) a cada uno de los cabos de los dichos presidios de Cuencamé, el Gallo y San Francisco de Conchos 600 pesos de sueldo al año y a los soldados de ellos lo mismo que a los que sirven en el presidio del Cerrogorordo; en cuya conformidad os mando que luego que recibáis este despacho, dispongáis la ejecución y cumplimiento de todo lo referido según y en la forma que aquí va expresado y que los medios para la fábrica de los presidios y paga de la situación de cada uno y de los demás que se previene sean puntuales y efectivos para que se consiga el fin que se solicita de mantenerlos para la conservación de aquel reino.

Y así mismo os mando que luego y sin dilación alguna, hagáis junta general en que concurren personas militares y prácticas de aquellos parajes y con su parecer y el del dicho mi gobernador, discurráis la forma de hacer la guerra de una vez caso de resolverse y determinarse así en dicha junta a los indios conchos y demás naciones alzadas que componen las 88 sublevadas, éstas en tierras llanas abundantes de todos bastimentos y ríos, y poderse manejar en ella la caballería para sujetarlos con más facilidad. Aplicaréis a buscar y prevenir los medios de gente y armas, caballos y pertrechos que se necesitan para esta operación, haciendo vos y ellos mayores esfuerzos para la consecución y valiéndose para ello de los medios, y arbitrios que vuestro celo puede discurrir y hallar en beneficio y ahorro de mi real hacienda; prefiriendo esta empresa y urgencia a otra cualquiera que pueda ofrecerse y sobreseyendo por ahora en las nuevas conquistas de las Californias, por considerarse ésta por la de mayor gravedad por la circunstancia de ser el reino de la Nueva Vizcaya antemural del de [Nueva] Galicia y de esa Nueva España, prome-

tiéndome de vuestras obligaciones que atenderéis al cumplimiento de estas órdenes con la aplicación y cuidado que pide materia de este tamaño; y porque se ha echado de menos que en la junta que convocasteis aunque vienen expresados los sujetos que concurrieron en ella sólo vienen sus votos (como debía ser).

Y me daréis cuenta de todo lo que en virtud de este despacho ejecutásedes en la primera ocasión que por otro de la fecha de ésta doy noticia de lo referido al dicho mi gobernador don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga ordenándole ejecute por su parte cuanto le tocare y reconociere ser de mi real servicio y conservación de aquel reino. Hecha en Madrid a 22 de diciembre de 1685 años. Yo el rey.

#### CONSULTAS DEL CONSEJO DE INDIAS EN 14 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1685.

Señor:

El conde de Paredes, virrey de la Nueva España, remitió al consejo con carta que escribió el 28 de marzo de este año un testimonio por donde constan las noticias que don Joseph de Neyra y Quiroga, gobernador y capitán general del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, le participó en diferentes cartas consultas sobre la sublevación de los indios bárbaros de aquellos contornos; expresando en la última de 30 de noviembre de 1684; hállase en tanto grado su atrevimiento que no le había sido posible sujetar su orgullo y osadía; sin embargo de haber dispuesto que Juan Retana entrase al centro de los alzados con 100 arcabuceros y cantidad de indios de la nación Tarahumara a costa de los vecinos y de los efectos de paz y guerra, el cual después de haber pasado cinco semanas, volvió sin haber conseguido facción alguna, habiendo sucedido lo mismo con el segundo y tercer socorro que despachó; que juntos se componían de 60 arcabuceros y que aunque después se valió de dicho gobernador de un religioso para que entrase en compañía de unos indios que habían gobernado sus naciones. Resultó que le pidieron socorro, a que acudió prontamente juntando 70 arcabuceros; y se volvieron huyendo de la noticia del numeroso cuerpo de enemigos que les venían al encuentro compuesto de cinco naciones y 500 indios lo cual había sido para experimentar mayores daños pues conociendo las pocas fuerzas los enemigos, les unía de mayor empeño y convocación general su desverguenza, con que habían ejecutado muchas muertes en algunas personas, robos y destrozos en los ganados de las haciendas, teniendo en su poder más de 400 reses, siendo el numeroso cuerpo conjurado de dichos bárbaros a más de 100 naciones: cuyo motivo le obligó a hacer junta de los vecinos del Parral, y habiéndolos oído resolvió entrar en persona prometiéndose le seguirían los que se hallasen con obligaciones; juzgando ésto por el último recurso, sin embargo de que temía mucho el suceso por la falta de medios, socorros y bastimentos; pues faltándoles éstos, precisamente se habían de retirar respecto de que en aquella jurisdicción y su contorno no se hallaba cosa alguna pronta de estos géneros; porque aunque constaba de 30 labores de regadío no se habían sembrado cuatro por la fuga que en ellas hacían los sirvientes con el temor y recelo de las hostilidades de los enemigos dejándolas casi despobladas como constaba de los sucesos que habían acaecido y experimentado en las entradas que antecedentemente habían emprendido, en el que se convenía el ánimo depravado de dichos bárbaros en la desolación de aquel reino sin poderse remediar ni restaurar después de sus pérdidas sin mucha consta de la real hacienda cuya defensa pedía muy pronto y eficaz remedio por ser de los de mayor consecuencia en aquel reino y componerse su contorno de

más de 500 leguas sirviendo de antemural a las fronteras de la Nueva Galicia en que se comprenden las minerías más ricas y principales, como son Sombrerete, Fresnillo y Zacatecas; y para el remedio que entonces pedía la defensa de aquel reino pidió se librase alguna cantidad de las cajas de México o en las de Zacatecas, representando el miserable estado en que quedaba aquel reino, y protestando los riesgos que de no socorrer le podrían acaecer y que no admitía comentarios, ni dudas la representación que hacía de la necesidad en que se hallaba para la pronta resolución del socorro que pedía.

Con vista de esta representación dispuso el virrey se formase una junta donde se vió lo referido y lo pedido por el fiscal, a quién se dio vista de todo en la cual se resolvió que aunque el dicho virrey le asistía el ánimo y deseo de aplicar todos los medios posibles para que semejantes sublevaciones tuviesen el reparo que correspondía a su atrevimiento; no podía hacerlo en la ocasión presente con ningunos medios de la hacienda de vuestra majestad en consideración de los empeños tan grandes con que entonces se hallaba. Y estaban con evidencias manifiestas pues a un mismo tiempo se habían de despachar las urcas; y éstas sin esperanzas de que se recreciese el tesoro que se remitía a estos reinos donde había de ser más crecida su remisión para su defensa de esta monarquía. El aprieto de la armada de barlovento que había de salir convoyándolo para lo cuál pidió su general 150,000 pesos para socorrer la gente demás de los bastimentos y demás pertrechos con que estaba socorrida. El envío que se remitió a los situados en Santo Domingo, Cuba, Habana, Florida, Puerto Rico y Campeche por la necesidad con que se hallaban respecto de tener a la vista al enemigo; lo cual no admitía dilación, sin embargo de quedárseles debiendo más de 200,000 pesos; el que se hace a las islas Filipinas, cuyo situado y géneros importaban 250,000 pesos. Los empréstitos que se habían hecho a la real hacienda por diferentes particulares a instancia y solicitud del dicho virrey, que se componían de 280,000 pesos de que todavía se hallaba deudora y sin poder darse satisfacción en parte alguna, como ni tampoco de los que se debe en las reales cajas de diferentes libramientos de religiosos doctrineros, curas, eclesiásticos, limosnas de vino y aceite, rentas y otros menesteres; y que no sólo aquella caja padecía este empeño y atraso sino todas las demás de aquel reino pues habiendo pedido a oficiales vuestros todo el caudal que se hallaba en ellas, aun no llegó el que se remitió a 160,000 pesos; sin embargo de habérseles socorrido con azogues y habiendo ejecutado lo mismo con la Guadiana, que es donde tienen asignada la paga los soldados de los presidios circunvecinos a dicho reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, no se remitió caudal alguno en la de Guadalajara por haberlo consumido en los socorros que se han hecho para la conquista de las islas Californias, con que por dicha junta; sólo debía mandarse en el interin que tenía algún desahogo la real hacienda para poder asistir a todos los referidos fundamentos individuados en dicho gobernador con algún socorro, que en conformidad de su obligación y de la que tienen todos los mineros y vecinos de aquella provincia de defender sus personas y haciendas cuando la de vuestra majestad estaba imposibilitada por entonces de ayudarlos con gente y dinero procurase dicho gobernador en la conformidad de lo que habían hecho sus antecesores ejecutar con los vecinos de toda su jurisdicción, así mineros como estancieros, las correrías y entradas que le pareciesen más convenientes, repitiéndolas a las partes en donde se temiese el mayor daño, asistiendo personalmente a ellas como a quien se le ha encargado la defensa de aquel reino procurando que cada uno contribuya conforme su posible para el gasto

y sustento de dichas correrías; y valiéndose para ellas de los soldados de los presidios circunvecinos donde no amenazase el mismo daño y llevando los indios amigos obligando también a ello a las personas que no tuvieren caudal para que asistan a dichas entradas, dándoles solo el sustento, y ofreciendo a uno y a otros que se atendiera al servicio que en esto hiciesen a vuestra majestad y a la defensa de la tierra para remunerarles como se pudiese, conforme a la calidad y desempeño de cada uno.

Y respecto al que se puede recelar según la representación de dicho gobernador que cada día estarán más osados los indios bárbaros si no se les ataja su orgullo y que pondrán en mayor aprieto a aquel reino y será necesario poner algunos presidios de pie en las fronteras, y que esto ha de ser de mucha costa y la imposibilidad prevista de la real hacienda y que los más próximamente interesados son los mineros y vecinos de aquel reino les propusiese el gobernador. No se había discutido en dicha junta otro medio que gravar con alguna pensión las haciendas conforme su calidad y cantidad, y que como pagan los mineros el diezmo y uno por ciento de la plata que sacan, siendo así que en el Perú se paga el quinto, y que el haberseles concedido a aquel reino el diezmo fue respecto de la pobreza de los metales y que se sabe que los que ahora produce son mucho más ricos, ofrezcan dar dos por 100 y así lo que esto produjere, como lo demás del repartimiento entre los dueños de haciendas de ganados y estancias lo tenga por cuenta aparte el gobernador para la fundación y sustento de los presidios que pareciese conveniente poner en aquellas fronteras en el ínterin que la real hacienda puede mantenerlos y sustentarlos, y para las correrías que se debiesen hacer; cuya proposición se entendiese también con los mineros y vecinos de Zacatecas y Sombrerete como tan próximamente interesados en dicha defensa y a las cuales amenaza el mismo riesgo en apoderarse los bárbaros del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya. La cual resolución ejecutase dicho gobernador en todos los puntos de su contenido en el ínterin que, con vista de todos los autos mandaba vuestra majestad que lo fuese de su mayor agrado.

Habiéndose visto en el consejo el contenido de la carta del virrey, la que el gobernador le escribió en 30 de noviembre de 1684 y otras escritas a vuestra majestad anteriores y diferentes informes y autos, con la atención que pide materia de tanta gravedad y considerando que la Nueva Vizcaya es uno de los reinos, el más fértil y abundante de todo género de frutas y minerales de plata y oro que hay en las Indias, y que si estuviera como otros igualmente poblado, contribuiría a vuestra majestad más tesoro que el resto de ellas y que según el estado en que su gobernador refiere quedaba cuando escribió al virrey lo que va citado con expresiones de tanto aprieto, como que si no la socorría prontamente no sería por su cuenta la pérdida que puede justamente temerse y recelarse haya sucedido esta fatalidad.

Por lo cual no excusa el consejo manifestar a vuestra majestad lo mucho que ha estrañado la tibia resolución que el virrey y la junta tomó en vista de la eficaz y apretada representación del gobernador para su socorrido, y que no hubiese hecho los mayores esfuerzos valiéndose de cuantos medios se ofreciesen para ocurrir al reparo de tan fatal suceso aunque fuera empeñando toda su autoridad y yendo en persona a reducir a estos bárbaros, pues la gravedad del caso no pedía menor eficacia. Y cuando esto no fuese, haber enviado algún cabo o cabos militares los que juzgase más hábiles para la acción y remitiendo 40,000 a 50,000 pesos en armas, municiones y gente, creyéndose que para esta corta providencia no tendría suma

dificultad, queriendo darla y así mismo que no hubiese llamado a la junta sujetos militares y prácticos de aquella provincia para la más acertada resolución y providencia en materia de tan suma importancia, en cuya provincia se hallan más de 100 naciones alzadas, que contienen innumerable multitud de indios muy belicosos y guerreros que habitan desde la entrada de la Vizcaya, y confines de la Galicia; siguiendo al norte y camino del Nuevo México 120 leguas con poca diferencia, todo en términos de la misma Vizcaya, donde han ejecutado los insultos, acometimientos, muertes y robos de los vasallos de vuestra majestad que causa notable dolor el oírlo y mayor desconcierto el que a toda fuerza y providencia humana; no se hayan reparado daños de tan superiores consecuencias y perjuicios a todos los dominios de vuestra majestad en la América, ni prontamente no se atajan; que conociéndoles el consejo por algunas extrajudiciales noticias, que por junio de este año llegaron a él, del estado de este reino. Dio la providencia de ordenar al virrey (por despacho de vuestra majestad de 16 de dicho mes fue con el navío que llevó los azogues a la Nueva España) que (respecto aquellas noticias, y considerando la importancia de su conservación) cuidase y celase mucho en ellas, aplicando a este fin todo lo que tuviese por conveniente; y que porque se considerará lo serio el que en los parajes de Cuencamé y el Gallo, pusiese dos presidios de a 25 soldados cada uno por ser estos los dos pasos principales y precisos por donde los indios alzados conducen los robos que continuamente ejecutan; y que dándose la mano estos dos presidios se asegurarían estos riesgos y se facilitará el comercio de este reino con el de la [Nueva] Galicia y Nueva España que estaba arruinado, lo ejecutase así; pero como quién se hallaba inmediato a medio de lo que pasaba en él y el estado de las cosas, obrase en esta disposición lo que juzgase más conveniente y diese cuenta de lo que diferentemente ejecutase en reparo de los riesgos y daños previstos, dejándolo a su providencia, y encargándole aplicase su reparo al mayor desvelo y atención como materia tan importante, la conservación de este reino al servicio de vuestra majestad.

Esto es (señor) lo que al consejo le pareció prevenir con las noticias que antecederamente llegaron a él. Y ahora con lo que las presentes agravan el mal estado en que quedaba aquel reino, siente que se le debe dar a entender al virrey lo mucho que se ha extrañado y reparado en la carta que ninguna providencia que dio en la junta que se formó sobre esta materia, y que los medios que proponía para que los vecinos del reino se defendiesen, eran impracticables. Y también a los ministros que concurriesen en ella, y que caso que haya sucedido la fatalidad (que Dios no permita) de haberse perdido apoderándose de él los bárbaros les sea caso de residencia, lo cual es muy probable a imitación de lo sucedido en el Nuevo México, que por despreciarse, y no aplicarse el remedio conveniente en tiempo, se perdió. Y a este ejemplar siguen pertinaces y osados (los que habitan el de la Nueva Vizcaya), la misma empresa con aliento y vigor indecible, y esperanza de conseguirla.

Que además de los dos presidios que en el despacho citado, se dijo al virrey pusiese en los parajes de Cuencamé y Gallo, se ponga otro en el de San Francisco de Conchos, cada uno con número de 50 soldados, y no menos, antes más, si hubiere ser necesario para reprimir y contener la ferocidad de los indios tobosos, y demás naciones aliadas, en las correrías y hostilidades que ejecutan, y embarazarles la comunicación con las 88 naciones circunvecinas y sublevadas, porque a la de los tobosos, y a sus aliados por habitar en tierras asperísimas y no haber en él



más de 100 leguas, ríos, arroyos, ni fuentes, no se les puede entrar a hacer la guerra, que con el medio de estos tres presidios se asegurarán diferentes poblaciones de minas que están expuestas al furor de estos bárbaros. Que haga junta general en que concurren personas militares y prácticas de aquellos parajes, y con su parecer, y del gobernador de la [Nueva] Vizcaya resuelva la forma de hacer la guerra de una vez (de decidiere así) a los indios conchos, y demás naciones alzadas que componen las 88 referidas, que por vivir estas tierras llanas, abundantes de todos bastimentos y ríos se les puede hacer con facilidad, por poderse manejar en ella la caballería, sujetándolos y cortando esta pernicioso raíz sin alzar la mano hasta conseguir su reducción asistiendo a este gobernador con todos los medios, gente, armas, caballos y pertrechos de que necesitase y que a este efecto se aplique a buscarlos haciendo para ello los mayores esfuerzos, prefiriendo a esta empresa y urgencia otra cualquiera que puede ofrecerse; sobresellando por ahora en los que mira a las nuevas conquistas de las Californias, por considerarse ésta de la mayor y suma gravedad, respecto sus perniciosas consecuencias, siendo cierto que perdía la [Nueva] Vizcaya (que es antemural del reino de [Nueva] Galicia y Nueva España) todo el resto de ésta quedará a la misma contingencia o muy aventurada.

Que la provisión de los cabos de los tres presidios que se han de formar la haga el virrey (como es preciso) (pero precediendo nómina del gobernador de la [Nueva] Vizcaya) en que le proponga tres sujetos, y de ellos elija el uno, y no en otra manera, y con calidad, de que ha de ser el nombramiento de por vida sin que les puede quitar el puesto, ni removerlos, sino por promoción a mayor empleo, o por causa justa; y que al gobernador se le ordene que la proposición que hiciera al virrey para capitanes de estos presidios la haga en soldado que haya servido en los de aquel reino, o compañía de campaña de mayor reputación y crédito. Que así mismo la provisión de cabos para los presidios de Sinaloa, San Sebastián, Cerro-gordo (que hace el virrey) precedan las mismas circunstancias para ella que van referidas para los que nuevamente se forman, de que precede nómina del gobernador que le proponga tres sujetos de la misma calidad que para los otros, y elija precisamente de ellos el virrey con las mismas calidades de perpetuidad, y de no poder removerlos, ni quitar, sino con causa justa, o promoción o cosa de mayor grado; y que estos cabos los de los nuevos presidios se mande al virrey les ordene esten todos a la del gobernador, como le está mandado, por cédula del año de 80 para que en todos estos cabos tenga el mando y autoridad que conviene y se pueda valer de estas armas, siempre que las pidiese y necesitase sin contradicción alguna ni dilaciones que pueden ocasionar y han ocasionado graves perjuicios al real servicio, medio de que se seguirán grandes utilidades de vuestra majestad, porque servirá de estímulo y aliento para que se empleen en aquella milicia, sujetos de honra y estimación y los hijos de los vecinos acomodados del reino con esta esperanza de ser propuestos y empleados en estos puestos, se alentarán e inclinarán a la profesión de la milicia y en fin se conseguirá el que todas aquellas armas y milicias estén a la orden y disposición del gobernador de la [Nueva] Vizcaya para usar y valerse de ellas prontamente en las ocurrencias que se ofreciesen. Que respecto a la avilantez y osadía de estos indios rebelados que se arrojan a los presidios y puestos guarnecidos de españoles, convendrá se tenga de prevención en los 4 de Cuencamé, Gallo, Cerro-gordo, San Francisco de Conchos 25 mosquetes en cada uno para ocurrir a semejantes intentos de los bárbaros, porque los arcabuces de que usan aquellos soldados, son cortos y de poco alcance, y no de tanto efecto como

los mosquetes. Y que así mismo se socorra cada año a cada presidio con dos quintales de pólvora puntualísimamente.

Que a los capitanes o cabos de los presidios de Cuencamé, el Gallo, y San Francisco de Conchos se les asista a cada uno con el sueldo de 600 pesos al año, y a los soldados con el mismo que tienen señalado los que sirven en el presidio del Cerrogordo y que en la orden que se diere al virrey para estas asistencias y situaciones, se le encargue mucho la puntualidad en ellas, para que estén estos cabos y soldados bien pagados, porque en defecto de ello, no subsistirán, ni se podrán mantener por no tener forma ni arbitrio con que poder vivir sino la satisfacción de sus sueldos.

Y porque se ha echado menos que en la junta que convocó el virrey para la providencia que se había de dar a esta materia, aunque vienen expresados los sujetos que concurrieron en ella, no lo vienen sus votos (como debiera ser en materia de tanta consideración y gravedad), se le ordenará lo ejecute así en las que constasen sobre este particular, haciendo que cada uno ponga el suyo separado cuando no concurriere con la mayor parte, y remitiéndolos todos para que esté en cuenta de el que cada uno diere, y que lo mismo se observe en otras de semejante gravedad.

Esto es lo que al consejo ha parecido representar a vuestra majestad y las providencias que por ahora, y desde acá se pueden discurrir en esta materia que si vuestra majestad viniera en ello, se ejecutarán los despachos necesarios y se remitan con el navío de aviso que está mandado prevenir.

Vuestra majestad resolverá lo que sea de su mayor servicio.

Madrid, 14 de diciembre de 1685. Acordada en el 3 del dicho.

Pone en real noticia de vuestra majestad lo que ha participado el virrey de la Nueva España sobre la sublevación de los indios del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, y dice lo que para su reparo se le ofrece.

## A Municipal Muster, Parral 1686

*Not all frontier defense was in the hands of presidios. Any place of significant population maintained some sort of militia. These often comprised only a handful of men at any given time but the effort superseded effect. Major mining towns and administrative centers nearly always had men available on call. The number and quality varied depending on need, motivation, and leadership. Parral's importance in colonial Nueva Vizcaya was seldom challenged, and its size, central location, and economic and administrative control made it by far the dominant metropolis in the province.*

**G**eneral Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla,<sup>1</sup> Justicia Mayor, Lieutenant Governor and Captain-General of this Realm and Province of Nueva Vizcaya for His Majesty.

Inasmuch as it is necessary to be vigilant and ready, as is required for the operations of war which may occur against the Indians who have rebelled against the royal crown in this realm, its environs, and jurisdictions, because many people have left these places while the governor and captain-general<sup>2</sup> of this province seeks out the enemy.

By these presents I hereby command and order all the inhabitants of this real and its jurisdictions, including the merchants and shopkeepers who may be in it,

That from this day forward each person is to have a mule or horse, a pound of powder, a pound of shot, and other suitable weapons according to the needs of war for whatever action may be taken against the aforesaid hostile Indians.

In order to ascertain that everyone has these things, I order that within three days from the publication of this proclamation, all inhabitants shall appear before me with all their weapons and horses as they have been commanded.

All of this shall be done under the penalty of a fine of 100 pesos in reales, which will be used for the war expenses of this realm.

Moreover, so that everyone will come to this assembly so convened, I order that this proclamation be published to the sound of a war drum. Against any pos-

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1. Juan Hurtado de Castilla had been lieutenant governor under Diego Guajardo Fajardo in 1653 and served in various *alcaldías mayores* to at least 1689.

2. The governor at the time was Gabriel José de Neyra y Quiroga.

## Municipal Muster in Parral

sible disobedience and so that no one may pretend ignorance, I am ordering this done and that the statement calling attention to all be placed below.

Given in San Joseph del Parral, March 24, 1686, by order of his grace,

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla

Miguel de Aranda,<sup>3</sup> royal secretary

### *Proclamation*

In the real de minas of Parral on March 24, 1686, as secretary to his grace, in the public plaza of this town by the voice of Joseph, a black man who acted as crier, I published the above proclamation before a gathering of many people.

Witnesses: Don Lucas Vizcaino      Francisco de Escárcega<sup>4</sup>      Don Agustín  
Herbante de Camino<sup>5</sup>

Sworn to by,

Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary

### *Muster-roll:*

In the mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the 27th day of March, 1686, General Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla, lieutenant governor and captain-general of this province, at the doors of the royal houses and in my presence as secretary, made a list in the following form and manner for the purpose of ascertaining what weapons were possessed by the inhabitants of this real. Done in conformity with the previously published proclamation.

First: Captain Rafael de Ibarguen<sup>6</sup> with his arms and horse.

Alférez Lorenzo García Jalón with his arms and horse.

Captain Juan de Echevarría<sup>7</sup> with his arms and horse.

Antonio de Larrazolo with his arms and horse.

Alférez Andrés de Montenegro with his arms and horse.

Sebastián Delete with his arms and horse.

Joseph de Rivera with his arms and horse.

Luis Simón with his arms and horse.

Don Lucas de Sola Vizcaino with his arms and horse.

Pedro de Olaer with his arms and horse.

Don Lucas de Norriaga with his arms and horse.

Pedro de Madariaga with his arms and horse.

Joaquín de Selayandía with his arms and horse.

Francisco Antonio de Iscárrega with his arms and horse.

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3. Miguel de Aranda was a merchant in Parral and a captain in the militia. He had been in the area since the 1640s.

4. Escárcega was a Parral merchant and in 1678 held the position of assayer and weight master.

5. Herbante del Camino was a maestro de campo in 1693.

6. From the following list, the twenty-three who can be identified were merchants and/or mine owners.

7. Echevarría y Ylarduya, a native of Vitoria, Alava, Spain, married Josepha de Morales of Parral and had two children. He died in Parral in 1688.

Francisco García with his arms and horse.  
Marcos de Loranca with his arms and horse.  
Captain Francisco de Renedo Vélez with his arms and horse.  
Manuel Gómez with his arms and horse.  
Juan Leal with his arms and horse.  
Juan de Albirdi with his arms and horse.  
Francisco Correa [de Silva]<sup>8</sup> with his arms and horse.  
Juan de Ayala with his arms and horse.  
Bernardo García de Arguelles with his arms and horse.  
Juan Antonio Trasviña with his arms and horse.  
Domingo González<sup>9</sup> with his arms and horse.  
Hernán de Matarana with his arms and horse.  
Antonio Machargo with his arms and horse.  
Diego García de Salder with his arms and horse.  
Don Cristóbal de Carbajal with his arms and horse.  
Pedro de Oyanguren with his arms and horse.  
Antonio López<sup>10</sup> with his arms and horse.  
Don Agustín de Quirós with his arms and horse.  
Joseph de Estrada with his arms.  
Sebastián de Mendoza with his arms and horse.  
Joseph Rosete with his arms.  
Gabriel Pérez Domínguez with his arms.  
Juan de Loya with his arms.  
Salvador de Alvirdi with his arms.  
Joseph de Sepúlveda with his arms and horse.  
Juan de Sepúlveda with his arms and horse.  
Francisco González with his arms and horse.  
Francisco de la Peña with his arms and horse.  
Don Diego Ramos de la Vega with all arms.  
Lorenzo de Gruziaga with arms and horse.  
Juan Gutiérrez Ortiz with his arms and horse.  
Juan de Arámburu with his arms and horse.  
Nicolás de Bejarano with his arms and horse.  
Juan del Río with his arms and horse.  
Pedro Chaparro with his arms.  
Don Diego de Landavoso with his arms and horse.  
Juan de Barrios<sup>11</sup> with his arms.

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8. Corea de Silva was a native of Lisbon. He married Juliana Machado of San Francisco del Oro and died there in 1668.

9. González was Portuguese, born in Tangier in 1592. Married in Parral and the father of three sons, he was a merchant and miner.

10. López, the son of a Portuguese settler, was born in Valle de San Bartolomé in 1619. He held the rank of alferez in the militia muster of 1651.

11. Barrios, son of a Portuguese immigrant, was born in Valle de San Bartolomé in 1612 and worked as a miner.

Municipal Muster in Parral

Miguel de Beguiristáin with his arms and horse.  
Don Diego Alvarez Salgado<sup>12</sup> with his arms and horse.

The above-listed persons obediently passed muster. By orders of his grace they were notified to be prepared for any act of war that might occur, and they were to be called up for duty under the penalty imposed in the proclamation made on the above day, month, and year.

Signed by his grace,  
Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla  
In my presence, Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary

*Original in the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, microfilm 1662A, fr. 213–217*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**l general Juan Hurtado de Castilla, justicia mayor y teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad.

Por quanto es necesario estar con la prevención y vigilancia que se requiere para las operaciones de guerra que se pueden ofrecer contra los indios rebeldes a la real corona así en este real como en sus contornos y jurisdicciones, por haber salido mucha gente de ellas con el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino en busca del enemigo, por tanto por el presente ordenó y mandó a todos los vecinos estantes y habitantes de este real y sus jurisdicciones, mercaderes y tendejoneros que en ella se hubieren que desde hoy día de esta fecha en adelante tengan cada uno una bestia, mulas o caballos, una libra de pólvora, otra de balas y demás armas convenientes a usanza de guerra para lo que se pudiese ofrecer contra dichos indios enemigos; y para reconocer si cada uno tiene todo lo referido mandó que dentro del término de tres días a la publicación de este bando se manifiesten ante mí con todas las armas y caballos como se les manda todo lo cual cumplan pena de cien pesos en reales aplicados para gastos de guerra de este reino y además de que se pasará a la demostración que convenga contra los inobedientes y para que llegue a noticia de todos y ninguno pretenda ignorancia, mandó se publique este bando a son de caja de guerra y se ponga razón de haberlo hecho al pie de él. Dado en el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral en 24 de marzo de 1686.

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla. Por mando de su merced. Miguel de Aranda, escribano real.

Pregón. En el real de minas del Parral en 24 del mes de marzo de 1686 años, el escribano de su majestad estando en la plaza pública de este real por voz de Joseph, negro, que hizo oficio de pregonero hice pregonar el bando de arriba en concurso de mucha gente; testigos don Lucas Vizcaíno, Francisco de Escárcega y don Agustín Herbante de Camino. Doy fe.

Miguel de Aranda, escribano real.

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12. Salgado was a hacienda owner.

Muestra. En el real de minas de San Joseph del Parral en 27 de marzo de 1686 años el señor general don Juan de Hurtado de Castilla, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino para efecto de reconocer las armas de los vecinos de este real en conformidad de lo mandado en el bando publicado estando en las puertas de las casas reales presente su majestad y por ante mí el escribano se pasó muestra en la forma y manera siguiente: Primeramente el capitán Rafael de Iburguen con sus armas y caballo.

El Alférez Lorenzo García Jalón con sus armas y caballo.

El Capitán Juan de Echevarría con sus armas y caballo.

Antonio de Larrazolo con sus armas y caballo.

El Alférez Andrés de Montenegro con sus armas y caballo.

Sebastián Delete con sus armas y caballo.

Joseph de Rivera con sus armas y caballo.

Luis Simón con sus armas y caballo.

Don Lucas de Sola Vizcaíno con sus armas y caballo.

Pedro de Olaer con sus armas y caballo.

Don Lucas de Norriaga con sus armas y caballo.

Pedro de Madariaga con sus armas y caballo.

Joaquín de Selayandia con sus armas y caballo.

Francisco Antonio de Iscárrega con sus armas y caballo.

Francisco García con sus armas y caballo.

Marcos de Loranca con sus armas y caballo.

El Capitán Francisco de Renedo Vélez con sus armas y caballo.

Manuel Gómez con sus armas y caballo.

Juan Leal con sus armas y caballo.

Juan de Albirdi con sus armas y caballo.

Francisco Correa con sus armas y caballo.

Juan de Ayala con sus armas y caballo.

Bernardo García de Arguelles con sus armas y caballo.

Juan Antonio Trasviña con sus armas y caballo.

Domingo González con sus armas y caballo.

Hernán de Matarana con sus armas y caballo.

Antonio Machargo con sus armas y caballo.

Diego García de Salder con sus armas y caballo.

Don Cristóbal de Carbajal con sus armas y caballo.

Pedro de Oyanguren con sus armas y caballo.

Antonio López con sus armas y caballo.

Don Agustín de Quirós con sus armas y caballo.

Joseph de Estrada con sus armas.

Sebastián de Mendoza con sus armas y caballo.

Joseph Rosete con sus armas.

Gabriel Pérez Domínguez con sus armas.

Juan de Loya con sus armas.

Salvador de Alvirdi con sus armas.

Joseph de Sepúlveda con sus armas y caballo.

Juan de Sepúlveda con sus armas y caballo.

Francisco González con sus armas y caballo.

Francisco de la Peña con sus armas y caballo.

Municipal Muster in Parral

Don Diego Ramos de la Vega con todas armas.  
Lorenzo de Gruzziaga con armas y caballo.  
Juan Gutiérrez Ortiz con sus armas y caballo.  
Juan de Arámburu con sus armas y caballo.  
Nicolás de Bejarano con sus armas y caballo.  
Juan del Río con sus armas y caballo.  
Pedro Chaparro con sus armas.  
Don Diego de Landavoso con sus armas y caballo.  
Juan de Barrios con sus armas.  
Miguel de Beguiristáin con sus armas y caballo.  
Don Diego Alvarez Salgado con sus armas y caballo.

Y en esta conformidad se pasó muestra de las personas referidas a quienes de mandato de su majestad se les notificó estén prevenidos para cualquiera operación de guerra que se ofrezca y fueren llamados so la pena impuesta en el bando publicado y fecho en dicho día, mes y año y lo firmó su majestad, de que doy fe.

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla. Ante mí. Miguel de Aranda, escribano público real.



## A New Governor Appeals for More Money

*Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas y Villar de Francos, Knight of the Order of Santiago, wanted very much to be governor of remote Nueva Vizcaya. Early in 1684 he had bought the office in Madrid for 35,000 pesos (25,000 of which he had to borrow), a sum representing six times his expected annual salary. In April of that year he sailed from Cádiz, bound for Veracruz. As for the office he had purchased, it was not vacant, having only recently been filled by a new appointee. So for the next three years Pardiñas had to content himself with being made alcalde mayor of Puebla.*

*When he was finally in his post as governor, the civilities of the City of Angels must have seemed distant indeed. Rough and rude, Parral was in the midst of silver fever. Major new strikes had been made to the northwest, and miners surged into the Tarahumara, threatening to provoke the resentful natives. Letters to the viceroy that first summer in his new position detailed this concern and pointed up the precarious state of defenses. The 6,000 pesos allotted the province in order to combat the Indians had run out and the new governor was desperate for an increase. He penned his pleas to the newly arriving viceroy, provoking a rebuke even before the king's representative had time to enter officially the vice-regal capital. Pardiñas could expect no further monies and was admonished to follow orders.*

*It is not known if Governor Pardiñas ultimately felt the prestige of his office was worth the price he had paid for it. Most of his five years in the north were spent containing real and imagined foes. Late in 1688 he felt compelled to send Captain Juan de Retana of the presidio of Conchos deep into Texas with an army of Spaniards and Indians in search of illusive Frenchmen. The governor was often in the field himself and in 1690 his predictions to the viceroy came true. The populous Tarahumara began a savage rebellion, one they would repeat seven years later. The containment of these cost far more than his 6,000-peso allocation.*

Your excellency:<sup>1</sup>

**I**n my report to his excellency, the Conde de Monclova,<sup>2</sup> dated July 29 of this year, I stated what might be done for the royal service in this province of Tarahumara, where I am at present. His excellency responded that he was awaiting your excellency's arrival so that you might order what the situation demands. I have included the aforesaid report so that your excellency, in all your greatness, may decide what would best serve the crown. I shall accordingly go on to describe to your excellency the lamentable state of this kingdom, which every day is afflicted with new invasions. The Pimas have rebelled in the province of Sonora and have committed many murders and thefts there because, while they were still at peace, the corporal of the presidio of Sinaloa led an attack against one of their rancherías.<sup>3</sup> He and his men captured the ranchería without meeting any resistance, killed fifty Pimas, and took the women and children to the captain of the presidio as if they were the prisoners of a just war. I have ordered an inquiry so that the punishment of the aggressors may be levied and so that the settlement, which such an important nation deserves, can be made. Both Christians and gentiles must be spared the horrors of such excesses.

The alcalde mayor<sup>4</sup> has been campaigning since early last month with seventy citizens, and at the same time Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente with the soldiers of his presidio<sup>5</sup> and the alcalde mayor<sup>6</sup> of the jurisdiction with thirty-six citizens have been campaigning around Casas Grandes. On August 24 these latter parties battled the Jocomes, Sumas, Janos, and their allies, killing 200 of them and taking the women and children prisoner.

I was obliged to send Juan Fernández de la Fuente with thirty-six soldiers of his presidio to the province of Sonora, where they joined the citizens of that area

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1. Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, the Conde de Galve, was the new viceroy, who served from 1688 to 1696. He was born in 1653 and died in Cádiz in 1697.

2. Melchor Portocarrero Lazo de la Vega, the Conde de Monclova, was Cerda Sandoval's predecessor as viceroy. Born in Madrid in 1636, he was a career cavalryman who lost his right arm at Dunkirk and sported an artificial limb made of silver. He was viceroy of New Spain from 1686 to 1688 when he was made viceroy of Perú. He died in Lima in 1705.

3. In August, Corporal Nicolás de Higuera was tried and convicted for attacking a Pima settlement near Teuricachi in Sonora earlier that year. It was claimed that seven peaceful Indians were killed initially and then, after they fought back, forty-two others were killed and executed. Higuera's defense was that the seven were spies and suspected in the deaths of Spanish soldiers. Higuera was condemned to death but the sentence was never carried out. He returned to his unit and continued to serve in the military. See Note 24 of the following document.

4. Presumably the alcalde mayor of Sonora, Lázaro Verdugo y Chávez. A native of Culiacán, he first was appointed alcalde mayor in 1680–81 and served a second term in 1689–90.

5. The presidio of San Antonio de Casas Grandes, which had been established in 1686, was moved that year to Janos, where it became San Felipe y Santiago with Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente as commander.

6. Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, alcalde mayor at Casas Grandes.

in combating the enemy; the province is on the verge of being abandoned. It has many missions and reales de minas which must not be lost. The villages of Torreón,<sup>7</sup> Guadalupe, and Bocas<sup>8</sup> are being abandoned in the face of the enemy's wrath, which is so great that even the holy images are not spared. I ordered the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes and the citizens of that jurisdiction to go to the aid of these villages, but as they are few I also had to send forty men from the Real de Santa Rosa.<sup>9</sup> The standing order is to find any means of pacifying and reducing the Pimas.

Much the same thing is happening in the remainder of this kingdom, but because of the great distances the few paid soldiers can do little to halt these ravages. Along the frontier of Parral the great and bellicose Chiso<sup>10</sup> nation has rebelled, as have the Tobosos and their allies. Despite our continual vigilance and although we have often set out to punish the Indians in their own lands, the situation remains the same. I once sent Captain Juan de Retana<sup>11</sup> in pursuit of 150 Tobosos, and although they finally caught them far from this area, even this feat has done little to temper their pride. The Tobosos have often raided these settlements, murdering and stealing mounts. Their excesses have obliged me once again to order Captain Juan de Retana to enter their lands, which lie more than 150 leagues distant. He will take forty soldiers from the presidio of Conchos—twenty soldiers of the campaign, thirty citizens and a number of Indian auxiliaries to punish the arrogance and apostasy of the Tobosos, and ten will remain there as a garrison.

The presidio of Cerrogorordo is garrisoned by twenty-three men who are constantly engaging the enemy. Escorts, supply trains, and carts take refuge there and mounts can be protected as well. I generally find reinforcements among the people of Indé and the surrounding area, for there are many who can serve.

The presidio of Gallo is currently being built according to his majesty's orders. It is located in an uninhabited area which is constantly exposed to the gravest danger. Although it is to be garrisoned by fifty men, there are currently more there, and they will stay until the construction is completed. As a result they cannot be sent to aid people in other places nor can they escort convoys as do their counterparts at Cerrogorordo. When escorts are detached, the presidios are generally left undermanned and consequently exposed to great danger.

The presidio of Cuencamé is garrisoned by fifty men and is responsible for defending San Juan del Río<sup>12</sup> as well as the city of Durango and its cathedral. The bishop and citizens of Durango continually demand escorts, for Indian raids are

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7. Santa Ana del Torreón was southeast of Casas Grandes on the Río Santa María.

8. Probably San Miguel de las Bocas on the Río Florido south of Parral.

9. Probably the Santa Rosa mines near Alamos in southern Sonora.

10. The nomadic and warlike Chisos inhabited northeastern Chihuahua and the Big Bend region of Texas.

11. Retana was captain of the presidio of Conchos. See previous documents in this chapter.

12. The mines at San Juan del Río, north of the city of Durango, had been worked since the mid-sixteenth century.

common near that city. Ten months ago I ordered Captain Juan Bautista Escorza<sup>13</sup> to take thirty soldiers and go to the borders of Parras and Saltillo to protect them and to reduce the enemy Indians. He reduced the Cabezas and Mamorimamas<sup>14</sup> as well as other nations. Much of what he accomplished in the province of Coahuila was due to the help of Don Diego,<sup>15</sup> an Indian captain. Captain Escorza will again be in that area to aid its people, because he suspects the Indians have begun raiding again. By my order, he is also responsible for ensuring that the Cabezas are given supplies because as yet they have no fields of their own. However, I have no means of continuing these efforts if your excellency does not provide money for campaigns, wages and supplies for our Indian allies, and means of transporting these supplies. I cannot continue because the 6,000 pesos allocated for the costs of war and peace have long since been spent; this sum is insufficient considering what must be done.

I do not wish to bother your excellency with further descriptions of enemy activities in other parts of this kingdom. Suffice it to say that often no remedy can be applied, and the aggressors go unpunished. We must remember the example of New Mexico, where the enemy is more obstinate and rebellious than ever and is waging a long war. These Indians are expert fighters; they are brave and there are many of them. If perchance the many nations should join together, we would be endangered. The Indians' greatest defense is the harshness of their lands and the lack of water. These Indians have no other occupation than fighting; they do not even raise crops. Their only function is to kill and steal.

The viceroy, your excellency's predecessor, sent an order to the captains of this kingdom's presidios requiring that each send ten soldiers to Captain Alonso de León<sup>16</sup> in Coahuila who says he needs them in early January of next year to execute his orders. Such an action is most inconvenient because of the multitude of things which must be attended to in this kingdom—the enemy has us besieged. If I halt the operations I have planned, not only would great harm result, but when our enemies see us weaken and leave things unfinished they will ravage cities and commit all manner of atrocities. I have ordered the captains to suspend their punishment of the enemy until I receive your grace's orders, which will of course best serve his majesty's interests. I will of course obey your grace's every order, but I am obliged to ask your grace to consider this matter of detaching soldiers from whence they are so sorely needed. May Our Lord grant your excellency many

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13. Escorza was the captain of the new presidio of Cuencamé. In 1691, as sargento mayor of Nueva Vizcaya, he was made Protector of the Indians of Coahuila.

14. The Cabezas were a branch of the Salineros, their territory stretching from Parral eastward into Coahuila. The Mamorimamas probably shared the same area.

15. This was probably Diego Francisco, the "Cotzal" Indian who helped the Franciscan Juan Larios contact various tribes in northern Coahuila in 1673, and the "Quesale" Indian, Diego, a member of a delegation of Chichimecas who met the bishop of Guadalajara when he was touring the province in 1682.

16. Alonso de León the younger, a criollo born in 1637, served a short term as governor of Nuevo León in 1683 and in 1687 was named governor of Nueva Extremadura de Coahuila, a post he occupied until his death in 1691.

happy years, for such is my wish. Parral. October 18, 1688. Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas y Villar de Francos.<sup>17</sup>

*His excellency's letter*

The second day after reaching México I received a letter from your grace dated October 18, accompanied by a duplicate of another written to my predecessor, dated July 29. The contents of both essentially describe the state of that kingdom, the repeated problems with Indians, and the fact that 6,000 pesos is an insufficient sum to cover the cost of war and peace. At this point I can only say that since I have yet even to make a public entrance into this city your grace must choose the most gentle and peaceful means of dealing with these Indians. Such is his majesty's wish. Furthermore, such methods incur less cost to the royal treasury, which is already strained because of the new presidios established during the last two years and which I understand consume more than they yield. Until now we did without them. Six thousand pesos have been provided for the costs of war and peace whereas only 2,000 were allotted before, such that you have received more than any of your predecessors. Knowing your zeal and obligation to the royal service, I am sure that in the future you will abide by my recommendations.

As to the excesses of the cabo of the presidio de Sinaloa, whom you say started the Pima rebellion in Sonora in one day, he should be punished so that all shall see. Your grace shall give me an account of this.

Relative to the assignment of missionaries [Ed. note: in reference to previous correspondence] to the recently reduced Indians of Coahuila and their captain, Don Diego, your grace shall avail yourself of the nearest Jesuit missionaries. Spiritual nourishment should never be lacking, for it is the point of the whole matter.

Your grace said that you suspended the order of my predecessor, providing that the captains of the presidios each supply ten soldiers to Captain Alonso de León of Coahuila so that he could obey his orders, and I greatly reprove your grace for suspending them.<sup>18</sup> Under no circumstances, nor for any reason, shall you ever fail to execute your orders.

May God protect your grace many years. México, November 24, 1688.

*Original in Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 147. This reproduction is based on the copy in the Colección Pastells, Vol. 16, Razón y Fe Library, Madrid.*

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17. Pardiñas, Knight of the Order of Santiago, served as alcalde mayor of Puebla in 1684–87 prior to becoming the governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1688. He held the post until 1693 and died in 1726.

18. Numerous tribes of Coahuila joined in a concerted rebellion in the fall of 1687. Their attacks upon the missions and the roads leading to Parral and Zacatecas were met by the combined force of Nuevo León and Coahuila presidials under Alonso de León. The rebellion presumably came about as a result of the suppression in 1685 of the storehouses which had kept the Indians supplied with peace goods since the time of Juan Morlete.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo señor:

**H**allándome en la provincia de Tarahumaras, en cosas del servicio de su majestad di cuenta al excelentísimo señor conde de la Monclova, de lo que se ofrecía del real servicio en consulta de 29 de julio de este presente año, a que su excelencia me respondió, como se hallaba promovido y con intermediación de la llegada de vuestra excelencia, quien se serviría de proveer lo más conveniente. Y porque de la grandeza de vuestra excelencia lo espero me ha parecido incluir en esta ocasión la carta consulta referida, para que con vista de ella en su contenido, provea lo que fuere más del real servicio y paso noticiando a vuestra excelencia del estado en que se halla este reino afligido con nuevas invasiones, pues en la provincia de Sonora se ha rebelado la nación de los indios (pimas) que han hecho muchos robos y muertes ocasionados de haber dado en una ranchería de ellos (estando de paz) con diferentes pretextos. Un cabo del presidio de Sinaloa que se hallaba con algunos soldados, que habiendo cogido a los indios de ella, sin resistencia ninguna, dio muerte a cincuenta y llevó las mujeres y niños a su capitán, sacándolos de la dicha provincia y naturaleza, como si fueran prisioneros de guerra justa, cuya averiguación he mandado hacer para pasar al castigo y satisfacción que convenga dar a nación tan numerosa. Y que den ya de los demás, así cristianos como gentiles que están a la vista, sin el horror que les ha causado semejante exceso. Y a este reparo está en campaña desde principios del mes pasado el alcalde mayor que tengo en aquella provincia con setenta vecinos de ellos y estando también por la parte de Casas Grandes el capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente con los soldados del presidio de su cargo y el alcalde de aquella jurisdicción con treinta y seis de los vecinos y tenido el día 24 de agosto, el reencuentro con los indios jocomes y sumas, janos y otros aliados y muerto doscientos de ellos y aprisionado los niños y mujeres, me fue preciso mandar al dicho Juan Fernández de la Fuente pasase con treinta y seis soldados de su presidio a la provincia de Sonora. Uniéndose con las armas de los vecinos de ella, para acudir al reparo de tantos daños como ejecutan y que no se despueble por ellos dicha provincia y tantas misiones y reales de minas, como en ella hay y soliciten por todos medios la pacificación y reducción de dicha nación pima. A este mismo tiempo se experimentan los mismos daños y muertes en los pueblos del Torreón, Guadalupe y Bocas con despueble de ellos y sus contornos sin perdonar el furor de los enemigos hasta las imágenes, a cuyo reparo asiste por orden mía el alcalde mayor de Casas Grandes con los vecinos de aquella jurisdicción. Que no siendo bastantes le hube de socorrer con cuarenta de los del real de Santa Rosa, sin que esto deje de ser muy repetido en otras muchas partes de este reino, donde por lo dilatado no pueden acudir los soldados pagados, ni ser su número tan grande que equivalga a impedir estos daños. Y por estas fronteras del Parral se halla rebelde la nación chiso muy belicosa y numerosa además de la tobosa y sus aliados, que a muchos años que se halla de la misma forma ejecutando muchas muertes y daños sin que dejen de estar para el reparo de ellos en continua vigilancia las armas que hay solicitando su castigo en diferentes campañas que he hecho en sus tierras. Y a pocos días despaché el capitán Juan de Retana en seguimiento de ciento y cincuenta de dicha nación, que consiguió cercarlos muchas leguas distantes de estas fronteras rendirlos sin que por esto se temple su mucho

orgullo antes por diferentes partes se han hecho entradas en estas poblaciones y sus comarcas con muertes y robos de caballadas que me han precisado a mandar que el capitán Juan Fernández de Retana, con cuarenta soldados de los cincuenta del presidio de Conchos, quedando al resguardo vecinos con número de indios amigos haga entrada en tierra de estos enemigos que dista más de ciento y cincuenta leguas y solicité el castigo de su protervidad y apostasía.

El presidio de Cerrogorordo es de veinte y tres plazas su dotación y tan combatido de los enemigos. Quedando cualquiera escolta en recuas o carros encierran la caballada y suelo de ordinario socorrerlo con gente para su resguardo y que lo tengan el real de Indé y muchas labores de su controno y pueden trabajar.

El presidio del Gallo se está actualmente formado como su majestad tiene mandado es un paraje despoblado y de grandísimo riesgo y si como son cincuenta los de su dotación tuviera más al presente, hasta concluir su fábrica no pudiera acudir a otra parte. Y asisten al convoy de los que entran y salen como los del Cerrogorordo y en estos casos suelen quedar estos presidios con muy poca gente y mucho riesgo.

El presidio de Cuencamé tiene de dotación cincuenta plazas. Cuida del reparo del dicho real San Juan del Río y otras poblaciones, como de la ciudad de Durango y su santa iglesia catedral. Siendo repetidas las exclamaciones que el señor obispo y ciudad me hacen por escoltas. Por experimentar daños muy inmediatos a dicha ciudad de los enemigos y más tiempo de diez meses, que con treinta soldados mandé a su capitán Juan Bautista Escorza, fuese a las fronteras de Parras y Saltillo y cuidase de ellas y de la reducción de los enemigos como lo efectuó de la nación cabeza, mamorimama y otras, habiendo tenido mucha parte en la que se ha conseguido de los de la provincia de Coahuila por medio de don Diego, indio capitán de dicha nación. Y hállase en aquellos contornos pronto para acudir a ella si fuese necesario con los soldados y vecinos cuyo recelo contuvo a los enemigos para no repetir los daños que comenzaron a hacer en aquella provincia y a su reducción y hoy se halla de orden mía. Y acudiendo con el socorro de bastimentos a dicha nación cabeza para su sustento ínterin, hacen sus siembras en medio de la falta de medios con que me hallo y si vuestra excelencia no es servido de consignar alguno para las campañas paga de indios amigos y sustento de ellos y recuas que los conduzcan, no podré continuar como quisiera pues los efectos de los seis mil pesos de paz y guerra tengo gastados muchos más y no son equivalentes para lo que se necesita como en otras tengo representado. No quiero molestar vuestra excelencia repitiendo otros acaecimientos que se experimentan y consiguen los enemigos en muchas partes de este reino sin que se puedan remediar en medio de los castigos que han experimentado y el ejemplar del Nuevo México y lo que en él hasta ahora han conseguido en mantenerse aumentada su obstinación y rebeldía con la larga guerra estos indios son muy expertos, de mucho valor y número y si se encontrara con ellos o hicieran cuerpo defendiendo su tierra importara. Y en esto y en lo áspero de ella falta de aguajes consiste su mayor defensa por no ocuparse en otros ejercicios ni aún en el de las siembras, cosa tan natural sino es en ejecutar robos y muertes en medio de todo lo referido ha despachado orden a los capitanes de los presidios de este reino, el excelentísimo virrey antecesor de vuestra excelencia para que cada uno le dé diez soldados al capitán Alonso de León, que lo es del Coahuila, quien avisa los necesita para principios de enero del año que viene para la ejecución de lo que se le manda que tiene muchos inconvenientes y el de la gran

flota que hacen para acudir a lo mucho que se necesita en este reino que es tan dilatadísimo y cercado de tantos enemigos y cesar en las operaciones que tengo dispuestas de que resultarán, no sólo grandes daños sino el de que los enemigos vean flaquear y no continuar en lo comenzado y lo hagan ellos en los despueblos y atrocidades que ejecutan en medio de los castigos que experimentan. He mandado a los capitanes suspendan la ejecución, pues hay tiempo bastante para dar cuenta a vuestra excelencia (como lo hago) quien mandará en todo lo más conveniente al servicio de su majestad y fuere servido que ejecutaré con rendida obediencia pareciéndome de mi precisa obligación hacer esta representación a vuestra excelencia y suplicarle se sirva de mandar sobre orden en la saca de dichos soldados, de donde tanto se necesitan y son tan precisos como lo espera de la grandeza de vuestra excelencia cuya excelentísima persona guarde Nuestro Señor felicísimos años como deseo y menester. Parral y octubre 18 de 1688 años. Excelentísimo señor don Juan Isidro Pardiñas y Villar de Francos.

*Carta a su Excelencia:*

El segundo día de mi llegada a México recibo una carta de vuestra majestad de 18 de octubre, acompañada del duplicado de otra escrita a mi antecesor en 29 de julio, que el contenido de ambas se reduce a representar el estado de ese reino las repetidas alteraciones de los indios a los gastos que ocasionan a que no alcanzan los seis mil pesos de paz y guerra a que sólo puedo responder por ahora, no habiendo hecho aún mi entrada pública en esta ciudad. Que vuestra majestad procure elegir y usar de los medios más suaves de paz para con los indios así por ser esto mas conforme a la voluntad de su majestad, como por excusar, añadir gastos a su real hacienda que tan exacta se halla. Y más en estas provincias donde por los nuevos presidios que se han acrecentado de dos años a esta parte, tengo entendido se consume más de lo que le fructifican y habiéndose conservado hasta aquí sin ellos y llegado hasta seis mil pesos los que con nombre de paz y guerra se libran, no habiendo sido (como estoy informado) el principio más que dos, se halla uno más asistido que ninguno de sus antecesores y estándolo también de su celo y obligaciones al real servicio, quedo seguro que teniendo presente lo referido obrará muy conforme a ellas y en cuenta a el exceso cometido por el cabo del presidio de Sinaloa, que dice un día ocasionado la alteración de los indios pimas de Sonora. Es necesario preceder al castigo y que vean así ellos como los demás que se corrige y se les da satisfacción y de haber hecho me dará vuestra majestad cuenta. Y acerca de dar ministros de doctrina que instruya a los indios de Couahuila, reducidos con su capitán don Diego en el ínterin que se da providencia, se valdrá vuestra majestad de los misioneros más vecinos de la Compañía de Jesús para que no les falte el pasto espiritual, que es el único fin de todo este negocio y por que me expresa vuestra majestad que había suspendido la orden dada por mi antecesor a los capitanes de los presidios, para que cada uno de diez soldados al capitán Alonso de León, que lo es del de Coahuila para la ejecución de lo que se le ha mandado, si no hubiera tiempo de aquí a principio de enero en que cabe revalidar como revalido, la orden se lo desaprobará a vuestra majestad mucho porque por ninguna urgencia ni otro ningún pretexto se ha de dejar de cumplir y ejecutar lo que está mandado. Guarde Dios a vuestra majestad muchos años. México, 24 de noviembre de 1688. Señor don Juan Isidro Pardiñas.





## A Campaign Against the Pimas

*This last document in the volume is extraordinary in several ways. It is the only example of a campaign journal—kept on a daily basis and in the field—that is reproduced in this study. This type of military report is relatively rare before the eighteenth century; commanders more commonly wrote accounts after they returned to their home base, and these often summarized their operations in a rambling narrative style. The vast majority of presidial forays and campaigns were of short duration and involved only a small number of literate Spaniards. The keeping of a detailed diary was a burden deemed difficult to impossible and not warranting the effort. Military inspections that involved lengthy planning and arrangements at high official levels were expected to maintain a daily record of their progress and findings. Expeditions into poorly known or unexplored areas often did the same. Examples of these types of reports will be included in the second volume of this documentary history.*

*The campaign which produced this record was not an ordinary one. It was comprised of a combined force of four separate units from Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Vizcaya and as such constituted the largest unified Spanish army ever to have taken the field in northern New Spain. The size of the force, its projected entry into uncharted territory, its far-ranging mission, and the fact that it was organized and put into action by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya were all reasons why a daily journal was kept for four months during the summer of 1695.*

*This monumental account is unsurpassed in its descriptions of the activities of an army on the march on the frontier. All manner of details are revealed—development of fighting strategy, treatment and use of Indian captives, hardships in the ranks, frustration and dissension among the field commanders—and to read the journal is to take part in the campaign. Because of the rarity of a document with this degree of detail, it enables us to flesh out other accounts that are not nearly as revealing. Where other military reports are silent on the day-to-day developments and difficulties of an operation in the field, the richness of this journal can be projected into those gaps. Many of the documents presented earlier in this work will gain a measure of human depth after this final selection is appreciated.*

*In the spring of 1695 a new missionary was installed at the far western outpost of Caborca, at the fringes of the Pimería Alta in Sonora. Within a few weeks this young, untried Jesuit, Francisco Xavier Saeta, was killed at his station by a dissident faction of Pimas. Still haunted by the experience of New Mexico, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Gabriel del Castillo, ordered an unprecedented response to quash the perceived rebellion. As is clear from the document, this was an obvious overreaction to a minor outbreak. While the forces of two Nueva*

*Vizcaya presidios joined together for a march into the troubled province, the problem was worsened when a low-ranking officer of the flying company of Sonora commanded the slaughter of forty-nine Pimas at peace talks at Tupo near Magdalena. This additional overreaction caused the Pimas to go on a genuine rampage—burning churches, fields, and priests' houses—before fleeing to the hills at the approach of the Spanish army.*

*Of the three military principals in this campaign, two have appeared in earlier documents. Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate had been briefly the governor of the exiled colony of New Mexico a decade earlier at El Paso. Now he was the commander of the newly instituted roving presidio of Sonora and also alcalde mayor, the highest ranking royal official in the province. Juan Fernández de la Fuente had been since 1686 the commanding officer at the presidio of Janos, concerned constantly with incursions by the Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, and Apaches. New to the area was Domingo Terán de los Ríos. He had previously served the king in Perú and had recently been alcalde mayor at Alamos in southern Sonora and the first governor of Nuevo Santander on the border of Texas. At this time he was the commander of the presidio of Gallo, far to the south in central Nueva Vizcaya, and was ordered by Governor Castillo to take his men to Janos and join forces with Fuente for the march into Sonora. There they were to find Jironza and, several hundred strong, avenge the death of Father Saeta. Playing a pivotal role in this drama in the desert was Eusebio Francisco Kino, the noted Jesuit pioneer in the Pimería Alta and biographer of his fallen brother.*

*If this seemed like overkill, it must have looked that way to Fernández de la Fuente also. He was the officer responsible for maintaining the journal, and several times his feelings surface concerning the futility and wasted effort in the western deserts of the Pimas. He was worried far more about the threat nearer to his own presidio—that of the Apaches and their rapidly amalgamating allies the Sumas, Janos, and Jocomes. With the advantage of the combined force, he expended a week on the march into Sonora in attempting to engage these hostiles in the Chiricahua Mountains. Only urgent pleas from Sonora brought him back to the stated objective of the campaign. On the return to Nueva Vizcaya two months later he again prevailed, and the Spaniards spent several more weeks seeking a victory over these northern raiders. Instead the troops fought fevers and chills, and when this sickness killed Terán de los Ríos and incapacitated the others, the campaign was finally abandoned. The Spaniards retired to their respective fortifications, and the Apaches and their allies were left unscathed in their sanctuaries along the Gila River. They would become the dominant threat to Spanish control for the remainder of the colonial period.*

*This journal occupies more than 200 folio pages in the Parral Archives. To shorten it somewhat, sections have been omitted where the action slows or becomes overly redundant. In those instances bridges are provided to fill in the missing time gaps. At the end of each day's entry a scribe formally signed it in a standardized manner; these are repetitious and are deleted.*

**I**n this royal presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Janos on the 7th day of the month of June, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, lieutenant governor, captain-general and alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction of San Antonio de Casas Grandes and acting captain-protector of this presidio, being in my lodgings at about eight in the morning, received the visit of General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos.<sup>1</sup> General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos is the present captain of the royal presidio of San Pedro del Gallo and has in his command the forty soldiers of the royal presidios of Vizcaya sent as reinforcements by the governor and captain-general of this realm, Don Gabriel del Castillo.<sup>2</sup> General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos gave me an order sent by the governor, Don Gabriel del Castillo. The order is dated in the royal presidio of San Francisco de Conchos the 9th of last May, 1695.

General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and I, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, saw this order based on the letters and reports which I, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, and General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, alcalde mayor and present captain of the flying company of the province of Sonora, and the settlers of the real of San Juan Bautista<sup>3</sup> of the aforesaid province had sent to governor Don Gabriel del Castillo during the past eight months concerning the destruction, thefts, killings, and the ambushes of the enemy in the different pueblos of the province of Sonora and the war of fire and blood they have waged on all the frontiers. Their daring is such that they have attacked the Spanish areas at different times, succeeding in attracting many widespread and numerous tribes by their victories. We have seen how the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Chinarras, and Apaches have united. We have seen their great numbers and how they always travel together and how they never leave the rugged sierras where they always have their habitations.<sup>4</sup> From the mountain peaks they are able to do whatever they

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1. Domingo Terán de los Ríos was born in Rioja in the valley of Prelagos, Burgos, Spain, around 1640. His military service began under Felipe IV, and as a young officer he came to serve under his uncle Juan Terán de los Ríos in Potosí in the viceroyalty of Perú. After distinguished service in Perú he accepted a position in Veracruz of diputado for the merchants of Sevilla. He had appealed to the king for a recognition of nobility and was assigned the post of alcalde mayor for the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, and California. For several years he headquartered near the real of Alamos and engaged in jurisdictional controversies over his position as alcalde. In 1690 he was named the first governor of Nuevo Santander and concentrated his efforts on expansion of the northeastern frontier. He died on this campaign.

2. Castillo was born in Madrid. He was governor of the province of Puebla from 1688 to 1692. In 1693 he was named governor and captain-general of Nueva Vizcaya, and during the Tarahumara revolt of 1697 he issued controversial orders to execute Indian captives. He died in San Bartolomé in 1693 before proceedings could be launched against him.

3. The real of San Juan Bautista was located 20 kilometers southwest of Cumpas. It was established sometime around 1640 when settlers entered central Sonora at the invitation of Pedro de Perea, the newly appointed adelantado of Nueva Andalucía. San Juan flourished as the largest Spanish mining town and provincial capital until its mines were flooded and its exposed position forced abandonment in 1749.

4. This is an accurate and prophetic observation on the increasing "Apache-ization" of these groups, who were probably not Athapascans. They found a commonality in seeking

wish, and the Spaniards are unable to punish them because the rebels have united for this purpose on these frontiers and those of Sonora. We have seen the pride of these tribes, and we have also seen that due to their instigation the Pima Indians have frequently rebelled against the royal crown, killing the missionary padres of the Society of Jesus, some Spaniards, and some natives of this same province.<sup>5</sup> The Conchos and Tarahumaras have done the same on many occasions. And even though we have made war on them and have punished them in accordance with their evil deeds—which they committed in spite of having made peace with us at various times when we received them in the name of his majesty—they have frequently broken their promises while we have kept our word faithfully. At present we are expecting new rebellions and uprisings of all the tribes mentioned as well as others who have seen the ill or good fortune of Spanish arms. Because it is not possible with such small forces to resist the arrogance of the members belonging to such barbarous tribes and the other enemies who are united in great numbers—as well as due to the great areas they occupy—and in order in the future to preserve and support the areas already reduced and to be able to wage offensive and defensive war, we have requested help from the governor of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya. His lordship, with his usual zeal in the royal service, has provided this help. We, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, have seen that we have now been ordered to confer together concerning the way to make war on these frontiers or on those of the province of Sonora or wherever else it may be most suitable in the service of both majesties and the common good.

General Don Domingo Terán and I, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, conferred and decided to leave this presidio on the 15th or 16th day of the current month. He will have forty soldiers in his command, and I will have thirty-six soldiers of my own company and sixty friendly Indians with bows and arrows. All would be prepared and supplied for a period of more than two months. We both agreed to leave together on that day, and because we had no Indian spies, our troops would search the mountains of Carretas, Enmedio Mountain, the valley of San Miguel, and the sierras of Sarampión, Animas, San Bartolomé, Embudos, as well as the flanks of the sierra of Pitaicache and the valley of Batepito.<sup>6</sup> If we should meet with the foe in any of these places, we will fight them. Otherwise we

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effective ways to counter Spanish expansion while gaining materially from the Spanish presence.

5. There were no major rebellions among the Pimas Altas prior to 1695; a minor outbreak had been rumored in 1686, but it was largely an imagined affair among Spanish colonists in Sonora because of the recent Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico. Certainly they had never been guilty of killing Jesuit missionaries. This statement inaccurately links them with depredations by groups to the east.

6. For this document considerable effort has been made to identify the places and geographical features mentioned, as well as to trace the Spanish route of march. The task is complicated by the survival of similar, modern names in the general area. Whether these places are precisely the same is uncertain. Most of the mountains mentioned here are part of the continental divide separating Sonora and Chihuahua immediately south of the present U.S.-Mexico boundary. The Carretas Mountains today surround the hacienda of the same name. The Sierra Enmedio is a detached range in the northwestern quarter of



*Along the route of the generals' march northwest of Janos; looking west toward the Sierra de Enmedio*

will take our troops to the frontiers of the district of Teuricache.<sup>7</sup> We also decided that if we met the enemy in difficult territory, we would report to General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate so that he might give us whatever help we should request, assisting with men, supplies, or horses. We also decided to write General Don Domingo Jironza giving him the distance we would travel daily and our direction. We are advising him to try to collect as many friendly Indians as possible from the Yaqui, Seri, Tepoca, Opata, and Pima tribes that support the royal crown.<sup>8</sup> He should also have the missionaries and the settlers collect as

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the Carretas Plains. The valley of San Miguel corresponds to the upper end of the modern Animas Valley in extreme southwestern New Mexico. The mountains of Sarampión, Embudos, and Pitaicache form parts of the continental divide approximately 15, 25, and 35 kilometers, respectively, south of the international boundary. The Animas Mountains are probably the range of the same modern name in southwestern New Mexico. These mountains should not be confused with others of the same name mentioned later in this report. The Batepito is formed by the confluence of the Río Fronteras and the Río San Bernardino in extreme northeastern Sonora; it flows south to the Río Bavispe.

7. Teuricache nestles in the low hills of the southern end of the valley of Corodéguaque. Spanish settlers attempted farming and cattle-raising here in the second quarter of the seventeenth century with pronounced difficulty because of the isolation and unstable Indian tribes in the vicinity. A large fort was built here in the 1640s, but no known ruins have been located.

8. These tribes had fallen under the subjugation of the Spaniards earlier in the century. Problems had been encountered with the Yaqui and the Seri-Tepoca, but at this date their cooperation had outweighed in Spanish minds the potential for rebellion.

many horses and supplies as they can, to have them ready on the frontier of Teuricache or wherever might seem best. This is done in order to wage war without delay wherever it might seem most suitable to him. We informed him that Don Domingo Terán and I were quite ready to pay for the supplies and the horses that might be given to us to sustain our soldiers and the friendly Indians and to serve on any of these frontiers so far as may be needed in the royal service. We then ordered a copy made of this order to send to General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate so that he might be aware of what had been ordered and decided by the governor and captain-general of this realm, Don Gabriel del Castillo, in the aforementioned letter dated June 8. And so that it might come safely and quickly to the hands of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, it was sent that same day with six soldiers from this presidio to deliver to the reverend father rector, Horacio Polize, of the Society of Jesus, in the pueblo of Santa María Bacerac.<sup>9</sup> We also asked his paternity to send it on at once to General Don Domingo Jironza because it was of importance for the service of the two majesties and the common good.

On the 17th day of June, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, at about four o'clock in the afternoon marched out with the troops under our command. After traveling four or five leagues, we arrived at the aguaje of Palotada at about nine o'clock in the evening where we made camp until the next day.<sup>10</sup> It was necessary to remain at this location until late in the afternoon so that we could travel at night without water because the aguaje of San Antonio is so far away. In addition, we did not want to be seen by the enemy who live in the middle of the nearby mountains and along the trails which we had to follow away from the edges of the road. We wanted to allow enough time for a squad of twelve soldiers who went with Corporal Francisco de Medrano<sup>11</sup> from the presidio to reconnoiter the woods along the Casas Grandes River downstream as far as Cerro Espía.<sup>12</sup> If they should see any tracks or settlements, the soldiers were to remain within sight of them and send us word by one or two of them. If nothing was sighted, they were to continue traveling at night to scout the water holes called Ojo del Perro and El Alamo, which is that of El Alemán.<sup>13</sup> If they should see the enemy on the cliff called Peñol de Lagos or in the

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9. Horacio Polize, S.J., was born in Naples in 1654; he arrived in New Spain in 1683 and was assigned to San Miguel de Bavispe in 1687. At the time of this report he was the father visitor for the Sonoran missions, thus holding the delegated powers of a provincial. These reports from the military generals to him were official communiques because Polize was the major, resident religious authority. He served here and at Santa María Bacerac until his death in 1714.

10. Aguaje Palotada is located 14 kilometers northwest of Janos.

11. Medrano is designated here as a corporal but later in this document he is referred to as a lieutenant and later again is listed as a corporal. This points up the shifting, sometimes indefinite responsibilities of lower-ranking commanders; titles reflect the nature of their assignment and the confidence placed in them in differing situations by their superiors. By 1698 Medrano had permanently attained the rank of lieutenant.

12. Cerro Espía is a prominent height several kilometers northwest of Janos. The flat terrain around it can be easily watched from its slopes.

13. These springs were in the Alamo Hueco Mountains of southwest New Mexico.

Sierra Hacha<sup>14</sup> or at any of the above-mentioned water holes, it was to be reported to us at once. If the troops did not discover any tracks or the enemy, they should inform us to meet them on the 19th at the aguaje of San Antonio. From there we will decide the proper course of action.

*In the intervening six days the troop traveled steadily west-northwest, being careful to send out advance parties from each encampment to scout for enemy Indians. Sightings were made on one occasion and an abandoned Suma village was also found. The Spaniards crossed the continental divide by way of San Luis Pass and entered Sonora over Guadalupe Pass. From there they turned southwest and followed the Cajón Bonito to its junction with the Río San Bernardino.*

On the 24th day of June, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were located in the woods of Cuchuvérachi.<sup>15</sup> At sunrise we again discovered the enemy's tracks that headed for the juncture of the rivers, on the trail to the frontier of the Teuricache and the district of Huásabas.<sup>16</sup> Noticing that the enemy's tracks were very fresh, we hastened the pace along the trail we followed. After going more than two leagues, we reached the top of the ravine. From a distance we caught sight of the enemy, who were shouting from a hilltop. We assumed that their people were there, and they had been sent on ahead to wait for us and to fight, while the rest fled to safety as they always do. For this reason we immediately attacked at full speed, shooting them with our arquebuses. The enemy received our first charge on the high point of a hill protected by a steep cliff. We noted that our soldiers had thinned out between this cliff and a deep, dry arroyo. Our movements were hampered by dense mesquite that covered an area on our left to the east. To the west along the river were thick woods. Thus far we had not noticed that the enemy was encircling us. Hiding in ambush, the Indians neither yelled nor showed themselves until they saw that we were trapped. They fired arrows at our flanks and succeeded in wounding four soldiers and one friendly Indian. When we saw the damage they inflicted, and the disregard they showed for the fire of our arquebuses, we realized that they were massing quickly to attack us.

We ordered our men to take up their lances and short swords. They closed in on the enemy at full speed, scattering them and putting them to flight. In this skirmish we observed that thirty of their fiercest warriors were killed. Even though the land was broken and rough—with deep arroyos, thickets, and heights—we followed this craggy, rugged terrain for more than four leagues. In this way our troops kept the enemy from regrouping or stopping to shoot arrows until all

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14. Sierra Hacha is the Hachet Mountains in New Mexico. The Peñol de Lagos might be one of several buttes on the Carretas Plains between Janos and Sierra Enmedio.

15. Cuchuvérachi is located at the junction of the Río San Bernardino and the Cajón Bonito Embudos, 35 kilometers southeast of modern Agua Prieta. The watercourse is lined here with dense groves of cottonwood, willow, and hackberry.

16. This river junction is almost certainly that of the Río Bavispe and Río Batepito, 40 kilometers south of Cuchuvérachi. Huásabas is on the Río Bavispe 120 kilometers south of this junction.



of our horses were exhausted from the heat and had to stop. When the enemy saw a rugged hill in this rough country, they assembled, some eighty Indians, at its highest point. Although it was difficult, some of us on horseback and others on foot began climbing up, accompanied by up to thirty Indian allies. There they stopped to fight, and we engaged them. Luckily, after several shots from the arquebuses, seven or eight of the Indians fell dead. For that reason they continued to retreat into such rough country that we were unable to follow due to our exhaustion and that of the horses. We turned back to the main force and the horse herd heading toward us. After finding the group with the extra horses, four soldiers, who were part of the squad escorting it, told us that they had been attacked by twenty of the enemy. They had fired back, defending themselves, and only one soldier was wounded. We returned to the battlefield, where we saw the dead and looked for swords and equipment that had fallen during the engagement. Everything was found. In the *ranchería* we found two soldier's leather jackets, a sword, a lance, a saddle, two small daggers, and all the clothing of the dead men. We also found nine pack horses, seven other horses, two mules, many halters, some fresh bull meat, and a few heads of mescal.<sup>17</sup>

At the foot of the hill we came upon a Suma woman felled by a bullet. Although she was badly wounded, she was asked by a soldier named Cristóbal Granillo, who understood the Suma language, what her tribe was. The woman said she was a Suma and a Christian and that her name was Teresa. We then asked her where she was going with all those people, and where their settlement and the rest of the band were located. She replied that their *ranchería* was in the Chirichuwas and that all the women and children were there, as well as some old and young men. Teresa and seven other women had left with the men and traveled for three days. They intended to attack the house of Salvador Moreno, kill the people, and carry off whatever horses and cattle they could. On the way they planned to ambush the town of Huásabas, which they said was three days' journey away. She could say nothing more because the blood in her mouth choked her to death.

We then took the statement of another Indian, who had been taken alive and unwounded by a soldier named Cristóbal del López. We asked him what tribe he was from; in somewhat halting and hesitant Spanish, he answered that he was a Chinarra who had joined the Janos a short time before. When asked where they were headed and where they had left the rest of their band, he gave the same answers as the Indian woman Teresa.

In order not to be delayed we marched on to join the main body. Although not knowing where they were to stop, we were able to reach them at about one o'clock in the afternoon; we all stopped on the banks of the river. There we refreshed ourselves and rested the horses and pack mules that were very tired from marching and hard riding. We had a conference and agreed that it would be best to leave at about four in the afternoon for the aguaje of San Bernardino about six leagues away.<sup>18</sup> We also decided that after reaching this place we would leave the camp

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17. These agave plants are stripped of their leaves and the caudex or basal portion is roasted for eating or for distilling into mescal. The small and particularly succulent variety in this area is used to make the famous bacanora.

18. These springs are located on the Río San Bernardino where it crosses the modern Arizona-Sonora boundary.

under guard and set out with fifty soldiers, each with three or four horses. It was our intent to arrive at the ranchería where the other Indians were before they became aware of us and used up the water. The Indian had told us that this water hole was the one we called Sinaloas near the center of the rugged Chiricahua Mountains about twenty leagues away.

We ordered the horses brought up and loaded, and when all were mounted, we set out marching. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when we started marching along the narrow and rough route with the command. At about one o'clock in the morning we came to the aguaje of San Bernardino. There we saw the tracks of the enemy ahead of us. We followed them along that same trail at full speed, envisioning that they had probably reached safety in the rugged sierra. Even if we were to set out after them on good horses, at full speed, traveling the whole night and most of the next day, we would not be able to reach their ranchería. The enemy would probably be securely settled in the sierra by that time. In spite of this we decided to set out as soon as the main body halted. We realized that our horses were so tired that none could be saddled and that our Indian allies were worn out from marching for three days through the mountains. From the night when we left Guadalupe in pursuit of the Indians, until we arrived at this place, we had run hard and marched some eighteen leagues. The horses were too weary and the soldiers and Indian allies were tired. The ranchería was about sixteen leagues away, and it would be useless to go there with only a few soldiers. Consequently, we decided to spend the night at this aguaje of San Bernardino and confer tomorrow on our best course of action. We named the place where we had fought the battle "San Juan Bautista," because it was on his day that we won the victory.<sup>19</sup> All of us had prayed to the blessed saint, and he had favored us so that no one died on his day, and no one was seriously wounded due to his holy intervention. We saw probably 200 of the enemy.

*For four days the Spaniards remained at their encampment at the spring of San Bernardino. During that time questioning of some of the Indian captives began, using interpreters from within the ranks of the soldiers. Terán de los Ríos and Fernández de la Fuente gained information about Suma and Jcome activities to the north in the Chiricahua Mountains. During this interlude other, more distressing, news was received from deeper in Sonora. The generals from Nueva Vizcaya had been in contact with the commander of the roving presidio of Sonora, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. From his headquarters at San Juan Bautista, Jironza sent soldiers to locate his eastern counterparts and deliver messages and letters. In the mail packet were letters from Jesuit missionaries telling of a disastrous massacre of Pimas by Spanish soldiers near Magdalena far to the west and the ensuing havoc and destruction the natives had caused in the Pimería Alta. Jironza had been ready to join the other generals on their campaign, but he now informed them that he was obligated to remain in order to protect the towns of his district. Rather than join the Terán-Fuente forces, he now appealed to them to hasten to his aid. But the two generals were loathe to abandon their*

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19. Feast day of the birth of San Juan Bautista, June 24, has been important in Spanish agrarian life because it was thought to be the day of the first summer rain.

*campaign when they felt a victory was near. They had now learned the location of enemy camps in the Chiricahuas and ordered the scouts and a unit of troops into the mountains to engage the hostiles.*

On the 29th day of June, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were located at the Chupaderos de las Lágrimas de San Pedro.<sup>20</sup> At dawn we ordered the horses brought in, saddled, and loaded with provisions by the soldiers. We then set out on the march with an advance guard, battalion, and rear guard. After traveling about one league, we found a spring in a mesquite grove. Below it we found more than forty separate ash mounds with beds of grass around each one. Since the tracks and the hot ashes were very fresh, we asked the Indian captive when the enemy had been there and how long they had stayed at this place. He answered that they had spent the night there on their way to the frontier. From there, our command continued its march and after about three leagues we discovered a trail of fresh tracks that went up a heavily wooded canyon into the Chiricahua Mountains.<sup>21</sup>

We had already sent Corporal Francisco de Medrano with some soldiers to look for any ranchos. On his return from this task, he told us that they found some ranchos which had been deserted a short time ago. In one of them his group found a fire still burning and a trail that led into the mountains. We asked the Chinarra captive, Pascual, what groups had lived there. He said that they had been from all the tribes, but when they returned to their settlement, only two Apache ranchos remained.

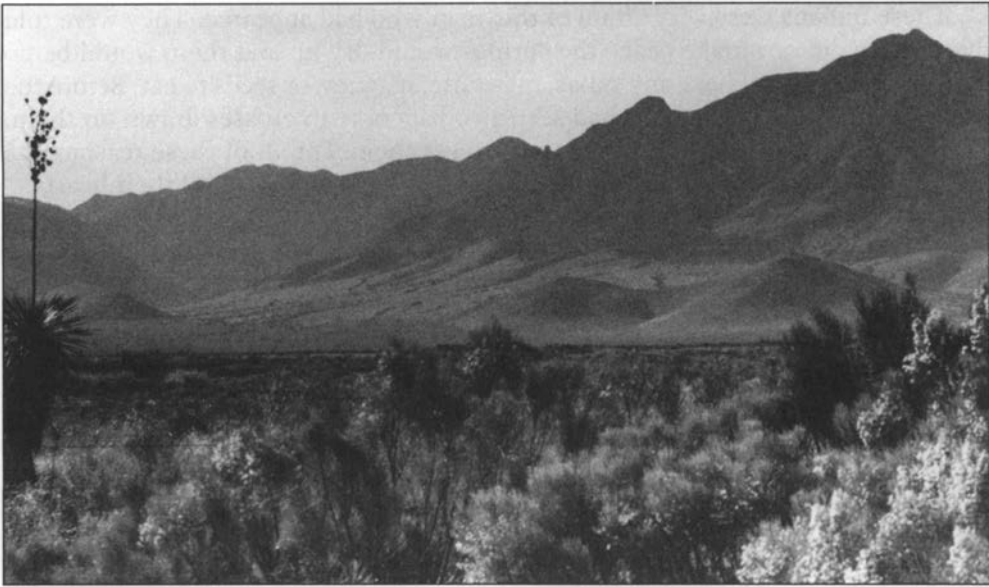
From there we continued another two leagues following a fresh trail until our command entered the mouth of a canyon.<sup>22</sup> There we heard some of the enemy yelling and whooping from two high peaks. The command was halted in formation and left with enough soldiers to defend it. We set out with sixty soldiers and eighty friendly Indians. Ascending the arroyo, the enemy yelled at us from our left, in rough terrain to the south. At this point we climbed a hill near the peaks but were stopped because the horses could ascend no farther. From there we sighted the enemy, who were moving to rougher areas in great numbers. When we yelled at them to come and fight, several advanced to within range of our muskets and began to speak in the Castilian language. They said that they did not want to fight but to make peace. Our response was that we were there to fight, but if they wanted peace we would accept in the name of God, and the king, our lord, on the condition that they come down from the sierra to our command and make the arrangements. This they agreed to do. Then we told them that we had a live Chinarra prisoner. They said they wanted to see him and offered to give us all their captive Christian Opatas if we returned the prisoner to them. On hearing

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20. A chupadero is a dripping spring, hence the appropriateness of the name "Lágrimas de San Pedro." This is almost certainly Dripping Springs in Sulphur Draw on the east side of the Chiricahuas.

21. If the identification of the dripping springs is correct, then the distance and description indicate that this is probably Cave Creek, a heavily wooded canyon draining east from the highest section of the range.

22. This is very probably Turkey Creek; see Note 26 of this document.



*The canyon of the Dripping Springs on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains*

this, we released the prisoner with a cross. However, before he reached his companions, within pistol shot and on foot, an unarmed Christian Chinarra named Agustín, fluent in Castilian, came and hugged our interpreter, Cristóbal Granillo, a soldier skilled in the Suma language.

When the two sat down and began to talk, the captains of the Janos, Jcome, Suma, Chinarra, and Manso nations came and joined us, saying they desired peace, not war. They would deliver their captives to us provided that we returned the mounts taken from them at the battle on the day of San Juan. We agreed to exchange prisoners and urged them to come down with their followers to our encampment. We would faithfully protect this understanding provided they did the same. All that remained was to make arrangements and agree to the peace. The next day all our soldiers were mounted and ready to descend to our camp. Since it was already late, the Indians invited us to send some soldiers to their deserted ranchería. There they would see crosses marked on the ground, showing their desire for peace. They said that they had put the crosses there because an old man had appeared before them who stood in water that reached his knees. He had told them that it was time to stop the war, and that, if they saw Spaniards approaching, they should make peace.<sup>23</sup>

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23. The role of crosses in contact between Indians and Spaniards has a long and curious history. The Indians of various tribes frequently employed the cross as a symbolic device to suggest peace and accord. The Spaniards revered the cross as the central emblem of Christianity. Whether the placement of crosses here indicates an Indian cultural use or an attempt to placate the Spaniards is unclear. The vision of the man in the water might relate to native mythology, spiritual leaders in the band, or the use of hallucinogens.

These Indians were very afraid of this man who had appeared. They were told that if they did not make peace the springs would dry up and there would be no rain. They would not have any tunas, mesquite, maguey, or seeds to eat. Before the old man appeared, the Indians had seen two papers with crosses drawn on them. The papers disappeared when they went to get them. For all of these reasons the Indians were very afraid and were sincere in making peace with all their hearts.

For these reasons, we sent Corporals Francisco de Medrano and Nicolás de la Higuera<sup>24</sup> with twelve soldiers to go and see the crosses. Having gone and returned, the soldiers reported seeing a very high cross and three other small ones. The area had been swept and arranged like a church. From there we came down to camp, about a quarter of a league away, accompanied by the governor of the Janos, El Tabobo<sup>25</sup> of the Jocomes, other captains, and young men of all the tribes. Having told this group everything that was necessary, the leaders said they would come down to our encampment the next day with their people and prisoners. Night fell and they said they wanted to go to their ranchería, so we gave them all tobacco, pinole, meat, and flour. Some left quite contented, while others remained in our camp.

On the 30th day of June in the year of 1695 we, the Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in our camp at the mouth of the canyon. This place, which we have named Cañada de las Paces de San Pedro, was formerly occupied by the enemy.<sup>26</sup> Around seven o'clock in the morning, we received three messages, dispatched on different occasions from the captains of the tribes. The messengers told us that the captains had sent them to tell us that the people were not able to come down because they were too far away. They also said that the night before, seeing that the captains and young men who had come down to the camp had been late, the people thought that we had killed them. As a result the women and children had fled to the most rugged part of the sierra. Assembling them had made them late. For these reasons they could not come down to us.

We were told to go where they had the crosses. All their people, including the captives, would be assembled there. At the same time the peace settlement could be arranged. For this reason, we ordered sixty soldiers and all our Indian friends to come with us. Once mounted and ready, our column marched a quarter of a league into the canyon. Before we got to the crosses, at a distance of about two musket shots, we were received by some Indians that had come to meet us. Among them

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24. In 1688 Higuera was a captain and was sentenced to death for killing Pimas in Sonora. He escaped but later rejoined the military. These facts were undoubtedly responsible for his demotion to corporal but even so he is identified as company commander in the muster roll later in this document. Despite these troubles, his experience and abilities were obviously still valued. See Note 3 of the previous document.

25. It is not known if "Tabobo" was a Jocomo name or a Spanish corruption. His authority and importance seems to have been pan-tribal among these groups of Apaches, Sumas, Janos, Jocomes, and Mansos.

26. The canyon was named in honor of the peace talks the day before, June 29, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. It appears to be Turkey Creek, in the vicinity of modern Paradise, Arizona.

was El Tabobo, the Jocomo captain, who told us to wait under some trees because they were gathering their people who had earlier scattered to the heights. We told him to hurry and let us know when it was time.

El Tabobo left, and around eleven o'clock in the morning they sent us a Chinarra Indian messenger named Agustín, who told us to keep waiting because the people had not been completely assembled as yet. We scolded him saying that he should go to the captains and all the people and ask them why they lied so much. If they wanted peace as they had asked, they would receive it. If they wanted war, we were here to give it to them and to fight.

After we added many more reasons for making peace, Agustín left to deliver the message. He returned at twelve noon, saying that we could assemble there because all the people were waiting. When we climbed over the rim of the arroyo on the top of a hill below a high peak, in some very brushy and broken terrain, we saw many uninhabited ranchos near which on a small flat were three crosses with four old Indians kneeling in a row behind them. There were other Indians in the brush. All were armed, many with sword blades on staffs like pikes.<sup>27</sup> Others were mounted on Spanish saddles and carried muskets and swords. Once our column arrived at the crosses, we praised the holy sacrament and some of the Indians responded in the proper way. We asked them about the meaning of the crosses, the unarmed kneeling men, the warriors in the brush among the ravines, and the location of the captive women and children. Some of the captains came down and told us that the women and children were afraid and could not be made to come down. During their flight that night many women had disappeared with the captives. The captains said that they would assemble them, and by afternoon all their women and children would be there. The captains wanted us to bring the horses we had taken from them as well as some meat, flour, and tobacco. We responded that they were telling two thousand lies. If they wanted to fight, we were ready here. We had given them peace in the name of God and the king, and we would not break our word as long as they fulfilled what they had promised. We had given them many opportunities to declare their bad intentions. The efforts to convince the band to surrender were in vain; they would not come down and the captives were so hidden among the heights that victory would require millions of men. We noticed that many of them were quite confident because they felt protected by the inaccessible terrain, thinking that we could not do them much harm. We told them that the Indians asking for peace should submit themselves to the Spanish captains with their women and children and should come down unarmed. They were not to lie or come armed as they usually do. We warned them again not to break the peace but to come to our encampment with their people and captives.

So far we have not achieved any success with the Janos, Jocomo, Manso, Suma, or Chinarra nations. The Sumas and Chinarras said they did not have any captives, and if they had any, they would have given them to us. They added that they

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27. These blades were probably the Spanish short sword or dagger lashed to live-oak poles, made in imitation of the Spanish lance, which grew in prominence as a weapon after the turn of the eighteenth century. The muster rolls in earlier chapters have described the customary weaponry of the Spanish soldiers; these blades were in all likelihood booty from previous raids on Spanish settlements and military encampments.

would soon come down to our encampment. Considering all the reasons previously mentioned, we told them that we would return in the afternoon and that they should try to get their people together. When they called, we would come immediately.

At about two o'clock we bade them good-bye. When we arrived at our encampment, we ordered the horses brought in and the soldiers made ready to leave the moment we were called. After this was done a number of Suma men and women arrived, among whom were some captains of the other tribes. They said that their people and the captives were now assembled. Around six o'clock, after we fed them and gave them the customary speeches, several messengers arrived telling us to go where they had assembled their people. Since it was late and because we were in the midst of the speeches to the captains and the people who had come to the camp, we told them that they should retire and rest. They knew very well that it was late. In the morning we would bring the horses and some blankets, bread or meat, and pinole. If they wished to come to our camp with all their people, they should do so because we could talk more comfortably there. We would give them supplies, flour, and permission to trade their trinkets with the soldiers and friendly people. Once they decided what to do they were to let us know early in the morning. With these words we dispatched the messengers. After sunset we gave rations to fifty-six Indians armed with bow and arrows, including the Janos captains and captains from the other tribes; together with them we issued rations of meat and pinole to forty-eight women, mostly Sumas. We also distributed tobacco and papers among them. We told them how much better it would be if they would accept peace and settle in a pueblo. We would establish them in the places of each tribe's selection and promised to provide them with priests to minister and instruct them in our faith. With these and many other enticements that we proposed, they bade us farewell very contentedly, promising that they all would confer that night and that they would advise us in the morning what the captains and others had decided. They left our camp at nine o'clock that night.

*For five more days the generals stayed near their tents at Dripping Springs in the Chiricahuas. These were frustrating days as only a few Indians appeared at the camp and it was impossible to ascertain their overall leader. Terán and Fuente also grew restive over their failure to respond to Jironza's pleas for assistance. On July 5 the command returned to San Bernardino. The following day another courier from Jironza arrived, again begging their help and bringing directions and a timetable for a march to the west. The generals from the east now committed themselves to helping Jironza against the rebellious Pimas. With as much speed as the waterless terrain and the intense heat of mid-summer would allow, they hurried west toward a rendezvous at Cocóspera. A march of six days took them through Cabullona, across the valley of the upper Río San Pedro and to Santa María and San Lázaro on the upper Santa Cruz. During much of the way they reported the country as depopulated—the faithful natives having retreated to Cocóspera to await the arrival of the Spanish army and help in the wheat harvest. On July 13 the generals of the army of Nueva Vizcaya were escorted by a squad of Jironza's men into the pueblo of Cocóspera. As a welcome, the soldiers and friendly Indian allies stood at attention in their finest military manner. The following day the scene was repeated as General Jironza made his entry on re-*

*turning from a short trip to Cucurpe to acquire supplies. The commanders pitched their camp below the pueblo in the field along the river, where huge cottonwoods afforded some shelter from the scorching sun. Discussions were held as to the proper course of action and tactics for the coming campaign. These continued the following day when the commanders also received information that the chief of the Yaquis, Juan Andrés, was sending 100 Indian allies from the south. They were still several days away and the generals decided the campaign could not wait for their arrival.*

On July 16, 1695, in the military encampment of the pueblo and valley of Cocóspera, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, with the troops under our command, were nearing the land of the rebellious Pimas.<sup>28</sup> We had conferred and decided to make war on them and to enter the area in such a way that we would be able to punish them in a manner worthy of their wickedness.

We saw fit to send a squadron of fifty soldiers with Indian auxiliaries from this post to surprise the enemy in their rancherías and camping places. The command and the cavalry were to march by different routes, remaining some distance from each other. On the day the squadron leaves this garrison, it will be dark by the time they reach the ranchería of San Cayetano.<sup>29</sup> This settlement, about fourteen leagues from here, was inhabited by friendly Pimas. From this ranchería the squadron was to march by night to a water hole about nine leagues from San Cayetano. They would leave again by night from that same water hole in order to arrive at the ranchería of Tucubavi for a surprise attack at dawn.<sup>30</sup> Tucubavi was the first enemy ranchería in the northern sector. From this settlement to the southern sector the Río Tubutama was populated by enemy rancherías. The squadron was to wage war until it reached the pueblo of Caborca, where Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta<sup>31</sup> was slain, about fifty leagues from Tucubavi.

On the first day the main body should march from this garrison to our outpost three leagues distant and remain overnight. They were to leave this estancia the next day for the pueblo of San José de Imuris about seven leagues away.<sup>32</sup> From that pueblo they would march the next day through enemy territory to the ranchería

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28. The valley of Cocóspera was in eastern Pima Alta territory on a tributary of the Río Magdalena. It is 35 kilometers southwest of modern Cananea. A Jesuit mission had been established there in 1689.

29. San Cayetano was in modern Arizona on the Río Santa Cruz near Tumacácori.

30. The exact location of Tucubavi is unknown but it was almost certainly in the upper drainage of the Río Altar northeast of Tubutama.

31. Saeta was born in Sicily in 1664. He entered the Jesuit order in 1679 and after studies in Palermo was granted his wish and sent to Mexico, where he was ordained soon after his arrival in 1692. After two more years of preparation in México and Puebla, he was assigned to the Sonora mission field. Under the guidance of Father Kino, he was installed as missionary in Caborca late in 1694.

32. Imuris is on the Río Magdalena 75 kilometers south of modern Nogales. Kino had founded a mission visita there in 1687.



of Magdalena, a distance of six leagues. The following day the command was to travel to the ranchería of Tupo, which is another six leagues. From there the command would march another twelve leagues until it reached Tubutama. In this last town and stopping place, the main body and the squadron were to join forces. Upon arrival at the pueblo of San José [de Imuris] the command should send a squad of soldiers and Indian auxiliaries ahead of the main body to reconnoiter the pueblos and rancherías of San Ignacio, Magdalena, Tupo, Toozona, Bosane, and Tubutama.<sup>33</sup> There were reports that some of the enemy still occupies the rancherías; their cornfields remain and there were pitahayas to eat.

We asked Lieutenant Antonio de Solís<sup>34</sup> if he knew the distance between the camping places of the squadron and those of the main command. He said there were about thirty-five leagues between the two locations. Regardless of the intervening distance all agreed that to attain our goal of inflicting some punishment on the rebels, the right approach was to enter the area and search out the enemy. To insure the greatest security possible, we gathered all the officials, governors, captains, and topiles from the pueblos and rancherías of the peaceful and Christian Pimas. We told them through our interpreters, Francisco de Acuña<sup>35</sup> and the Suma Indian Agustín, both of them skilled in the Pima tongue, that the king, our lord, had received notice of the murder by some of their kinsmen of the priest of Caborca. This priest had been ministering to them under your majesty's orders because they themselves had requested him. Your majesty had given the Pimas this priest in response to their petition for the salvation of their souls. He knew of the murder they had committed and of the broken images of Christ Our Lord and of his Most Holy Mother and of other saints, vestments, and sacred vessels. The king our lord grieved deeply over these wicked acts. In order to punish the instigators and the principal leaders, your majesty sent us with Spaniards, arms, and the friendly people that we brought with us. Because these allies were Christians, they clearly saw the reason to punish the rebels.

We told our allies that they should gather their people there in order to accompany us in waging war. Their women, children, pueblos, crops, and fields were very secure. It is not either our intention or that of his majesty to harm those who have no guilt. Rather, he is sending us to protect good people and punish the bad. Thus the governors and loyal vassals should cooperate and do their part so as to punish the rebels. They should tell them that if the rebels were to turn the prin-

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33. San Ignacio and Magdalena are on the Río Magdalena below Imuris. Tubutama is on the Río Altar, where Kino had established a mission in 1687. Tupo was a short distance west of Magdalena; the name is a Spanish corruption of the Pima "Topa," which meant a low swampy area which bred insects and larvae. Bosane, or its variant Bosna, was located in the vicinity of modern Rancho Busani, 30 kilometers south-southeast of Tubutama. Toozona seems to have been a few kilometers east of Bosna.

34. Since the 1680s Solís had been in Nueva Vizcaya with Jironza and had been promoted from the rank of alférez. Though possessing undeniable military talent, his leadership role in the killings at the ciénaga of Tupo caused his later dismissal from the army.

35. Acuña's talents as an interpreter in Pima were well known and much used in the 1690s. In addition to military campaigns, he served such missionaries as Kino on expeditions to Arizona and the Gila River.

cial leaders over to us, we would punish the bad ones in full view of the innocent Pimas. If they were to deliver over to us the leaders of the uprising who were responsible for Father Saeta's death, in the name of his majesty (May God Our Lord protect him), all of the others would be pardoned for their evil deed in joining those chiefs. If they did not do this, a war of fire and blood would be waged again. They were all informed of this in case any of the rebels might come down to the rancherías or if they should encounter them on the trail. We told them this and many other things that were for their own good. If they delayed and a war of blood resulted, we would destroy their milpas and both young and old would die from hunger and the power of our weapons.

To all of this the friendly Pimas promised to do all they could to find the enemy and give them notice. They responded that if the chiefs were not surrendered, they would assist in waging the war until the chiefs were finished off.

We proposed this to them because it was imperative to send the governors and captains of the rancherías of the valley of Guevavi<sup>36</sup> and San Cayetano, and other settlements on ahead of us, in order to enlist as many friendly archers as possible in our service. The Indian officials agreed to go as soon as possible and to assemble all their followers from the rancherías and they should wait for us with those they found in the pueblo of San Cayetano. After we gave them pinole, meat, and tobacco, they left us at about nine o'clock in the morning; all were very pleased.

Because it was necessary to find out what offensive and defensive weapons are held in this command by both the Spanish soldiers and friendly Indians, we gave orders to all the officers that they should prepare all the soldiers and settlers to pass formally in review tomorrow, the 17th day of this month. The troops were to gather their horses at daybreak because they should pass in review mounted. In like manner, to prepare everyone, we told the governors and captains of war from the Concho, Pima, and Opata tribes to gather the rest of the people so they could pass in review. This is in order to inspect the preparations of our friendly Indians, armed with bows and arrows that they will use on the campaign. When we gave this order, the Pima governors from the pueblo of Cocóspera, Santa María, and the Sobaipuris—Captains Juan María Salvatierra, Taravilla, also called Santo Domingo Jironza,<sup>37</sup> and many others—told us that they were ready with their people to pass muster and go with us on the campaign. They said they were Christians and our friends and that they felt very bad about the murder of Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta. We responded that we were very glad to see them making every effort to remain peaceful in their pueblos with their women and children, and because they had helped us in this campaign, we were prepared to assist them in whatever they needed and greatly esteemed their friendship. They replied that if their kinsmen had been crazy then they did not want to be the same. After we gave them the necessary speech for such occasions, they left very pleased.

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36. Guevavi is 10 kilometers northeast of modern Nogales on the Río Santa Cruz.

37. It was not uncommon for native leaders to take the names of Spaniards in positions of authority with whom they had contact. The Jesuit missionary Salvatierra was appointed visitor to the Pimería Alta and during 1690–91 was conducted by Kino on a highly visible inspection to all these places.

On July 17, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in this military garrison in the pueblo and valley of Cocóspera of the Pima tribe in accordance with the preceding decree which we had issued. At about six o'clock in the morning the horses were brought in and all the officers and soldiers of the various companies were mounted. They were then ordered to position themselves into different columns, separated from each other so that each company could pass in review. Thus all the officers and soldiers in this camp passed muster in the following form and manner:

Lieutenant Francisco de Medrano passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.

Sergeant Diego López Zambrano passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.

Squad Corporal Diego Ortiz [de Anda] passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.

Squad Corporal Silvestre Pacheco passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.<sup>38</sup>

Bartolomé de Arriego passed muster with all his weapons but without the three horses.

Bernardo de la Parra passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.

Francisco de Gracia passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>39</sup>

Cristóbal Fontes passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Cristóbal Márquez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Cristóbal de Chávez passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.

Carlos Martín Barba, wounded at the battle on the day of San Juan Bautista, went to the presidio of Janos for treatment.

Fernando de Borja passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Cristóbal Granillo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Cristóbal López passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.

Esteban Varela passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Francisco Gómez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Francisco Hurtado passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>40</sup>

Francisco de Salazar passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons and three horses.

Francisco Madrid passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Francisco Pacheco passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>41</sup>

Felipe Romero passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>42</sup>

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38. Pacheco later retired to Santa Fe.

39. Gracia was serving in the Parral militia in 1686.

40. Hurtado was born in New Mexico in 1654 and was serving in the El Paso militia in 1681.

41. Pacheco had been in the militia in Parral in 1672 and in El Paso in 1681.

42. Romero was earlier listed in the El Paso militia.

Francisco de Valencia passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.

Joseph Ramos passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>43</sup>

Joseph López Holguín passed muster with all weapons except three horses.

Juan Pérez de Carmona passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Miguel de Cáceres passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Nicolás Muñoz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Sebastián de Hinojosa passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Esteban de Morales passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Simón López Zambrano passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Tomás Alvarez de Soto passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>44</sup>

Francisco Grijalva passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Joseph Romero passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Juan de Medrano passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Francisco de Ochoa passed muster with all his weapons.

Francisco Téllez passed muster with all his weapons.

Antonio Belasinero passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

In this manner, all of the officers and soldiers of the company under the command of General Juan Fernández de la Fuente passed in review.

The following are the officers and soldiers of the company under the command of General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos:

Alférez Santiago Pérez Villegas passed muster with all his weapons.

Sergeant Tomás de la Mora was ill and remained in the presidio of Janos.

Sergeant Domingo de Grajeda passed muster with all his weapons.

Joseph de Soto passed muster with all his weapons.

Bernabé Saenz passed muster with all his weapons.

Francisco Rodríguez passed muster with all his weapons.

Ignacio Díaz Marroquín passed muster with all his weapons.

Antonio de Villareal passed muster with all his weapons.

Squad Corporal Manuel de la Riva passed muster with all his weapons.

Francisco de Algarate passed muster with all his weapons.

Pascual Morcillo passed muster with all his weapons.

Antonio Contreras passed muster with all his weapons.

Joseph Hurtado passed muster with all his weapons.

Cristóbal Díaz passed muster with all his weapons.<sup>45</sup>

Nicolás Quijas passed muster with all his weapons.

Squad Corporal Joseph de Acosta passed muster with all his weapons.

Nicolás Gómez passed muster with all his weapons.

Ignacio de Acosta passed muster with all his weapons.

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43. Ramos had been a soldier in the Parral militia in the 1670s.

44. Alvarez de Soto was born in Parral.

45. Díaz was from Parral.

Antonio Núñez passed muster with all his weapons.  
Marcos González passed muster with all his weapons.  
Diego de Astorga passed muster with all his weapons.<sup>46</sup>  
Xavier de Acosta passed muster with all his weapons.  
Joseph de Insaurraga passed muster with all his weapons.  
Squad Corporal Miguel Zambrano passed muster with all his weapons.  
Matias Navarro passed muster with all his weapons.  
Antonio Rodelo passed muster with all his weapons.  
Marcos Delgado passed muster with all his weapons.  
Nicolás Tarango passed muster with all his weapons.  
Joseph Delgado passed muster with all his weapons.  
Bernardo Cobos passed muster with all his weapons.  
Squad Corporal Joseph de Porras passed muster with all his weapons.  
Antonio de Soto passed muster with all his weapons.  
Antonio Portillo was ill and remained in the presidio of Janos.  
Miguel Sapín passed muster with all his weapons.  
Juan de Santiago passed muster with all his weapons.  
Nicolás Holguín passed muster with all his weapons.  
Francisco de Herrera went to the presidio of Janos to care for his wounds.  
Lázaro Martín passed muster with all his weapons.  
Cristóbal de Sepúlveda passed muster with all his weapons.  
Juan de Sebreros is hospitalized in the presidio of Janos.

In this manner, all the officers and soldiers of the company of General Don Domingo Terán de los Rios passed in review.

The following are the officers and soldiers of the company under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, also the other residents:

Antonio de Solís, at present lieutenant of the Provincial Flying Company, which is leaving Sonora, passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.

Alfárez Francisco de Acuña passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.

Sergeant Cristóbal de Vargas passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Adjutant Juan de la Riva passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Squad Corporal Ignacio de Acosta passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Squad Corporal Juan Mazo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Juan de Escalante passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>47</sup>

Juan de Arvizu passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>48</sup>

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46. Astorga's father had been a merchant in Parral.

47. Escalante later became lieutenant alcalde mayor of Bacanuche, Sonora.

48. Arvizu was born in New Mexico and was in the El Paso militia in 1681.

## Campaign Against the Pimas

Francisco Pacho passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Joseph López passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Juan de Moraga passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>49</sup>  
Pascual del Castillo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>50</sup>  
Juan Mateo Ramírez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>51</sup>  
Tomás García passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Antonio Gamboa passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Juan de Montoya passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Juan Sánchez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Juan Germán passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Pedro de León passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Antonio de Acuña passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Agustín Cadimo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Antonio de Santa Cruz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Lázaro de Moraga passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>52</sup>  
Cristóbal de León passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>53</sup>  
Xavier de Barcelona passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Miguel de la Cruz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Pedro de la Cruz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Hernando de la Cruz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Ignacio de Buelme passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Antonio Núñez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Miguel Hernández passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Baltazar Trujillo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Antonio Chamorro passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Nicolás Marín passed muster with all his offensive and defensive weapons.  
Luis de Valencia passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Francisco Pérez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Diego Milán passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Pedro B. passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Alejo Martín passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Bartolomé Barrios passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Roque Jacinto passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Domingo Tisnado passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Juan de Santa Cruz passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Joseph de Rentería passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.  
Joseph Hurtado passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

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49. Moraga was born in 1660 in New Mexico.

50. Ramírez later accompanied Kino to the west coast and was an alférez at the presidio of Fronteras in 1707.

51. García had earlier been with Kino and Salvatierra.

52. Moraga was born in New Mexico in 1654.

53. León was killed by Indians while escorting Kino back from México in 1696.

Andrés Mejía passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Ignacio Carmelo passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

In this manner, the officers, soldiers, and residents of the company from the province of Sonora under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate passed in review.

The following are the officers and soldiers of the company from the presidio of Sinaloa under the command of General Don Manuel Agramonte y Arce:<sup>54</sup>

Company commander Corporal Nicolás de la Higuera passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.<sup>55</sup>

Domingo Verdugo, squad corporal, passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Antonio López, squad corporal, passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Manuel Alvarez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Joseph de Acosta passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Joseph de Elizalde passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Nicolás de Armenta passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Nicolás de Urías passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Miguel de Soto passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Juan de Acosta passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Santiago de Soto passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Ignacio de Armenta passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Juan Rodríguez passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Alonso de la Serna passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Tomás de Aro passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Diego Mejía passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Miguel Coronado passed muster with all weapons except the three horses.

Francisco González remained ill.

Joseph de Acuña remained ill.

Lázaro Milán stayed in Teuricache with the horses.

In this manner the officers and soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa passed muster. All the company officers and soldiers listed from all the companies passing muster are equipped with enough ammunition and horses to participate in the campaign as long as necessary. The following is a muster of the friendly Indians:

The governor of the Conchos, Juan Corma, passed muster with thirty Indians of his nation with bows and arrows.<sup>56</sup>

Governor and War Captain Juan María Salvatierra of the town of Cocóspera and the Pima tribe passed muster with ten Indians of that place.<sup>57</sup>

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54. Although he was the commander of the Sinaloa presidio, Agramont y Arce remained behind and did not participate in this campaign. He held the post of capitán vitálico from 1692 until 1696, the year in which he died.

55. See Note 24 of this document.

56. Corma was a well-known Concho chief during the 1680s and 1690s.

57. See Note 37 of this document.

Juan Eusebio, governor of the town of Santa María [Suamca] of the Pima tribe, passed muster with twelve Indians from his town with bows and arrows.<sup>58</sup>

Cara Gentil, the governor of the Sobaípurí tribe, passed muster with ten Indians of his tribe with bows and arrows.<sup>59</sup>

Captain Don Domingo Jironza passed muster with eight Pima Indians of this settlement with bows and arrows.

War Captain Pedro Banico from the pueblo de los Curis passed muster with twelve Indians with bows and arrows.<sup>60</sup>

War Captain Isidro Sauri of the Opatas passed muster with eight Indians from the town of Arizpe with bows and arrows.

War Captain Juan de María passed muster with eleven Indians of the Opatá tribe from the towns of Banámichi, Aconchi, Huepac, and Sinoquipe.<sup>61</sup>

The governors and captains of the valley of Guevavi and from the Pima pueblo of San Cayetano went to their respective villages and camps to gather their followers. These military leaders arranged to enlist as many Indians as possible with bows and arrows to join us. In this way the muster of the friendly Indians was completed.

In this military garrison of the pueblo and valley of Cocóspera of the Pimas on July 18, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Jironza, Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in agreement concerning the expedition into the enemy country as shown in the decree preceding the muster rolls. And although we had decided to leave this military garrison with the command and the mounted squads going in different directions, we realized there would be a great distance between the soldiers and the command, and if there was trouble in either one, they would not be able to help each other because of the intervening rough country which was completely occupied by the enemy.

Seeing that we would be unable to join in arms or receive information from one another for more than twelve days regardless of success or failure, and because we realized that by keeping these forces widely separated we would be prevented from assisting one another at any given time, we decided to march out together from this plaza de armas. We had received very accurate information, both oral and written, from our Indian allies and others that many of the enemy are to be found in the rancherías of Magdalena, Tupo, Toozona, Bosane, and on the approaches to Caborca. An advance column of eighty soldiers from all the com-

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58. This Pima chief had apparently taken Kino's and Salvatierra's first names. See Note 37. Santa María Suamca became a mission visita about 1690. Today it is modern Santa Cruz, Sonora.

59. The Sobaípuris were eastern Pimas concentrated along the Río San Pedro in southeastern Arizona. The governor's name translates as "Kind Face."

60. "Curis" almost definitely refers to Ures, Sonora. Later in this segment it is rendered "Zuris," and it is noted that the Pima language is understood there. Ures is on the Río Sonora, 60 kilometers northeast of modern Hermosillo, and is also near the northern edge of Pima Bajo territory.

61. Along with Arizpe, these towns are on the Río Sonora, and since the 1640s had been the site of Jesuit missions.



panies with as many Indian allies as possible will leave this pueblo at night in order to conduct a surprise dawn attack on the enemy in their pueblos and ranche-rías; they will act in accordance with whatever the occasion demands.

In this military garrison of the pueblo and valley of Cocóspera on the 19th day of July, 1695, we informed all the officers, soldiers, and allies in this encampment to be ready with their arms, horses, and provisions in order to leave tomorrow, July 20, on a campaign into enemy territory. Everyone who was ordered to be prompt and ready is included in the muster roll. At the same time we ordered all lame, crippled, and overworked animals to be left behind in this valley. The baggage that could prove cumbersome during the march was left at the priest's residence in the pueblo. In order to guard these articles, twelve soldiers from General Don Domingo Jironza's company were ordered to remain behind. At about seven in the morning all of the horses of this camp were brought together. The ones that were of no use were separated, and the packs that might be an impediment were sent to the pueblo.

On July 20, 1695, at six in the morning, we gave the order to assemble the horses at the plaza de armas located in the Pima village of Cocóspera. We then heard mass conducted by Reverend Father Eusebio Francisco Kino. After loading the supplies and with everyone mounted, we began the march downriver. We traveled a little more than two leagues before we found it necessary to halt the command in the estancia of this pueblo. There we had to sort out eighty head of cattle given to us from the herd of the reverend fathers of the Society of Jesus to help support the campaign. We stopped here because there was no suitable place for this purpose farther on. A fierce storm with rain, lightning, and thunder arose when we halted to make camp. A soldier and his horse were hit and killed by the lightning, although there was no sign of injury on either of them. About two hours earlier, General Don Domingo Jironza and Father Eusebio Francisco Kino bade us goodbye and left for the pueblo of Dolores.

In the settlement of Cocóspera on July 21, 1695, at five in the morning, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, ordered the horses rounded up to continue our journey to the town of San José de Imuris. We heard mass said by the Reverend Father Agustín de Campos of the Society of Jesus, the same chaplain that we brought along on this campaign. After loading the supplies the troops mounted and marched out in formation. We advanced about six leagues, arriving at the town of Imuris, where we found that the church, priest's house, and Indian huts had all been burned. We also discovered that some cattle and sheep were slaughtered only to cause harm, for the carcasses were intact and none of the meat was taken.

The column advanced another quarter-league to reach the juncture of the rivers which can be seen from the town.<sup>62</sup> At three in the afternoon, we ordered the command to halt on the top of a hill. After conferring, we generals decided that at six in the afternoon sixty soldiers from the combined force, all leading haltered horses, and fifty Indian allies from the Pima, Opatá, and Conchos tribes would leave under the command of General Juan Fernández de la Fuente. They

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62. This is the confluence of the Río Cocóspera and the Río Magdalena.

were to travel at night to San Ignacio, about three leagues away, to see if it was occupied by friendly Pimas or the enemy. Once this was determined, they were to continue another three leagues before dawn and reconnoiter the pueblo of Magdalena. There is information that the enemy is there in order to care for their milpas and to eat pitahayas. In case we find them there, we should act according to whatever the situation demands.

With one squad thus committed, we decided that General Domingo Terán de los Ríos should remain with the other Spaniards and Indians, the royal standard, and supplies and horses in the event of any contingency. They would depart tomorrow, July 22, following the same route as the first squad in order to join them in San Ignacio or Magdalena, whichever was most convenient.

On the 22nd day of the month of July, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, joined our units together about noon at this Pima pueblo of Santa María Magdalena. The day before at about eight o'clock they found the church, priest's house, and the Indian huts all burned, with the threshed wheat scattered about the fields. Since there was no sign of anyone in the pueblo, not even tracks of friends or enemy, they continued marching and at daybreak reconnoitered the pueblo of Magdalena. After seeing the ruined houses and church and finding no Indian friends or enemies in the entire area, they split into separate squads on General Juan Fernández de la Fuente's orders. He told the corporals to reconnoiter the woods on both sides of the river downstream in order to see if any of them would find any of the enemy camped in the woods near where they gathered pitahayas. After searching both sides of the river for more than two leagues, it was not possible to find a single Indian nor any old or new tracks. Some barefooted person had left tracks apparently the day before. The trail was headed for Tupu, the enemy pueblo about six leagues away.

To wait for the company which was still on the way, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, ordered a withdrawal. After assembling the soldiers and Indian allies, I returned to this pueblo at eleven o'clock. At about twelve, General Domingo Terán arrived with his force. Along the way he also observed all that we have reported; it was still possible that there might be some of the enemy in the pueblo of Tupu because there were cornfields and many pitahayas to eat. We conferred and decided that General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos should leave with sixty soldiers drawn from all the companies to search the pueblo of Tupu. They were to travel this afternoon and part of the night to arrive near this pueblo and wait until dawn of the 23rd to send in spies to see who was there. Then they were to act as the situation demanded. To accomplish this task, General Domingo Terán left this camp with sixty soldiers and a Pima Indian named Cristóbal to serve as interpreter. Each soldier took two horses, one saddled and one bridled. I, General Domingo Terán de los Ríos, left with the squad at about five in the afternoon.

Since there was no word from General Terán, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, on July 23, 1695, at about five in the morning ordered the horses brought to the camp. Once the supplies were loaded and the soldiers mounted, I ordered the Indian allies and livestock to proceed on ahead. We took the road to Tupu, the same route which was used the day before by the group commanded by General Domingo Terán de los Ríos. At about six in the morning, when the retinue was ready to go, I left the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena. We traveled about three leagues, and about the time the vanguard neared the allies and livestock, they

sighted the huts of Tupo. Two soldiers with General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos came out to meet us. These men were Simón López Zambrano and José Delgado. They told me that General Domingo Terán had sent them to tell me that the spies sent to Tupo had returned. They reported no people in the houses or fields, nor had they seen any fires. The general had ordered this to be done under the cover of darkness, and he had halted and dispatched some soldiers to check the Ciénaga de la Matanza about one league from this spot.<sup>63</sup> Having investigated and returned, the soldiers said that they had not been able to find the enemy or any fires. About one hour after sunrise they caught sight of them; one was mounted, leading another horse along the ridge toward the west. As the soldiers began to chase him, the Indian set his bridled horse free and fled on his mount. During the pursuit, the soldiers saw two other Indians running on foot. Some soldiers followed them but were unable to catch them quickly because they did not have fresh mounts. A soldier caught one of them, who surrendered his weapons; he was taken captive without harm. Just as another soldier pursued the other Indian and was catching up with him, Silvestre Pacheco arrived. Since the Indian refused to surrender, the soldier fired at him with his arquebus. The Indian, however, climbed up to some rocks, allowing him to shoot an arrow and wound the horse. Although General Terán and his soldiers arrived, they were unable to capture or kill the Indian. He reached the rugged slopes of the nearby sierra. The one that escaped on horseback took the road that goes to the pueblo of Bosane. The Spaniards asked the captured Indian where the rebels were located. He responded that they were at several different locations and that all those pueblos which had rebelled were not united but were divided into groups. He also informed them that about six leagues beyond Bosane was a ranchería with good lands. Leaving with the Indian prisoner as a guide, General Terán attempted to reach there before the people were warned.

I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, was expected to halt with the command in this ciénaga and wait for a second report on the situation from General Don Domingo Terán. I intended to set out with twenty soldiers, some horses, and friendly Indians as soon as the soldiers told me that Domingo Terán was approaching the ranchería, for fear that we might suffer some misfortune. The two soldiers had reported this to me, but in order not to lose contact with the general by leaving the camp so far behind, I decided to wait for another report from him so as to be ready to go wherever he might specify.

After stopping the column in this ciénaga about ten in the morning, I sent Corporal Francisco de Medrano and several soldiers to reconnoiter the area where the enemy was camped. He left and returned very quickly, telling me that at the base of the mountain next to the trail by the ciénaga he saw two very large fire pits surrounded by seven or eight beds—some of grass and others of straw. I asked the soldiers why they had not seen more than the three Indians when they had seen so many beds. They did not find any others but claimed that the beds were evidence of their presence—additional proof was that they found six horses and

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63. This is El Tupo, the marsh where the massacre of the Pimas took place.

their packsaddle pads. The soldiers did not see the Indian prisoner or hear him say how many were traveling with him. General Don Domingo Terán called to the Indian who had climbed the sierra and told him through an interpreter to come down and he would not be harmed. Although he tried to persuade him with many enticements, the Indian did not answer or come down. Because of his stubbornness the soldiers fired several arquebus shots at him, and he responded with arrows. The Indian eluded them by retreating to the summit where the pursuers could not follow due to the rugged terrain.

During this time while I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, and the column were stopped in this ciénaga, a Pima Indian arrived around noon and gave me a letter written and signed by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino. It was dated July 22 and written from the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. In it he states: "While writing this, I received a report that the enemy from the west ran away with a herd of mares as well as some horses from the pueblo of Cucurpe and also shot five mules." Thus it would be easy to follow their tracks to find the ranchería where they were taking them. I was waiting for some good or bad news from General Terán and therefore decided not to set out to find the trail of the horses.

About three in the afternoon, Juan Andrés, the governor and captain-general of the Yaqui nation, arrived in this camp. He gave me a letter from General Don Domingo Jironza which was dated July 22 at Dolores. In it he tells General Terán de los Ríos and me that he is sending us fifty-eight warriors with Juan Andrés. After they arrive at this camp, we are to send Captain Juan Andrés back because he is greatly needed in the pueblos of such a large tribe. When I asked Juan Andrés when the Indians would arrive, he told me sometime tomorrow they should be here. He arrived ahead of them because he had the benefit of a horse and a guide. The people were exhausted because they had walked over 130 leagues. He was given some chocolate and ordered to stay in camp to wait for his people. In the meantime we would obtain information about what had happened to General Terán de los Ríos, and he would have to wait here to take word back to General Domingo Jironza.

On July 24, 1695, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, was located in this Ciénaga de la Matanza with the entire military complement at my command. It was after seven in the morning and nothing had been reported from General Terán; I became worried that some misfortune might have befallen him and his soldiers. Perhaps the Indian prisoner has been engaged in some sort of deception. Perhaps it was something that the general was unable to tell me about because he could not afford to risk any soldiers. Because of this we sent out Lieutenants Antonio de Solís and Francisco de Medrano with twenty men from the various companies with horses saddled and others bridled. They were to follow the hoof tracks made by General Terán's column until they reached the settlement of Bosane. There they should determine this unit's direction of march. If General Terán's force had been diverted to Tubutama or to some other distant place, they were to return as soon as possible in case a call for help comes to this command from elsewhere. The tasks assigned these officers include responding to requests for help. In all cases they are to act as the situation demands. Two soldiers in their troop were to be sent to inform me of any orders from General Terán. Lieutenants Solís and Medrano must bear in mind that I am not going with them in person or



marching with the entire command, lest we become separated, which might lead to delay or failure. This is why I am not breaking camp without authorization from General Terán.

The lieutenants' patrol left the encampment about eight in the morning. About a half-hour later fifty-eight Yaqui Indians arrived. After a cordial greeting, I had the captain-general and his men make camp and get settled. At the same time all of the governors and allied captains of the Pima and Concho tribes arrived to tell me that they were very concerned because they saw that General Domingo Terán and his soldiers were delayed in returning; they thought the Indian prisoner might have deceived them or escaped. I said that this might be true but not to worry as tonight some news may come. With this and other explanations I told them not to become discouraged. The Indians appeared very content when they said goodbye.

About two in the afternoon Lieutenants Antonio de Solís and Francisco de Medrano and the soldiers who had gone with them arrived back in camp. They told me that they had followed the horse tracks left by General Terán's squadron and saw that they never took a direct route to any ranchería. When the patrol arrived at Bosane, they discovered the tracks about a league away near some small hills and a thick mesquite grove but never leading to the ranchería. They saw that the tracks took many turns and then headed for Tubutama, which is ten to eleven leagues from this place. It appeared that the Indian prisoner might have been deceiving General Terán's column because there was sufficient time to have returned here already. In order not to fail them or miss out on developments, the two officers decided to come back and advise me of the situation. They were not sure where General Terán and his soldiers might be. Returning to this camp, they found the horse belonging to the soldier, Tomás Alvarez. This was the animal the Indian had wounded the day before. They brought the horse back to this camp since it was near death from the arrow wound. I ordered it treated and returned to our herd.

About midnight five soldiers and civilians who had gone with General Terán de los Ríos arrived at this camp. They told me the general had sent them to tell me that he and his squad had stopped in the town of Tubutama and were waiting for me and the entire command to join them there. On the 23rd at about four in the afternoon General Terán de los Ríos and his soldiers had encountered an enemy settlement in the woods bordering the Río Tubutama. They spoke with them through an Indian named Cristóbal, who had come with the general as interpreter, as well as through an Indian captive named Xavier. They told them not to fight or take up arms against the Spaniards because they had not come to make war on those who were not guilty of Padre Xavier Saeta's death and had not caused the uprising. The only ones they came to punish were the leaders and principal inciters of the rebellion in which the padre was killed. If the guilty leaders were delivered to the authorities, everyone else would be pardoned in the king's name. The Indians refused to listen to these explanations. They began to shoot at the interpreters and soldiers from the thicket, causing them to flee to a safer position. The enemy and other Indians emerged with daring pride shooting at the soldiers until the Spaniards reached a place where they could maneuver their horses. Then, the Spaniards turned and charged the Indians with their swords and lances. In a short time the soldiers were able to kill eleven of the most aggressive Indians

while the others fled into the brush. Even though the soldiers and General Don Domingo Terán pursued them to the pueblo, they were hampered by rough terrain and were able to capture only four Indians—two boys and two young girls. They found pieces of different vestments and two altar cloths, all of which were damaged, and a new cincture. They also discovered that the enemy had stolen some mares and horses which were being used to carry their belongings in order to get away because they had received a warning from other Indians who had already escaped to the marsh. All this happened on the 23rd of this month.

On the 24th, General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos had sent out a troop of twenty soldiers to count the dead and to see if there were any church furnishings or anything else that was mission property in the settlement or in the brush. When the troop approached the village, another enemy group, yelling and shooting arrows, advanced toward them. The soldiers returned fire, killing four Indians and putting the rest to flight, but they were unable to catch them. This patrol then withdrew with two wounded men whose lives were not in danger; they lost six horses, two of which died of wounds. They also took about thirty head of livestock from the enemy.

The soldiers told me that they were to return tomorrow taking supplies to General Don Domingo Terán and his men. I told them to return at the hour they thought best. Furthermore, I asked them to give my best wishes for success to General Don Domingo Terán and to inform him that by noon of the 25th we should be with him and his command.

On July 25, 1695, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, was located in the Ciénaga de la Matanza with my men. At about four in the morning I ordered the horses brought to the camp. After mass the supplies were loaded, and when all the troops were mounted, our column marched out along the royal road. About two in the afternoon we came to the pueblo of San Pedro Tubutama, where we found General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and the rest of the soldiers who had come with him. After greeting him, we sat down with him and his officers. They told me that everything in the preceding official statement had taken place just as the soldiers had reported it to me. General Don Domingo Terán produced a bundle containing remnants of ecclesiastical vestments apparently taken from the churches the Indians had burned and sacked. Padre Agustín de Campos of the Society of Jesus, chaplain of this command, took charge of the bundle. When General Terán was asked what information had been given by the four Indian captives concerning the enemy, he answered that they said they had camped in different places. On the 24th, his grace had sent one of the Indian women with messages given her by the Pima interpreter Cristóbal. She was to go to the various settlements and tell the native governors and Indians to come down to this encampment, assuring the leaders that none of them would be harmed. We would receive them with love, treat them well, and hear everything they had to say. If they wanted peace, they would receive it in the name of both majesties but only on the condition that they turn over the principal leaders of the uprising. Once this was accomplished, the rest would be left at liberty and peace in their ranches and pueblos. On the other hand, if the Indians wanted war and refused to come down to the general, the Indian woman was expected to return with a report of what her kinsmen had said. Whether she came back with good or bad news, she would be well treated regardless and could return to her relatives or wherever she decided to go in com-

plete safety. These and many other messages were given her for the purpose of bringing the Indians into the fold of our holy mother church. She was given a cross as a sign that our promises would be kept with those rebels who came down. She left the camp at about eight in the morning. After she left, about ten o'clock on that day, the 24th, the troops went out and succeeded a second time by killing the last four Indians in the same settlements where their companions had fought and refused to surrender, even though the soldiers had repeatedly asked them to do so.

This caused General Don Domingo Terán to fear that the Indian woman might not return and that none of the enemy would come down with messages of peace or war. However, he decided to wait the three days he had granted them, and if none came, he would then decide what was the best course to follow in the service of both majesties. It was reported by the soldiers that among the dead Indians were two of the chiefs who were prime movers of the uprising. They were natives of this same pueblo of Tubutama. One was a Christian named Diego, who was a fiscal of the church, and the other was a pagan who was a foreman. To verify that these leaders were dead, we told Lieutenant Francisco Medrano, and the sergeant, Domingo Grajeda (who had been in both skirmishes), to take twenty soldiers, forty Indian allies, and a Pima named Juan Antonio, who knew the dead Indians very well. On their arrival at the site, the officers, soldiers, and friendly Indians examined the dead but did not find the two they were searching for among the twelve bodies; they did not miss a single one who had been killed. However, the Indian, Juan Antonio, recognized two Christians of his pueblo among the dead. One was named Pedro, a farmer, who had been a page of the padre. The other was Cristóbal, who had been alcalde and fiscal of the settlement of Bosane. He inspected all the dead and reported that the last four killed were from this pueblo of Tubutama while the other eight were from Bosane.

On July 26, 1695, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente were in this pueblo of Tubutama. Covered with dense brush, with no grass for the horses to eat, or any way to guard them at night, it was not a good place. Consequently we decided to move the camp to some fields upriver about three leagues north of the pueblo. After the horses were brought up, the supplies loaded, and the soldiers mounted, we headed upriver. At about eleven in the morning we arrived at the place where we found the padre's cattle corrals. On the way we had found some mares, two mules, and four cows, all belonging to this mission; they were put in the herd with our other horses and cattle. At four in the afternoon the aforementioned Indian woman had still not returned. As stated in the preceding official statement, she was sent by General Don Domingo Terán with messages for the Indians and instructions to return within three days. The time would be up tomorrow, the 26th of the month. In case she did not return and no Indians came to us, we ordered a formal statement to be taken from the Indian captive and the two Indian girls. One girl was blind and could not tell us anything concerning the whereabouts of the enemy. As a result, she did not make a statement.

On July 26, 1695, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, in accordance with the above official statement, had Alférez Francisco de Acuña of the flying company under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate appear before us. Because he understood the Pima language well, we appointed him to act as our interpreter because of his loy-



alty, knowledge, and understanding. We also appointed two Christian Pimas to be present. One was named Cristóbal and the other Francisco. They were to tell him everything that was asked the witnesses in the Oyata language and also interpreted their answers in that language. A soldier of the company of General Juan Fernández de la Fuente was also appointed as interpreter in the Oyata language. He was Cristóbal Granillo. When all interpreters were present they were given a formal oath in the name of Our Lord God and of the cross. They promised to interpret well and faithfully as far as they understood, without adding or omitting any words or statements. Next we ordered the fettered Pima captive brought before us. Through the interpreters he was asked whether he was a Christian or pagan. He said he was a Christian named Xavier, that Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino had baptized him in the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and that he was a native of Bosane. Since he was a Christian, he was given the oath in legal form in the name of Our Lord God and with the sign of the cross; he promised to tell the truth so far as he knew about whatever was asked. The gravity of the oath was explained to him by the appointed interpreters. When asked where he came from and was going when the soldiers under General Don Domingo Terán captured him, he said he was going to San Ignacio with messages given him by the governor of Bosane. He was to tell the governors of San Ignacio for the governor of Bosane that he and all the people of the ranchería wished to talk with him. He should not be suspicious of him or his relatives, and he should come to this place on the Río Tubutama with the fiscal and a topile. The captive said their names were unknown to him, but that he was on the way to summon them in the name of his governor and other kinsmen—he did not know for what purpose. While he was doing this he met some other Indians on the road, and since it was late, he stayed with them to sleep. While hunting for their horses in the morning before going on their way, they caught sight of the Spaniards and fled. He alone had been captured. He was asked how many were with him and from what pueblo or ranch. He said that there were nine natives from Vitaca. They told him they were coming from Cucurpe in Oyata country, where they had gone to catch horses and that they were bringing seven of them. He was warned to tell the truth as to whether or not he had gone with them because there was no basis for what he had said. If he told the truth without fear, he would not be harmed. If he was caught in a lie, he would be punished. To this he admitted that indeed he had lied, but would now tell the truth.

After being enjoined to tell all that he knew and had seen, he said he had left the ranchería with three Indians from Tupo, one from the settlement of Suamca, two from Jécori, and three from Bosane. They all went together to the pueblo of Magdalena, where this witness stayed with two others to hunt flint points for their arrows. The others went on to Dolores to get horses, and on their return they told the witness they had collected seven horses. They shot some mules that had run off and could not be caught for their herd. On the way back with them when they were in their own country, they stopped to spend the night and then planned to leave for their own settlement the next morning. That day while hunting horses, they sighted the Spaniards and fled with the animals they had. All his companions escaped. Xavier was the only one captured. Because the Spaniards asked him where his relatives were living, he told them and guided them to the ranchería, where they said he would be set free and not killed if he told them. Believing this, he guided the Spaniards to the settlement.

They asked him how many people were in the *ranchería* where the Spaniards had fought and where the rebels had come from. He replied that there were people from five *rancherías*: Tupo, Doaquisona, Quisore, Bosane, and Tubutama. When he left the *ranchería*, he counted twenty-eight Indians remaining. There were seven from Quisore; eleven from Tubutama; eight from Tupo; six from Bosane; and six from Doaquisona. They were the only ones he knew who were left there when he set out with his companions to bring in the horses. There were many women with their children who were widows of those who had been killed at the *ciénaga* by Lieutenant Antonio de Solís, his soldiers, and the friendly Indians. These survivors had retreated to a marsh which they call Batopa in their language because it has little water and it becomes stagnant and foul during dry spells. They had come to this place to gather grain, hunt game for food, and search for horses. And so they all had arrived—he together with all those who had been in his company. All had come to the watering place because all the people from the *rancherías* had retreated out of fear of the Spaniards. It was possible that all the people who had fled from the *ranchería* had gone there to join the rest. The land was level with a good road. The spring was some distance from Quisore. If we left Batopa at sunrise, we could reach the *ranchería* of Quisore by noon. From there Tubutama is still distant. Returning to Tubutama, we could depart at sunrise and by two in the afternoon reach the place where the people were supposedly congregated. If they were not there, then they had probably gone to another watering place farther on where rainwater gathers in some small ponds. If they were not there, then it was also possible they had journeyed to a sierra farther on which is high and has water and many *pitahayas*. He had heard his relatives say that they were going to join the people from the *rancherías* of Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi, and other places because they knew the people from these *rancherías* were traveling to the sierra. Another possibility was that they had joined their companions in a place where there was another spring with much water and where they had all agreed to meet. Xavier said that these places were not far away. The tracks would tell us the direction they had taken. He would show us the ponds, which were all small rainwater pools. When they asked if he knew or had heard anything about where the Caborca Indians were, he replied that he had heard this group had left the pueblo and retreated to a sierra very far away and that there was no water or pasturage along the road. He thought the Indian captive named María, a native of Quisore, would know better than he.

They asked him if he knew the causes for the Indians' rebellion in the pueblos and settlements previously mentioned. Why had they murdered Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta in the pueblo of Caborca and the Opatá Indian, Antonio, the mayordomo of Padre Daniel Janusque the missionary, at Tubutama? Why had they also wanted to kill this padre? Xavier replied that they never wanted to kill the padre of this pueblo because he was well liked. They wanted to kill only the three Opatas because they did not belong to their tribe. Antonio, the mayordomo of the padre, had whipped the chief of the settlement, a pagan, who had given messages to their kinsmen in the *rancherías* of Quisore and Araupo and this pueblo [Tubutama] while they were all together in the *estancia* saying that they were going to kill the Opatas. When they were all gathered together to kill these Opatas, the padre and his mayordomo came and spoke with them. He told them he intended to leave and not return because they had been killing his cows and livestock, and he knew

they did not like him. He was going to take everything he had and go at once. Then he left for the hills with an Indian boy. Some wanted to chase and kill the padre but the chief told them not to follow him or kill him because he liked the padre very much. After they let him go, the people then began to shoot arrows at the mayordomo because he had seen the chief kill a cow to give to the assembled Indians. They reproached him and started to shoot at him. At this point, seeing that he was wounded, Antonio fled on horseback toward the pueblo while the chief and the others followed him. He hid in the house of a friend where they later found him dead. They took Antonio's body and threw it into an arroyo. They also killed the other two Opatas and discarded their bodies.

Xavier said that a compadre of his had hidden an Indian named Angel and his wife to keep them from being murdered. They were from the Zuris pueblo and spoke the Pima language well.<sup>64</sup> He took them out at night to escape to their own pueblo. Meanwhile, the chief broke the doors of the padre's house and went in with the other Indians, taking everything, including the vestments, and distributed the booty among them all. He said that the Indians of Caborca killed Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta and that there is not one of those who live nearby in all these settlements of Peroqui who does not know or has not heard why they killed him. When asked if they had come down sincerely and without deception to make peace with Lieutenant Antonio de Solís at the ciénaga of Tupo, he said the governor of Bosane had come to tell all of them that he had been with the lieutenant and his soldiers and that they had all spoken kindly to him, so they should go and make peace. Believing this, they had gone to talk with him and make peace. The governor had also told them before they left that the lieutenant had asked him about the instigators of the uprising and said if they would turn them over, he would offer pardon to them all in the name of his majesty. But they went down without taking any of those for whom the lieutenant had asked. On being asked why they had not taken them along, he said it was because the ring-leader was not around; however, among those who had come down to make peace were eight of those who had caused the uprising. He did not know why the lieutenant, his soldiers, and the friendly Indians had killed those who came down. They knew that many had been pardoned, including the governor of Bosane, the alcalde of this pueblo, the page of the padre, another Indian named Lorenzo, and three others who had come to join the others from these settlements when they burned and sacked the churches, houses, and pueblos of Imuris, San Ignacio, and Magdalena. He was asked if he knew which Indians had the chalices, patens, and vestments and other things belonging to the missions, to which he replied that he had not seen any chalices. Those who came to his settlement brought some pieces of vestments and a small copper pot. This was all he had seen and nothing else.

Xavier was asked if he knew the intentions of governors and chiefs of the settlements mentioned which had rebelled and whether they were for peace or for war. He said that all the Indians had assembled only a few days ago and had held a conference at the very place where the battle had been fought. All the governors and captains blamed the foreman. They said that on his account they had left

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64. See Note 60 of this document.

their pueblos with their women and children, fleeing through mountains and canyons with nothing to eat. They heard that many Spaniards were coming to make war on them and that was why they had to go to the mountains where they and their children might die of hunger, even though they felt that it would be better to ask for peace and live quietly in their pueblos and settlements.

The caporal responded by asking why they should make peace. Were they not men enough to fight the Spaniards? He knew how to fight. The Spaniards fired one shot with their arquebuses and at once they fled. All then answered, "If you are so brave we will see how you fight when the Spaniards come." All of them blamed the chief for all that had happened to them.

He was asked if the fiscal mayor had accompanied the chief. He said he did not know nor had he heard that the fiscal named Diego had made any bad speeches; rather, he had said good things. He was asked many other things but he said he did not know them; he had told all he knew and had seen. He had nothing more to say about what had been asked. The interpreters then told him what he had said, and he affirmed and ratified it all. He did not sign because he said he did not know how. The witness appears to be twenty years old, more or less.

At about six o'clock in the morning on July 27, 1695, in the dwelling in the pueblo of Tubutama we, the generals, ordered the Indian woman prisoner María brought before us, who had been mentioned in the statement of the Indian, Xavier.

She was asked by the appointed interpreters if she was a Christian and baptized and what pueblo she was from. She said she was a Christian and had been baptized by Padre Eusebio Kino in Tubutama, where she was born. The woman was asked if she knew or had heard the reason why the Indians of this pueblo and those of Caborca, Bosane, Tupo, Tucubavi, Araupo, and many other settlements had revolted. She answered that she knew and heard her relatives say that Diego, the fiscal of Tubutama, was the main leader of the uprising. It was he who invited the Indians from other settlements, and he had told them that the Opatas in Padre Daniel Janusque's service had caused them to be whipped every day. They told the padres everything the Indians did. Thus it would be best to kill them. In order to carry this out, all the people met here. When they were assembled, Padre Janusque arrived with his Oyata mayordomo, Antonio, and spoke to all of them. That is when the chief came out and said, "Padre, go at once to the hills; these people are evil and may kill you." Then the padre fled to the hills, taking his young page from Tubutama. After the padre left, they all began to shoot arrows at the mayordomo, Antonio. With arrows in his body he fled on horseback to the pueblo, where he hid in the house of a friend. All the people came after him and even though his friend defended him, they killed them both and threw their bodies out in the field. Then they opened the padre's house and killed two other Opatas hiding there. Then the governor, the fiscal, and the page, Perucho, distributed the padre's vestments, finery, and clothing, which all tore to pieces. Then they began to slaughter the cows and catch the horses. She was asked where they had gone after the murders. She said all the people had gone to Quisore and that she with some other men and women had gone to Bosane. She was asked if she knew or had heard why the Indians had killed Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta in Caborca and what people from which settlements had taken part in his murder or had brought instructions to do it. She said she had neither known nor heard of any Indians from

any of the aforementioned pueblos or rancherías who had gone to kill the padre or had brought orders to that effect. She knew only that some Indians who were natives of Caborca had come to tell her kinsmen that they had already killed Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta and that a messenger had told them that it was wrong to have killed him. It would have been better if they had simply forced him to leave as they had done to their own padre. They had not wished to murder him because they loved him a great deal.

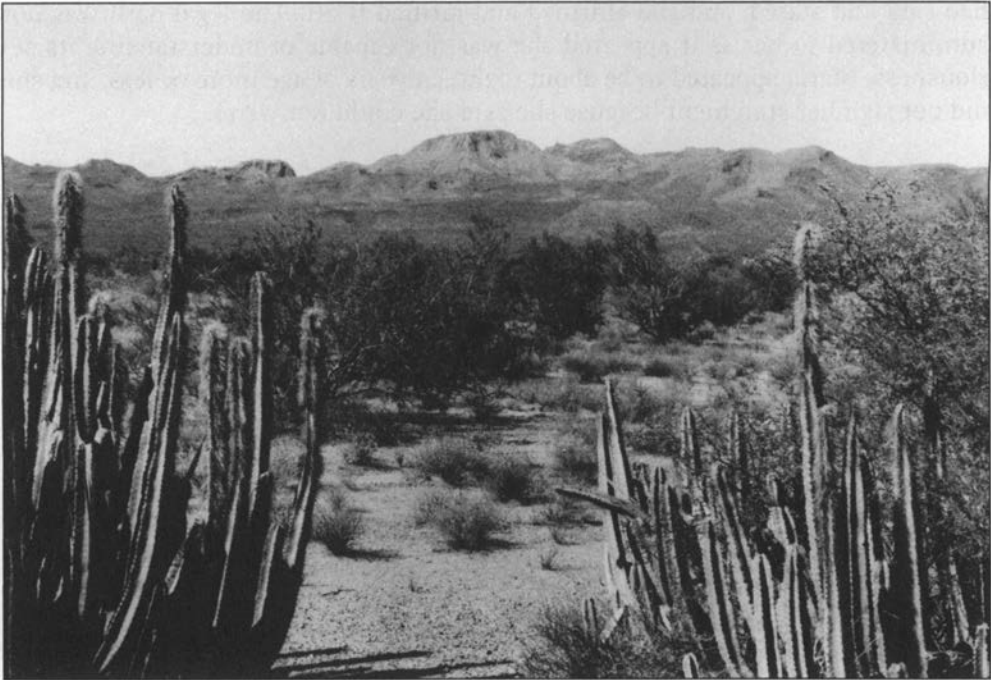
Then María was asked if she knew or had heard who had brought the messages to her relatives to go to make peace with Lieutenant Antonio de Solís and if they were sincere in doing so. She said she knew that the Spaniards had sent a message to the governor of Bosane saying that if they delivered the chiefs of the uprising, they would pardon all the others in the name of his majesty, may God protect him. Thus they might live in peace with their wives and children in their pueblos and rancherías. María said this was the message the governor of Bosane had sent to her relatives. She did not know who brought the message. For this reason they said, "Let us go see the Spaniards so as to be at peace in our pueblos." She went down with the people to the marsh of Tupo to make peace with Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. There she saw them kill the people who had gone with her, but she did not know why. From there she and other women went away with the governor of Bosane to live in peace because the Spaniards did not intend to kill them. The others wanted to flee but the Spaniards spoke good words to them in order to calm them. They said they had killed the others because they started to flee at the moment they began to seize the guilty Indians who were using the torn vestments as breech cloths. She saw this with her own eyes as it was all done in her presence.

She was asked if she knew who and why the Indians had burned the pueblos and the churches of San Ignacio, Imuris, and Magdalena. She said all the Indians had left their pueblos and settlements—from Tupo as far as the Sobas and much farther west.<sup>65</sup> She had seen many men going. All the women had stayed in the Cerro del Chile,<sup>66</sup> whereas the Sobas came without women. The interrogator then asked her if she knew why they had not killed the men and women from these pueblos. From what she knew and heard, her kinsmen were not angry with the natives of the pueblos. They knew only that the soldiers were in San Ignacio, and they had gone to fight them. When they did not find them there, they burned the churches and houses and carried off some vestments, cattle, and livestock. She had seen them eating the cattle and heard that the padre's pages had distributed these things among the other Indians. Very little of the booty was left there. According to María the pilfered clothing was carried off by the Soba Indians and those of Tucubavi and other places.

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65. The Sobas were a western branch of the Pimas. Sometimes called the "Sand Papago," they inhabited the arid regions northwest of Caborca.

66. This is the Cerro de Cócori referred to later. The most probable locations are the Sierra del Humo and the Sierra Mezquital between 30 and 75 kilometers northwest of Tubutama. Later in the document the Sierra de Unaco is described as being in the same area and with many agaves. Humaco is the Piman word for a place with many cactus plants and it also could correspond to the modern Sierra del Humo.



*The forbidding Sierra del Unaco (also known as Sierra del Chile), refuge of the Pima rebels*

She was then asked where the Indians from the rebellious pueblos and settlements, which we had found deserted, had assembled with those who were in the ranchería where we had fought on the 23rd of this month. She said that all the Indians who had escaped and those on the west side of the sierra had joined the people from Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi, and other rancherías. These groups agreed to meet, after the Spaniards came, in a mountain north of this place, because of its plentiful supply of agave and water. She did not know where they might go from there. The witness was then asked if she knew the way and could guide us there, and if there was pasture and water along the way. She said she did not know the route to the sierra. She had been as far as some hills nearer by that could be reached in one day on foot. The only water was in the rocks and in ponds left by the rains. There was good pasture so far as she had seen, and she could lead us as far as she knew the way. She said the captive Xavier is from Tubutama and not from Bosane as he had said and that he was a man and would know the country better than she. María had never been away from the villages, and the people of Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi, and other places might still be in the Cerro del Chile because it was rough country with water and agave. María knew that the Indians had been there but did not know if they had left the place or not. It was possible that these people had not joined the others for fear of the Spaniards.

This is all she knows and has to say in response to the questions. If the witness remembered any more, she would say so. The interpreters repeated everything she

had said and stated, and she affirmed and ratified it all. The legal oath was not administered to her as it appeared she was not capable of understanding its seriousness. María appeared to be about eighteen years of age more or less, and she did not sign her statement because she said she could not write.

*The commanders were convinced that a good portion of the rebels had taken refuge in the Sierra del Chile to the northwest. General Fernández de la Fuente took the soldiers in his command and a number of Indian allies and scouted the hills to the southwest to find what they could. They rode late into the night and were soaked by a violent thunderstorm. The following day more searching by the patrols led to sightings of several individual Pimas and the capture of a man and a woman who were hiding near a water hole. When interrogated, the two frightened Pimas said that they had fled their ranchería at the approach of the Spanish forces and that, yes, there were many others hiding in the mountains. Fuente named this encampment Santa Marta, and the Indian woman was given food and instructed to take a cross to the others in hiding. In this manner she was to tell them to return to their villages in peace; the Spaniards would pardon everyone except the two principal troublemakers. Warned to return and give a report in four or five days, she left that night on her forced mission. The next morning Fuente and his men retraced their route back to Tubutama.*

On July 31, 1695 we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, are located at this estancia at the river of San Pedro de Tubutama. We are waiting for the Indian woman whom Juan Fernández de la Fuente sent from the ranchería and spring of Santa Marta. Meanwhile, we have stayed here, unable to decide whether to begin sending patrols to scout the territory or to move somewhere else to wage war. This will depend on what we hear from the Indian woman, or until the final day of her expected return, which is August 2nd. Then, whether she returns or not, we will decide what is most convenient for us to do then.

*August 1. The forces continued to wait at Tubutama.*

On the 2nd day of August, 1695, we are located at the estancia of Tubutama. Because General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos is involved in matters of royal service, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, found it useful to take the declaration of an Indian whom we captured on July 29th at the ranchería and spring of Santa Marta. The declaration and the messages brought by the Indian women from the ranchería will determine what action is most beneficial to the royal service. In order to take another declaration I called before me Alferez Francisco de Acuña from the company under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. Alferez Acuña is named in these decrees as an interpreter. He knows the oath, is loyal, interprets accurately, and understands what is being said. For verification, I called Francisco and Cristóbal, natives of the Pima nation who understand the Opata language, to be present during the declaration. In case of doubt, the three interpreters were to work together to clarify the meaning. When the two were present, I ordered the shackled Indian prisoner brought to us. I asked, through the interpreters, if he was Christian or gentile and what pueblo or

ranchería he was from. He said that he was from San Pedro de Tubutama and a gentile; four of his sons were Christian, but three of them were dead and the other was now blind because of smallpox. I asked if he knew or heard why the Indians of the towns and rancherías of Tupo, Bosane, Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi, Quisore, Tubutama, and Caborca had rebelled. It was in the pueblo of Caborca that the murder of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta took place. In addition, I asked who were the principal leaders of the uprising. He answered that the cowherd of Father Daniel Janusque's estancia was the main instigator. He had called together the Indians of the settlement of Moicaque. When the people arrived at his bidding, he told them to kill the cows and mares because he was angry and tired of guarding the herd by himself. Among those who came from the said ranchería was a gentile, a very bad Indian who was constantly killing and plundering in different settlements. This Indian and his friends began to shoot the cows and mares with their bows and arrows.

When Father Janusque heard of it, he met with the justices of these pueblos and settlements. The captain of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, named Joseph, came to this place and, together with the other justices, captured the gentile Indian and brought him to Tubutama; there he was beaten and reprimanded. To see if he would mend his ways, they gave him a cane of office as a topile. On the way from town to the ranchería he threw his cane of office away and said, "Stop where you are and go at once to see the priest and tell him I do not need you for anything." He later went to his ranchería, where he called together a number of people from other pueblos and rancherías and said to them, "Let us prepare our bows and arrows to go to the estancia and kill cows and mares and then kill all the Christians." Many Indians came to this estancia, and while they were assembled there Father Janusque arrived. When the rebel topile saw him, the padre ran away to the hills leaving no trace and has not been seen since.

Father Janusque's servant, Agostino, who was from the Opatá nation, had come upon the Indians and the cowherd and asked them why they were involved in rounding up cattle. The cowherd answered that they were taking the animals because the priest had told them to. Following this exchange the servant, Agostino, was wounded with two arrows. Only because he was on a swift horse was he able to escape to the next pueblo. When Agostino arrived he went directly to the house of the declarant, who was his compadre. While he was giving Agostino some atole and caring for him, the other Indians arrived and killed him. The declarant said he had tried to defend his friend but he was alone and could not. Then Panacho, Father Janusque's page, killed the priest's Opatá servant. Afterwards, the two killed another Opatá who was in the service of the priest.

Then the people from Tubutama arrived and opened the doors of the priest's house; the priest's page removed the boxes with clothing and ornaments and began to distribute them to the inhabitants in the streets of the town. He did this because the rebellious Indians, who had come quickly from the rancherías, had already killed or taken away most of the cattle and mares from this estancia. When these people left, the fiscal mayor of the town of Tubutama, named Diego, spoke to his relatives and to two Indians from Caborca, one of whom was Francisco, the priest's page, and the other a muleteer. The fiscal told them to go to their pueblo and tell the justices that the Tubutamans had already killed all of the Opatá Christians and burned the padre's house and church; moreover, they had



either distributed the cleric's clothing and ornaments or smashed them to pieces. That was the way they killed the padre and distributed his clothes to everyone. Panacho advised the Caborcans to do the same, for surely they knew that there was much to take. They left with these instructions.

Later, when the declarant was in the town of Bosane, he heard that the people from Caborca had killed their priest and taken his clothing. We asked him where the people from the towns and rancherías had gone after the execution of the priest, to what mountains or springs had they gone. He answered that he and other people from Tubutama had met with the governor and the people of the town of Bosane. The others had assembled with the renegade topile and the people of Araupo and Tucubavi and had gone to Cerro de Cócori, which in their language means "the chile hill." There they remained, fearing what the Spaniards might do to them. The people from Caborca had gone to faraway lands which the informer was not familiar with. He heard once that Father Eusebio Francisco Kino had surveyed these regions and that the Indians of Caborca had guided him. Although these were Pima Indians, they were called Sobas. They had rancherías, and the Pimas living there were called the "Naked Ones," for the men and women wore nothing from head to toe. The people from Caborca did not communicate with these naked ones because they did not speak their language very well.<sup>67</sup>

We asked what their causes or motives were for burning the churches and houses of the towns of Imuris, San Ignacio, and Magdalena, and who had called these Indians together. The declarant answered that the governor of the town of Bosane had sent the messages to all towns and rancherías. The governor had stated that although the Spaniards had forgiven him, they nevertheless had killed his brother and relatives at the Ciénaga del Tupo, and this is why he wanted revenge. Thus, he said, it was imperative to assemble together in order to kill the Spaniards and burn the towns. When they received this communication, people from nineteen towns and rancherías gathered. None of them stayed in their villages; the Naked Ones, the Sobas, and all of the people from the entire area met in Araupo. From there they proceeded to the mountains near the town of Imuris. After a discussion, and seeing no Spaniards, they burned the church and houses and killed the sheep and cattle. Leaving Imuris, the rebels went on to the pueblo of San Ignacio and Magdalena, where they killed all of the cattle but took only the hides. Furthermore, he said that the insurgents took chalices, ornaments, and priests' vestments from all of the churches and destroyed them. The declarant also said that they found a purifier and an oil lamp at the settlement. When we asked if he, the governor of Bosane, was part of the group that burned the pueblo, he said that he was not. We also asked him how he had obtained the purifier; the prisoner said he found it the day we captured him.

We asked if he knew why Lieutenant Antonio de Solís had killed his relatives at the Ciénaga del Tupo. He told us he had heard about it from the men and women of the nineteen towns who had gathered together. They told him that the lieutenant had forgiven them even though they had gone into his tent; moreover,

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67. This is a revealing description and points to the fact that there were strong differences of dialect between the foraging Sobas and their partially agricultural kinsmen to the east.

because they did not try to escape he did not kill them. However, the governor of the town of Dolores and other people said that his relatives were slaughtered because they had murdered the priest and the Christians and had run away. He heard from the Indian men and women that there were Spaniards among the dead. We inquired of the witness whether the priests of this and the Caborca mission had mistreated his relatives, and whether they had forced the people to attend mass or prayer hours. Had they punished them often? He answered that these priests had made them work too much. If one of them refused to work, the authorities would whip him, and the priest would reprimand him for not attending mass or prayer hours. This was why his relatives became angry.

We asked this informant if he knew of towns and rancherías where there might be corn, beans, or wheat, but he said he did not know. He knew only that people in Tucubavi and Araupo had planted very little; the rest of the pueblos and rancherías had not planted at all. He said the people of Tupo had a small amount of corn but they had eaten it, and in this town the little wheat they had was already eaten.

We inquired why they had not fought with the people of Imuris, San Ignacio, and Magdalena when they were burning these places—why they did not kill anyone, big or small? He said there was no reason to do it; after all, they were relatives. There was only one person, the captain of San Ignacio, who urged his people to fight the enemy, but no one did. Instead, they began talking together, and they burned only a few of the houses that belonged to the Christians. They also chased the priest, Agustín de Campos, and the soldiers who were his guards for a long time, but they realized that they could not keep up with them and returned to the pueblo. At the present time, he said, there were some Indians from the towns of Imuris, San Ignacio, and Toozona.

We questioned the witness about the messages that the captains, governors, authorities, and the people of all the disaffected towns had recently received. We also wanted to learn which hiding places the enemy planned to use while robbing and killing; or perhaps they had decided to stay in their towns and rancherías and not do these things. The witness stated that after the Sobas and the Naked Ones had gone back to their lands, the people from all of the nearby towns and rancherías assembled at Cerro de Chile, saying that they wanted to wait for the Spaniards and make war on them. The witness stated that the insurgents had agreed that if some of them were still alive and free, they would meet at the valley in the mountains where we had captured him. Before our soldiers seized him, the informant had heard that there was a stream in this valley and the people of Tucubavi, Quisore, and Moicaque were nearby. That was their meeting point before continuing to another large mountain range, farther away, called Unaco in the Pima language. They called it that because of its many agaves and the water hole at its summit. He had also heard that people did not have to eat there, but he did not know if at present any had gone there. The witness said that, if we freed him, he would bring his relatives to make peace. We answered that we did not trust him. He would probably do the same as the Indian women we had sent. They had offered to go and to return with either good or bad news from the enemy but so far none of them have returned. Our prisoner informant vowed that he would not do that; he promised to return in three days with an answer from his relatives. Then he proposed that if we did not trust him we could send one of our Pima friends to accompany him. We decided to wait until tomorrow to see whether the Indian

woman we sent from the spring and ranchería of Santa Marta, where we captured them, had come back.

We asked if he had anything to add to what he had told us, but he had nothing further to say. We explained to him that everything he had stated was affirmed and ratified. We did not require him to take the oath because he was a gentile and did not realize its seriousness. He did not sign his name because he did not know how to write.

On the 3rd day of August, 1695, we generals had been waiting for the Indian woman for five days, as she had requested, at the estancia of San Pedro de Tubutama. Juan Fernández de la Fuente had sent her with messages given by interpreters to persuade the insurgents to return to their pueblos and rancherías. Because we were concerned with serving our majesty in the best possible way, we decided to forgive the rebels on the condition that they hand over to us those leaders who had planned the uprising. From the three accounts available, the said generals can say that both the fiscal mayor and the overseer of the estancia and pueblo of San Pedro de Tubutama are the ones most culpable.

Thus, two Indian women from among our captives offered to go to their relatives and to return on a set date with their responses, whether favorable or not. Their relatives could make peace or make war; in the latter case they would not return to their pueblos or deliver the wanted ringleaders to us. These women assured us that they would be back with information; however, they are still not here. Don Domingo Terán sent the first woman, but she did not come back on the agreed day. The same thing happened with the Indian woman Juan Fernández de la Fuente sent from the ranchería in the middle of the mountains.

Thus far we have fought with the rebels twice. As described in these reports, we have captured and killed both women and men; the rebels lost their rancherías and everything they had. They were scattered throughout the mountains, hills, and woods; some wandered away and disappeared. We thought that it would be easiest to placate the less guilty and punish the planners of this rebellion.

Though we sent the two Indian women with crosses and honorable messages, they have not returned with any word, good or bad. The rebels have not even acknowledged our messages, much less come to this encampment. We know that the insurgents and obstinate people who refused to return to their towns and rancherías were running away from the yoke of our holy mother church and from royal obedience. The bad Indians wanted only to keep their idolatries and barbaric customs. They were confident that no Spaniards or their Indian friends were familiar with the places and springs where they lived. Our captives and Pima friends who visited this camp told us that the terrain of these places was rugged. There were rough mountains and hills full of thorny woods, impassable either on foot or horseback. This is why we cannot move from this estancia and venture beyond the river, for there is no water or pasture land anywhere around, as our captives have told us.

Regardless of these problems, we generals decided to pursue them, risking all of our cavalry. We chose two squads, one to go south to Caborca, twenty leagues downriver from our stopping place, and the other to the town of Tucubavi, Cerro de Chile, and the ranchería of Moicaque. Depending on the findings of these patrols, we will then decide what we should do, all in the best interest of the royal service.

In the course of these precautions, we were learning the language of the Indian whom Juan Fernández de la Fuente had taken captive. This Indian said that the messages that the generals and other justices had sent with the two Indian women might not have been accepted as the truth by the enemy. He added that we could send him with these messages, and he would return in three days with some of his relatives to make peace. In case the messages were rejected, he would certainly return and let us know. We answered that we were certain he would do as the Indian women did, forgetting about the messages as soon as he was free. Finally the Indian convinced us that he would not do such a thing, that he would go, talk, and give the good messages to his relatives. The captive also suggested that we send one of our Pima friends with him, whose life he would protect. With that, a young Indian from the town of Magdalena offered to go with him.

Recognizing our limitations in the ability to make war in the manner familiar to us, we, the said generals, decided to have a meeting with all of the senior and junior officers of this command. We all felt that it served our interest to send the messages with the two Indian men. It was to our advantage that the governors, captains, and other authorities of the rebel towns receive them. Furthermore, it was beneficial to us that they go because we were not familiar with the surrounding terrain, did not have enough supplies, and our people, like Father Chaplain Agustín de Campos, were ill, as were many other Spanish soldiers and Indian friends. Every day more were getting chills, fevers, and several different types of diseases due to the unseasonable climate of this and the other valleys of the Pima nation, such as we have experienced many other times. All of the officers were in agreement, and we decided to send the messages with the two Indians.

We dispatched the Indian prisoner of war, accompanied by the young Pima who had freely volunteered. We told them to inform the governors and inhabitants of the rebel pueblos that we had already sent the Indian women, the ones we had captured in their rancherías during battle. These women carried messages offering pardon in the name of our majesty, whom God protect. If they would surrender the leaders of the uprising, we would become their friends, resettling them in their respective towns and rancherías under the sponsorship of the Spaniards. The royal authorities would protect them; they had only to be obedient to the king, our lord, and his ministers. We would not make peace under any other condition. Now we are wondering why none of the messages sent with the Indian women were answered, and why the people were so rebellious. We told the two couriers to announce that this would be our last message. If they did not want peace and refused to surrender their leaders, we would wage a war of fire and blood. This means putting to the sword both adults and children, regardless of sex or age. If they delayed, then later, when they were in difficulty and requested peace, our forces would not relent. It was a just peace offer from his majesty, whom God protects.

With this and many other messages from the governors and friendly Pimas the two Indians took the dispatches, intending to return with the rebels' response in three days, which will be the fifth day of this month. We gave them meat, corn flour, and tobacco for their journey. In addition we gave them two crucifixes of brass, which they wore around their necks. These crucifixes would show that we were ready to make peace in the name of our majesty, but only under our conditions. We told them that by serving the best interest of our majesty they were

helping their people. Well instructed, they left this encampment at five o'clock in the afternoon of this day.

On the 4th day of August, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, at the estancia of San Pedro de Tubutama, have sent the captive Indian and our Christian friend from the pueblo of Magdalena with the previously mentioned messages for the rebels. They said that they would meet with the enemy, inform them of our proposals, and return with an answer, all in three days. For this reason, we remained at this camp. We would make a decision only after their return. If they did not arrive on time, we would then determine what plan of action would best serve both majesties and the general good.

On the 5th of August, 1695, we are at the estancia of the pueblo of San Pedro de Tubutama. We and the people under our command have waited the three days for the two Indian men who took the messages, for better or worse, to the rebels. It is already after nine o'clock at night, and there is no sign of the messengers; not one rebel has come down to make peace or to speak to us about the dispatches we sent to them.

Although we do not have enough flour or pinole for our friends and soldiers, and there are only poor springs and not enough pasture land, we shall persist and find the rebels and punish or make peace with them. We have decided that tomorrow, the 6th day of the month of August, the companies of this command will provide fourteen soldiers and thirty pack mules to go to the pueblo of Cocóspera in order to retrieve, as soon as possible, the supplies of the reverend father missionaries of the Society of Jesus. According to General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, there are thirty bushels of pinole and flour.

*The period of August 6 to 14 was one of great frustration for the Spanish commanders. It was a time of inactivity and waiting as solitary Pimas sporadically came to their camp. The Indian governor of Tucubavi arrived. He explained to the generals that the people of Caborca had fled west to the sea after the murder of Father Saeta and that the massacre of their kinsmen at El Tupo had caused the others to hide in the hills. They had acted out of fear, not guilt. The governor was sent off with instructions to offer peace to the others and bring them to the camp. The tedious waiting tried the temperament of the Spaniards and in effect put the royal force out of action. The war of pacification had in fact turned so pastoral that the army's horses had exhausted the grass around Tubutama. On the 8th day they were forced to move the encampment two leagues to the north, a place they named San Lorenzo in honor of his feast two days later. Here, amidst fresh pasturage, the waiting went on. Pimas continued to trickle in—all told a similar story and all were promised peace if only the remainder would come to the Spaniards so that the proper verbal affirmations could be delivered. On the 11th the mules returned from Cocóspera with a new stock of flour and pinole. The generals grew angry when some of the Indian messengers arrived and reported that they had been unable to locate their friends and relatives. Fearing that the Pimas were stalling while the Spaniards rapidly ran out of provisions, the commanders now gave an ultimatum: either those in hiding come down immediately and in peace, or a war of fire and blood would be taken to them. This threat seemed to have the desired effect for by the 14th a satisfactory number of Indians and their leaders had come to the encampment at San Lorenzo.*

On the 15th day of the month of August in the year 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in the military garrison at San Lorenzo.<sup>68</sup> At about five in the morning Alférez Francisco de Acuña presented himself to us. He is and has been the interpreter because of his knowledge of the Pima language. Alférez Acuña told us our Pima friends and those who came down to request peace called him during the dawn watch. They told him that the topile of Bosane, and another Indian who came with him, had fled unseen, and they did not know they were gone until they were missed at midnight. When asked why these two had escaped, some replied that they were Sobas, not from Bosane, and because they were afraid and feeling very guilty, they had run away. According to them they were not at fault. We told them we were all going to attend mass and that everyone should assemble so that we could speak to them. The Indians said that they would wait and come when we called them.

About nine o'clock in the morning mass was said by Father Chaplain Agustín de Campos<sup>69</sup> of the Society of Jesus; we called all the Pima allies and the others who came down to ask for peace. Once everyone had arrived, we had them sit down and we picked out the governors, topiles, and *alcaldes* who had their canes of office. We made them sit with us just like the governors and captains of the friendly Pimas. Through our interpreters, particularly Alférez Francisco de Acuña, we told them that we wanted to know who was at fault and who were the leaders of the uprising that took place. We had assembled them in this camp for the purpose of asking them this question and talking to them in a group concerning what should be done and what was suitable. To this everyone replied that they clearly saw that it was not the Spaniards who started the war, but their kinsmen from the pueblos of Tubutama and Caborca. They had been peacefully in their pueblos and *rancherías* when they received the news about the death of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta and the Opatas who were in his service, as well as the three servants of Father Daniel Janusque<sup>70</sup> who were killed in the pueblo of Tubutama. For fear of the Spaniards, they had retreated to their pueblos and *rancherías* when they heard what their kinsmen had done in these pueblos. Later some of them gathered to ask for peace at the *ciénaga* of Tupo, where the Spaniards had done the killings. Because of this, they returned once more and met in order to avenge the pueblo of San Ignacio.

We asked if they had not seen some of them, or if they knew when they were coming down to the *ciénaga* to make peace with Lieutenant Antonio de Solís and

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68. The encampment of San Lorenzo was described as being 8 kilometers north of Tubutama.

69. Agustín de Campos was born in 1669 in Sigena, Huesca, Spain. He entered the Society of Jesus in Aragón in 1684 and was ordained in 1692. Campos came directly to the Sonoran missions after ordination where he began a 43-year career, mostly as the resident missionary at San Ignacio near Magdalena. He was the chief "bridge" between the active missionary days of Kino and the revival of expansion that took place in the 1730s. Campos made several major expeditions northward as far as the White Mountains of Arizona. Health and mind failing, he was retired in 1736 and died the following year in Chihuahua.

70. Daniel Janusque was born in 1661 in Pressburg (modern Bratislava), Czechoslovakia, where he entered the Society of Jesus in 1678. He was a missionary at Arizpe in 1693-94, then at Tubutama in 1694-96, and again at Arizpe from 1696 through 1702, when he was transferred to San Miguel de Oposura (modern Moctezuma), where he served until his death in 1724.

the Spaniards. They said that the lieutenant spoke very kindly with them. He had separated out the people from the pueblo of Tupo and the ranchería of Toozona and told both young and old to go to their pueblos. After they left, he called the people from the pueblos of Tubutama, Bosna, and the ranchería of Araupo together; once they were assembled he told them:

I know very well that there are some people among you who are very guilty. It is necessary to capture and punish them so that they do not disturb you again. In that way you will remain peaceful. None of you should try to escape again because I gave orders to the soldiers to kill anyone who tries to run away. When the lieutenant went to apprehend the first guilty one, he tried to defend himself, and all the others began to flee. That is why the Spaniards and their Indian allies killed most of them before they could get to their weapons.

Then they replied that the governor of Bosane, Perucho of Tubutama, the priest's page, and seven or eight other Indians were taken alive by the Spaniards. They were chased out by the natives of Araupo, and the other four that had been taken to Imuris were set free by Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. The Spaniards did not want to kill all of them, only to single out the guilty ones, but since they tried to escape, the Spaniards killed all of them. We told the Indians that the fiscal and the caporal of Tubutama were responsible for all the deaths which had occurred and the burning of the churches and towns. They replied that all of this was true; because of their greed for a saddle and the clothes belonging to the fathers, these two were the troublemakers among the people. Because of them the killings had taken place, and they were forced to leave their pueblos and rancherías and flee to the sierras with their women and children who were dying of hunger. Because of the war and ill luck they were not able to plant their crops. This year they were going to perish from hunger.

We told all of them that these two were the principal instigators and since they had not been caught, the Indians were to deliver them to us, dead or alive, for punishment as we requested. They should not admit them into their pueblos or rancherías because they were bad and rebellious. Once again they would want to tell them lies. The governors, captains, alcaldes, topiles, and all the rest must examine everything they had to do. It was important that they should search for them and bring them back to us dead or alive. If they did this, we would pardon them for their crimes in the name of the king our lord. To this they replied that up to now they had done all they could to find and bring the culprits back, including trying to trick them. The Indians did not find them nor did anyone know where they might be. Like the two in question, the Indians felt guilty. The fugitives had escaped to the very distant lands of another tribe called the Naked Ones far away in the interior. The Indians said that if we pursued them there, these two would be forced to return to their pueblos and then they could be taken dead or alive. They promised us that within two months, at the latest, they would bring them to us or the nearest Spanish captain.

The Indians wanted peace, to live quietly in friendship with the Spaniards, because with all their heart they had come to see us and make peace. The people told us they would be very obedient in whatever we or any other Spanish captains ordered or commanded of them. They would obey the king, our lord, and his ministers and put themselves under royal protection so that we could defend and protect them as friends and loyal vassals of his majesty. We asked them if they said

this with all their heart, and at once they responded that they would live up to it as they had said. They were now tired of seeing death and always running; now they intended to live in peace.

We told them that when they gathered all the people of the pueblo and ranche-rías together, it would be necessary to find the ornaments, altar furnishings, and chalices from the churches. They should carry everything to Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in Dolores and deliver them to him.<sup>71</sup> All the Indians responded by saying that when the people were assembled in the pueblos and rancherías they would go and gather the articles in the churches and deliver them to Father Eusebio Kino. At the same time they should bring the heads of the fiscal and the caporal to the pueblo of Tubutama. We replied that if they did that the king, our lord, and we ourselves would pardon them; we would know they wanted to live peacefully and in our friendship. All of them repeated their promise to do this without fail.

We told them it was necessary to search for the Sobas of Caborca<sup>72</sup> in order to find their whereabouts and to punish them. That way some of them could guide us through the territory and be available for anything else. The governor of Tucubavi said he was ready to accompany us and take some of his sons to help. Likewise, we told them that we had not seen any of the people from Bosane, Tupo, or Toozona. We did not know whether it was true that they had come to see Father Eusebio Francisco Kino as they had said. It was necessary to search for them because we could not leave without seeing them. We wanted them to send their messages saying they would come out to see us at the ciénaga of Tupo. Failing this we would seek out and punish them as obstinate rebels. Should we happen to meet them on the way to Caborca or in their homeland we would make war against them. They would not have any reason to blame us and could not use this as an excuse to retreat. They and all of their kinsmen were pardoned in the name of our king, our lord. They could return immediately to their pueblos in good faith and live without fear. The Indians replied that they would soon send word that they were coming to see us at the ciénaga of Tupo. If they did not do this, we would have no choice but to hunt and punish them. For this reason they should not become hostile and take up arms against the Spaniards.

We told them that it was necessary for us to name a captain-general to rule them, in addition to such officials as captains, alcaldes, topiles, and the others. They should consider who would be the most suitable, because they will have to obey him and take his orders. They thought that the most fitting one to lead them would be the governor of Tucubavi. We confirmed him and gave him the captain-

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71. Eusebio Francisco Kino was born in 1645 in Segno in the southern Tyrol. Educated in the German Jesuit college at Trent, he entered the Society of Jesus at Innsbruck, Austria, in 1661, completing his studies with distinction in science and mathematics. He requested missionary assignment in the Orient, but he was ordered to serve under the Spanish Patronato and went to New Spain in 1681. His first assignment was in Baja California, but the endeavor was abandoned after two unsuccessful attempts. In 1687 he was sent to the new missions of the Pimería Alta, where he distinguished himself as one of New Spain's most memorable missionaries. He died in 1711 at Magdalena, where he was buried by Father Campos.

72. Caborca is 70 kilometers southwest of Tubutama.



general's cane. For us his election was very satisfying, and we accepted it in the name of his majesty, whom God protects. In like manner we named as governor of the pueblo of Tubutama the Indian that General Juan Fernández de la Fuente had held captive in the ranchería of Santa Marta. He was selected because of his efforts in securing the peace. This man was the most suited to be governor because of his abilities to resettle all the people in the pueblo. At this same time we delivered the canes of office to these two Indians, one to the captain-general and the other to the governor. We received them. They knelt down on their knees, and we made them understand that their canes represented the royal person and name of the king. We delivered the canes, reminding them to govern their people wisely and in peace. They should not allow any false talk to circulate among them, nor should they rob the Spanish villages or those of the friendly Indians. If anyone wanted to do this, they should punish them and not allow them into their pueblos or rancherías. If they did, we would place the blame on the captain-general and the other officials and punish them for their permissiveness. At this, all replied that they had never made war on the Spaniards or the Christian Indians, nor had they stolen cattle or horses. Why would they do this if they had already experienced Spanish weapons in the war? They would never allow conspirators or thieves in their pueblos or rancherías, and should there be any, they would be severely punished.

Likewise, we told everyone that they should obey their governor and captain-general. They should advise him whenever they needed anything. They all responded that they would do so, taking note of all that was said. For the present we proposed to send no priests to their pueblos because at their request your majesty had sent the priest whom they had killed in the pueblo of Caborca and the priest who escaped from Tubutama. It had been only a short time since these priests had come to their lands to preach the holy gospel so that the devil would not take their souls as he had done with their ancestors.

In the future they would have to look after their own souls. If they intended to be Christians and request priests to minister to them, then the king, our lord, would send them so that they could receive instruction in the mysteries of our holy faith. The Indians must understand that they should revere and respect the priests very much because they will come to their pueblos on orders of his majesty to represent Christ, Our Lord, in these lands. They had not revered and respected them as we do, since they had killed them. The king, our lord, felt bad, as we did, and for this reason sent us to make war and punish them as they deserve. Since they requested peace and suffered so many deaths in their midst, we were merciful and pardoned them in the name of his majesty. From now on they should consider carefully the matter of requesting priests.

To this everyone replied that at no time did the inhabitants of the surrounding pueblos and rancherías kill or think of killing any priests because they loved them so much. The fiscal and caporal from Tubutama were deceived by the devil and are to blame for instigating the others. They were the ones who told the Indians of Caborca to kill the priest, and the others were not at fault. If we wanted, they would gather all the governors and the rest of the people to decide among themselves about requesting priests. Depending on the decision, they would inform Father Eusebio Kino when they took him what church ornaments they could find. Until they gathered these things and delivered the heads of the two instigators, nothing would be resolved. We told them that it had to be done this way to estab-

lish peace, and we would allow them the two-month period they had requested. They all agreed that they could accomplish this before the two months were up. After doing it, they would go to the pueblo of Dolores and notify Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino or the nearest Spanish captain.

We told them this would make us happy and show that they desired peace and our friendship. With these instructions they can now act in the service of the two majesties and for the common good. Then we told them that the talks were concluded, that they could take a rest, and that they were free to go to their pueblos whenever they wished. After praising the holy sacrament three times, they all embraced us to show their gratitude. They were very content and repentant of all that had happened. They promised us, that for their part, the peace was secured, and we likewise assured them. We ordered the captive Indians and their horses freed. We also commanded that a ration of meat and flour be sent to them. We counted fifty-four men, unarmed, and sixteen women and some children. At two in the afternoon they left for their rancherías, very content, passing by the camps of our soldiers, and bartering with them until night fell.

*After the day of peacemaking the Spanish force moved back downstream to Tubutama. From there on the 17th, Lieutenant Solís was sent with Yaqui, Opata, and Pima allies back to Cocóspera and on to the Río San Pedro to scout the country for enemy Sumas and Jcomes. This was in preparation for a renewed campaign against them on the return trip to Janos. Keeping the Conchos, their favorite Indian fighters, the generals led the force west to the wreckage of Caborca, scene of Father Saeta's murder. From there Fuente and Terán took a group of fifty men even farther west to the Sierra del Alamo, only forty kilometers from the sea. A Pima ranchería was located and attacked. Arrows were fired at them by two Pimas. One was chased down and lanced. Mortally wounded, he told the soldiers he was a Christian, baptized at Caborca by Father Kino. As an act of mercy he was blindfolded and dispatched with a musket shot. Observing this, his companion gave himself up. Five other Indians were subsequently captured that day. These claimed it had been the people from Tubutama and Oquitoa who had killed Padre Saeta. Dismayed, the generals reversed direction and marched their troops and captives back to Oquitoa.*

In this ranchería of Oquitoa<sup>73</sup> on the 22nd day of the month, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, at around eleven o'clock in the morning ordered the Indian woman prisoner brought before us. She had been captured at the entrance to this camp on the 20th of the month. This was done in order to take her declaration truly and learn the rebels' plan. We asked her through Alférez Francisco de Acuña, the designated interpreter, whether she was a gentile or a Christian, and of which pueblo she was a native. She said she was a gentile from the pueblo of Caborca. We asked if she knew or had heard of the reasons they gave for the uprising and the murder of Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, missionary of her pueblo. The woman stated what she knew, saying that an Indian

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73. Oquitoa is 35 kilometers southwest of Tubutama.

who worked for the alcalde in the settlement of Oquitoa, named Juan, had arrived at daybreak with many Indians armed with bows and arrows from the rancherías of Oquitoa, Pitiquín,<sup>74</sup> and some from the pueblo of Tubutama. They had encircled the town before the inhabitants knew it. Neither she nor the other women knew what was happening because the Indians had entered the town and were yelling everywhere. Luckily all the women fled from their houses; when they met the invading Indians, they were told not to flee because the rebels were not going to murder them or their relatives. The rebels planned to kill only the priest and the Christian Opatas who were with him. Then they killed two Opatas in their houses and one who fled into the brush. They followed him until they killed him. The padre shouted for the governor and the captain of the pueblo. These two came and began to defend him, asking the enemy why they wanted to kill the priest. They replied by saying that he should die, and the rebels asked if he was by chance their relative since they were defending him. No one from Caborca had murdered the padre and his Christian Opatas boy. Altogether, counting the priest, five persons had been killed.

We asked what they had done with the ornaments of the church and the father's clothes after the killings. She said that the murderers had gone into the house and with others distributed piecemeal the ornaments and vestments of the church and the priest. After causing all this trouble, the Indians returned to their ranchería; the townspeople all looked at each other and wondered what had taken place. We inquired if the murderers had given some of the clothing belonging to the church or the padre to the people of the settlement. The woman responded that they had not given them anything from the padre or the church. The clothing given to her relatives belonged to the priest's Christian servants. An Indian from the ranchería of Aritoaba, who is the brother of the governor of that place, has the chalice. He received it from the alcalde of Oquitoa because he was the one who had it. The declarant said no one from his town was involved in the death of the padre. When asked whether she knew or had heard from which pueblo or settlement the message for the rebellion had come, or if she knew which Indian or Indians had gone about giving false information, the woman said that all she knew was that everything had come from Tubutama. She had not heard that the Indians from Caborca had come to Tubutama to give either good or bad messages, and knew even less concerning their connection to the killings in Tubutama. Those involved in Tubutama were from Oquitoa and vicinity. These were the ones who went to Caborca to do the killings. The topile who came down to see us at Tucujota was not from Bosane, as he had said, but from Oquitoa, where he had always lived. This man fled our encampment and arrived at the settlement at night, telling all the male and female Indians, "The Spanish captains say that they want us to hand over the Tubutama fiscal and the caporal and they want to finish us off because they say we killed the priest; they do not want to pardon us." For this reason the women then fled into the brush. The next day they gathered together, and since they were large in number they tried to split up. The ones from Caborca said to those from Oquitoa, Pitiquín, and Tubutama, "You are many people and leave a wide trail, so you will be followed. Since it is your fault that we are involved in this, we will return to our lands." Then we chased away the people from

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74. Pitiquito is 60 kilometers southwest of Tubutama.

Caborca, who departed for the sierra where we captured them. This place is about ten leagues west of the town of Caborca, and we named it Sierra de San Bernardo.<sup>75</sup> All of the people from the other rancherías continued toward other mountains that lie to the south. It is unknown who were the first Indians to give false messages.

We asked whether the Indians from Caborca and the surrounding region had joined the group that went to burn the towns of Imuris, San Ignacio, and Magdalena. She said that all of the Indians from the nearby towns and settlements had gone because the governor of Bosane had invited them all to take part in this event.

We then asked whether the Indians from Caborca, Pitiquín, and the other rancherías of the Sobas had brought back some chalices or ornaments from the churches in these two pueblos, or any of the priest's clothing. She answered that she had not seen any ornaments from the churches, or the padre's clothing at her settlement because soon after they killed the padre in her pueblo they had retired to the sierra where we captured them. They remained there a long time until the governor of Bosane sent the messages, with a string of false coral, calling the people together.<sup>76</sup> The people then returned to their pueblos, and the message the people received at their rancherías to assemble also told them not to delay in avenging the deaths of their relatives so that their hearts would rest. If the Indians could not kill the Spaniards, then they were to kill the cattle, sheep, and goats and shoot the horses with arrows. In this way the deaths would be avenged.

We asked the captive Indian woman that if during dances or conferences her relatives spoke of remaining quiet and calm in their towns and settlements. Additionally, did they want to make peace or war on the Spanish frontiers and on the pueblos of the Christian Indians? We told her that she should speak the truth about what she knew or had heard. According to what she knew, the governor of Bosane and the people with him had said to the people of Caborca, of which there were many, that they would take care of their families and spy on our garrison. Then some night they would shoot us and our horse herds with arrows. This would force us to leave their lands, and they would return to inhabit them. She had not heard anything about going or not going to the Spanish settlements—either to make war or to round up the horses.

Having asked her if she knew where the Indians of Bosane and those that went with them could be found, the woman said that she knew only of the place where they planned to camp, and would show us. This was all she knew about what we asked. If she knew something more she would tell us.

After we explained, so our witness understood all she had declared through the interpreter, she affirmed and ratified everything. This woman did not take an oath because she did not realize its gravity. She appeared to be about eighteen years of age, more or less, and did not sign the affidavit because she did not know how.

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75. This is the modern Sierra del Alamo, 45 kilometers west of Caborca. It is the same range whose highest peak Kino named El Nazareno and from where he claimed to have seen the distant peaks of the San Pedro Mártirs in California.

76. The string of false coral was almost certainly made up of pieces from spiny oyster shells which commonly occur in the Gulf of California and are pink to purple in color.

On the 23rd day of the month of August, 1695, we were situated in this camp called Altar del Mesquite below the ranchería of Oquitoa on the Río Tubutama.<sup>77</sup> At around ten o'clock Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino of the Society of Jesus arrived at this encampment. He was the missionary in the Pima pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Accompanying the padre were Sergeant Cristóbal de Vargas and seven other soldiers, the same men who were with him when he carried the order to bring the entire command that was at Ciénaga de la Matanza to this town. Four other soldiers from the command and the sergeant told us that when they had arrived at the encampment at the ciénaga they delivered the order to Sergeant Diego López Zambrano, who was in charge.

When all was ready for the departure, he told these sergeants they would find more than one hundred Indians with some women and children in that encampment who had come down to see us and to request peace. In addition, they were waiting for many others from various towns and rancherías with their governors and captains. Kino said it would not be correct for all the Spanish people to leave that place with their supplies and horses until we went to see the Indians who were there. Because, if all of us move, it is possible that the Indians might become fearful and retreat to the sierras. Then all the progress we had made in this area would be lost. The priest should undertake the task of coming to see us, in order to see what he could offer us and send us some loads of necessary supplies in the interim so that we might have what we need while arranging a peace with the Indians of the vicinity. Out of respect for the reasons that Father Eusebio Francisco Kino gave them, the sergeants agreed to stay because they saw many sick soldiers and a number of poorly treated horses. Finally, the Indians who had come down to that place to see us and agree to make peace were greatly saddened.

Seeing that we were separated from one another by almost thirty leagues, the missionaries decided to send us seven loads of flour, pinole, and meat, which Cristóbal de Vargas delivered to us. The decision to remain here seemed correct because we felt there could be a great deal of suspicion among the Indians in that encampment as well as among those here. Moving might cause an extensive loss of horses which would be a great setback in our attempts to assist in serving the two majesties.

After dismounting, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino said mass. He told us that before he had left the encampment at the ciénaga, he had dispatched different letters to the governors and captains of the pueblos of Bosane, Caborca, and other settlements. These messages ordered, for the reasons stated, that the Indians should go to Caborca or to this camp to see us. In this way they came alone with some of the governors and captains and other Indians from different pueblos and rancherías of the surrounding region.

We, the aforementioned generals, saw all the material referred to above and the statement made by the captured Indian woman. It was certain that there was little guilt among the Indians of Caborca in this uprising. Although we have sent another woman with messages to summon the people of the said pueblo, it seemed right that three Indians from this peaceful encampment should go with the Indian

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77. Modern Altar, 45 kilometers southwest of Tubutama.

woman. All of them should go in our name with new messages and call the governor, captain, and other Indians of the pueblo and the governor of Tubutama. Two other Indians and the Indian woman offered to take these messages and to do everything possible on their part so that all the people would come to see us and request peace at Caborca. We decided to wait for whatever news might arrive. We told them that they would find us in that encampment and that we would leave here without fail in the morning. Having made all the speeches on our behalf that are required in such cases, as well as that of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, the Indians left this encampment quite content at about four o'clock in the afternoon on this day.

On the 24th day of the month of August, 1695, we generals, still located at the camp of Altar, ordered at four o'clock in the morning that the horses be rounded up. While we heard mass, they were saddled and loaded with provisions. With the horses thus assembled, we marched out in formation, heading downstream. Around twelve o'clock we passed by the settlement of Pitiquín, where we noticed that no Indians had come to their fields. From there we went on, planning to stop at Caborca. About one league from the pueblo we sent a squad of soldiers ahead to survey the land and reconnoiter to see if there were any tracks entering or leaving the area around our camp or the pueblo. Having halted the entire command at around one o'clock, we decided to wait for the men sent by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino with orders from the Ciénaga de la Matanza.

While waiting for the messengers, we generals sent a summons to the Indians of Caborca. Around three o'clock in the afternoon, five Indians arrived at this encampment and appeared before us, two from the town of San Ignacio, two others from the settlement of Toozona, and one from the pueblo of Dolores. These were the messengers referred to that Father Eusebio Francisco Kino had dispatched. They had walked for more than thirty leagues through various woods and lands searching for the Indians of Bosane and Tucujota. In spite of their long walk, they were unable to find any man or woman. They saw only tracks of women and children headed in the direction of the Ciénaga de la Matanza. They did not follow their tracks because they were going to the other camp. From there these messengers passed within two leagues west of Pitiquín, where they encountered a trail of old tracks going toward a very high sierra in that direction. They came from very far away and were extremely thirsty because they had not found water anywhere along the road. Thus they turned back to look for us at our camp to give us this information.

After listening to them, we told them to rest and eat the meat and pinole we had left for them. Around the hour of nine in the evening Francisco de García arrived with the soldiers that I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, had sent out to survey the land. They informed me that they had seen in the area surrounding our camp and the town the tracks of about twenty Indians on foot. Our men followed the tracks all day and saw that the people were gathering in an arroyo on the trail we had taken to the ranchería in the sierra of San Bernardo. From the arroyo where all the Indians had stopped and assembled, the tracks were lost. Unfortunately, the soldiers were unable to find them again due to the hard ground, the thick brush, and the darkness which was closing in on them. For this reason, they returned to make their report.

*The Spanish commanders were unable to resist another attempt to gain at least a degree of satisfaction in the desert west of Caborca. They had been notably unsuccessful in finding or contacting more than a handful of Pimas there and they were told it was these people who were to blame for Padre Saeta's death. They could not go unpunished or be allowed to remain at war. The next days were spent in another largely unproductive sortie to the mountains west of Caborca. Captives were sent to their villages with messages of peace, and when Terán and Fuente were told that the guilty rebels had taken refuge far to the west in the sandy desert, they realized they had no hope of accomplishing anything more. So at Caborca all the Indians in attendance were called together and given a general pardon. The interpreter explained to them that it was the priest's murder and the burning of the churches that had brought the Spanish soldiers to their land. They were admonished to remain at peace, and when the guilty parties came in from hiding they were to kill them and turn their heads over to a Spanish authority. The army then retraced its route back to the place of the massacre, the ciénaga of El Tupu. There they found many Pimas gathered, including the sought-after leaders of Bosane, Tupu, and Toozona; they had come to accept the Spaniards' peace.*

We, Generals Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, on the 30th day of the month of August, 1695, are located at the Ciénaga de la Matanza. After hearing mass in the pueblo of Tupu, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino and the chaplain of this encampment, Father Agustín de Campos of the Society of Jesus, together with us told Alférez Francisco de Acuña, our interpreter during this campaign, that about eight o'clock in the morning he was to assemble the governors and Pima Indians of this camp. When we were all together, we sat down and ordered all the others to do the same. Those present included the governors of Bosane, the pueblo of Tupu, Toozona, and many other officials. With them was the captain of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. They had all been here and witnessed the killings ordered by Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. We asked them if the aforesaid lieutenant had separated the people of Tupu and Toozona and sent them to their pueblos on the day before the killings while some men from Bosane, Tubutama, and Araupo remained there. They all responded that this was the truth—that this was what the aforesaid Lieutenant Antonio de Solís had done. We then asked if, when they met and were without arms, the lieutenant had told them two or three times through the aforesaid interpreter, Francisco de Acuña, to be quiet and not make trouble nor try to escape, because anyone who tried to do this would die by the hands of the soldiers and friendly Indians. Did he also say that his only intention was to catch some other conspirators and punish those who deserved it? They all answered together that it was quite true; that the lieutenant had told them this, but when they saw that one of their people was caught, all the rest tried to run away, fearing they would all be tied up. Then the soldiers began killing the people before they could get their weapons.

The governor of Tupu said that he and his brother were in the tent with Father Chaplain Agustín de Campos, who told them not to flee, but in spite of what the padre told them, they fled. They killed his brother, who was the governor, and a soldier tied him up. Later, they pardoned him and made him governor of his pueblo. The governor of Bosane and all the others said that they were to blame for

believing the agitators from the pueblo of Tubutama. They realized that on account of the guilty ones many good people had died who were living peacefully in their pueblos and rancherías. They would try to find the principal leaders of the rebellion and behead them and give the heads to the Spanish captains. We responded that the governors and officials of Tucubavi, Tubutama, Moicaque, Caborca, and Pitiquín had offered to do the same. If they did this we would know they were trying to punish the bad ones and to lead a peaceful life in their pueblos and rancherías. If they did not punish the agitators as they deserved, they would try to influence them again with false talk. They answered that they would not allow them in their pueblos and rancherías; they would try to kill them quickly, for they were tired of seeing the killing, suffering hunger and thirst, and fleeing to the hills and mountains with their children and wives. They did not want war with the Spaniards but wanted to be their friends. We asked again if they gave allegiance with all their hearts to the king, our lord, and asked for peace. All responded that they pledged obedience and peace to his majesty, may God guard him, and to his royal ministers.

We told them that if they did all these things, his majesty and we in his royal name would pardon them and protect and defend them from their enemies because the will of the king, our lord, and also our own, was no other than for them to return to their pueblos and ask for priests to govern them. His majesty, may God keep him, would very willingly send them so the Indians would not lose their souls. They replied that they were ready to ask for priests and to settle down in pueblos along the Río San Ignacio.<sup>78</sup> We told them that neither the king, our lord, nor we wanted to take their lands, women, or sons away from them. We said they must be careful when they settled down and asked for missionary priests, because if they did not respect them and killed them, the king, his ministers, and the Spaniards would be very unhappy. They replied that they did not kill Father Francisco Xavier Saeta; it was the people from Tubutama and others who had done it. Later they threatened them and forced them to join the evildoers. It was because of these threats and everything else that had happened that they left their pueblos and settlements. They wanted the priests to govern them. They loved and respected them very much. What had happened was caused by the tricks of the devil. They regretted it and would obey the Spanish authorities and the missionary padres. When they returned to their pueblos and rancherías, they would search for the chalices, vestments, and ornaments from the churches they plundered and gladly give them back. We said that if they did as they offered, we would be convinced that they wanted peace; from then on, they, their wives, and sons would benefit. All answered that they would do as they had said and offered. We showed we were pleased with their words and they were quite satisfied with this.

It appears that the peace treaties with these and other governors, captains, and Indians of this nation have been and will be successful, and they will guard and keep them faithfully. We were aware that they were all hard-working people who had fertile land, abundant water, pasture land, and woods which they need for their settlements.

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78. This is the Río Magdalena in the vicinity of San Ignacio.



After giving them many other messages about their service to the two majesties, we distributed meat and pinole to more than seventy Indian men and women and told them they could leave for their pueblos and rancherías whenever they wished. They all said that if we gave them permission, they would go to prepare their fields to plant corn and beans because they had been here eight days, waiting for us. We told them to go with God; the governors and captains embraced us, and everyone left feeling contented and thankful.

On the 31st day of the month of August, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were at the Ciénaga de la Matanza. This ciénaga was so named because the Pimas were killed there. And so the place where the killings occurred might be called Paraje de las Muertes [Place of the Deaths], and this one, a quarter-league away, Las Ultimas Paces de los Pimas [Final Peace with the Pimas]. Since it was the feast of Santa Rosa when we made the agreement with the whole tribe, and because there is only one poplar tree within four leagues of this ciénaga, we named it Alamo de Santa Rosa. On this day at about six in the morning we ordered the horses brought in, and when the provisions were loaded, the soldiers mounted their horses. We left, marching in formation. We arrived at the pueblo of Tupo at about eight o'clock in the morning where we saw many crosses and arches that the Indians of that pueblo had placed along the road. They came out to greet us with much pleasure. We told them we were very happy to see them in their pueblo and in their homes. They said they also were very happy and were trying to live in peace with their wives and sons and to care for their fields to provide food for themselves as they always had done, without stealing or killing in the towns of the Spaniards or Christian Indians. It was only on this occasion that the devil had deceived them. We talked much more about their desire for peace, and then we left them all rejoicing. We continued our march to the town of Magdalena, where we arrived about ten o'clock in the morning.

While waiting for all the baggage and the cavalry to arrive, General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos said it was imperative for me to assign him some soldiers to go to the province of Sonora in order to complete some tasks in the service of his majesty. To travel there and back would take about fifteen days. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, replied that this camp had more than 120 paid soldiers and some citizens from the province of Sonora. Moreover, there were more than 100 Indian friends waiting for us at the town of Cocóspera to go on a campaign against our enemy, the Janos, and their allies. If we waited such a long time, this would cause illness among the Spaniards because of the bad weather that they had experienced, and our Indian friends would run away, which they are already doing every time we come to a halt. Our sparse provisions will soon be gone; winter is coming soon, and we will not be able to punish or reduce the rebel tribes. It would be better if Terán were to order his soldiers to march on ahead so that we would not need to stop and lose time. His grace could take four or six soldiers and finish his business with more leisure. I said that in the town of Cocóspera he would find many loyal settlers from the aforesaid province to help him. In answer to this, General Don Domingo Terán said his soldiers would have to wait for him until he returned from his trip. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, said that the hostile Janos and their allies had broken the peace treaties and taken horses from the

pueblo of Cocóspera and the real of Bacanuche.<sup>79</sup> If we delay our campaign, grave harm may result, to the detriment of the two majesties and the common good. Two or three times I called some people to witness this discussion so that, if charges are made at some time against us for halting the campaign, they can testify that I and the people in my charge desired to continue the campaign without losing a single day.

After all this, General Don Domingo Terán stayed in the pueblo of Magdalena with all his soldiers and those of the presidio of Sinaloa. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, continued the march with my company and that of the province of Sonora, which was under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon we came to the pueblo of San Ignacio, where the Indians received us with much love. We saw that they were cleaning the church and the house of the priest which the enemy had burned. They told us that they wanted to re-roof the house. After giving them the necessary speeches, we said goodbye and proceeded to the estancia of the pueblo of Imuris. I ordered the command to halt and stay overnight at this place because we had traveled more than ten leagues and it was already four o'clock in the afternoon.

*During this period a simmering disagreement between Terán and Fuente over the objectives of the campaign came to a head. From previous actions and statements in the journal it is apparent that General Fernández de la Fuente was anxious to return to the Suma-Janos-Apache frontier and defeat or inflict damage upon them. This theater, understandably, was of utmost concern to him, for his presidio was at the center of it. Ever since he had assumed command at Janos nearly a decade before, these groups had continued to make his task difficult, and no doubt Fuente was alarmed as they increasingly merged toward a single identity as Apaches. Unlike Jironza or Terán, he could not retreat to the relative calm of Sonora or the presidio of Gallo.*

*In the first days of September the force remained split. From Imuris, Fuente and his troops continued to Cocóspera, where they halted. From Magdalena, Terán and his men went east to Father Kino's home mission of Dolores. There they met with Jironza, who had been in nearby Cucurpe securing additional supplies. The campaign journal remained in the hands of Fuente and thus we can only speculate about the thoughts and motives of the other two generals. The trip Terán desired to make deeper into Sonora seems related to economic interests near Alamos. He may well have reasoned that this might be his last chance to be that close. There is no clue as to the role of Jironza. He possibly persuaded Terán not to make the trip. From the journals we do know that for the next week Fuente waited impatiently under the cottonwoods at Cocóspera, frantically exchanging letters with Terán and Jironza. He reminded them of the cost of the campaign and its objectives and the fact that over 100 men on the king's payroll were now idled by their failure to join him and continue searching for the enemy.*

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79. Bacanuche is 50 kilometers southeast of Cocóspera. Silver mines were discovered here in the mid 1600s and a considerable number of Spanish miners had moved into the area.

*In return he received messages from Jironza saying supplies were low and that Terán had gone to Bacanuche to investigate rumors of Indian trouble. Fuente fumed and wrote another letter to each general pleading that they join him if they did not want to inflict grave harm to the frontier by delaying.*

*On September 8, Jironza and Terán finally arrived in Cocóspera and together the entire force headed north the following day. Their route took them to the San Pedro valley and the Sobaipuri village of Quíburi. Here the Spaniards were treated to a huge outdoor banquet by Chief Coro, who told them that the Janos and Jocomes were planning to ambush them when they reached the Chiricahuas. From Quíburi the army threaded its way east through the Dragoon Mountains and across the Sulphur Springs valley. Lieutenant Solís led an advance party to scout for watering places along the western side of the Chiricahuas.*

On September 16, 1695, at about seven in the morning we, Generals Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were located in an arroyo of the Chiricahua Mountains.<sup>80</sup> The sentinel that we had posted reported seeing a smoke signal in the middle of the mountains. When we saw heavy smoke rising from the canyon at the head of this arroyo, we knew that the thirty-six troops under the command of Lieutenant Antonio de Solís who had left the night before were in combat, because they had been told to send us a smoke signal. We ordered the horses brought together, quickly saddled, and we sent the friendly Indian allies out from the camp. Thirty soldiers were ordered to stay behind with General Don Domingo Terán, who was ill. The rest of the camp should break up, and with the supplies loaded and the cavalcade ready all the companies will march into the mountains. We would send back reports with a soldier. We, Generals Don Domingo Jironza and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, set out at full speed with weapons, soldiers, and 200 Indian allies. At a distance of two leagues, we met a soldier named Bernardo de la Parra, who said Lieutenant Antonio de Solís had sent him to tell us that at daybreak his patrol had encountered two mares and spotted the very fresh tracks of an Indian on foot. The troops followed him into the sierra and unexpectedly found an abandoned ranchería whose inhabitants had all fled to the mountain peaks. Although they yelled to them many times in the Suma language, there was no reply because the Indians would not stop or respond. In the ranchería they had left behind all their possessions, tanned hides, and the remains of some horses they had just killed. There were also some horses, mares, and a burro whose brands showed they belonged to the padre of Cuquiárachic.<sup>81</sup> They also discovered several huts of the Apaches and other tribes. Since the country was so rough the soldiers were unwilling to leave the ranchería to follow the rebels until we arrived. They had sent smoke signals telling us to come in haste.

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80. This arroyo was on the west side of the Chiricahua Mountains, but it cannot be identified with certainty.

81. Cuquiárachic is 50 kilometers south of modern Agua Prieta on a tributary of the Río Fronteras. This was the northernmost Jesuit mission station among the Opata and had been staffed until 1693, when Father Marcos de Loyola was reassigned without replacement.

After hearing this report, we ordered our men to march on at a slow pace so as to give the horses some rest and not tire the friendly Indians. We told the soldier, Bernardo de la Parra, to carry a message back to General Don Domingo Terán. This advised that he and his retinue should march at a slow pace and halt on a flat at the mouth of the canyon while we continued into the mountains. After traveling about four leagues, we located Lieutenant Antonio de Solís with his soldiers on a hill about two arquebus shots from the ranchería. All this he told us while we waited for the friendly Indians to arrive. While we gave the horses a chance to catch their breath, we sighted an Indian coming down from the mountain. It appeared that the man was coming to talk with us, so we two generals and Lieutenant Antonio de Solís went out to meet him, taking with us a soldier who could speak Suma. When we were very near, we spoke to him through the interpreter and told him to come down, for we would not harm him. Seeing he did not respond, we went to him and found he was deaf and blind. He said he was a Janos and that the ranchería belonged to the Jocomes and Apaches, who fled to the sierra as soon as they knew the Spaniards were coming. The Janos, Mansos, and Sumas were on the Gila River with the Chinarras and a group of Apaches.<sup>82</sup> We then mustered all the soldiers and friendly Indians, organized them into squads, and went into the area searching many hills and the wooded areas along the arroyo. We found no people until we had gone more than two leagues beyond the ranchería. Here an Indian yelled to us from a high peak, saying they wanted to be friends and allies of the Spaniards. We approached and asked why everyone had fled from the ranchería, leaving all their possessions behind. Had they not made peace with us and were they not waiting for us since we had told them we would come back to see them? He answered that it was true they were at peace and waiting for us. However, when they sighted the soldiers, they were frightened and they all ran away to the mountains. Our reply was that we had already found the stolen livestock, but they should not be afraid to come down and talk with us, for we would do them no harm. To this he replied that some of the generals and captains of the friendly Indians should climb up and he would talk with them. Then the captains of the Sobaipuris and the Pimas and the governor of the Opatas climbed up and had a long talk with the Indian, while I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, was about an arquebus shot away.

Seeing the long delay, I ordered some soldiers and friendly Indians to come on up to me. As we moved even nearer, the friendly captains said I should dismount and approach a short distance on foot because the Indian in question wanted to speak with me. Upon dismounting, I climbed up on a big rock, and the Indian approached. I recognized him as a Jcome—the brother of the one we had made governor in former peace talks. He also knew me well. The two of us sat down and talked through my interpreter. I asked why, after making peace and agreeing to be friends and not to rob or harm the settlements of Spaniards and friendly Indians, they did not keep their word. As soon as we left them, these rebel Indians went to Bacanuche and Teuricache to steal horses. We already knew this and had seen the

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82. This was probably in the vicinity of modern Safford, Arizona, approximately 120 kilometers to the north.

animals at their ranchería. Since his brother was governor and still they had not come down, it appeared that they did not intend to keep their agreement with us.

If they wanted war, we would climb to the mountain tops and pursue them. To which he replied that his brother was ill in the Janos' ranchería. It was true that some of the young men had gone to hunt livestock because the people were hungry, and for this the captains had scolded them. They were all in agreement about keeping the peace they had made and coming down to settle in the pueblos where we would put them. The chief said he was going to call the people together and talk to them and that some of the men would come down with him to our camp. Because the people had fled, they were probably scattered among the forests and peaks of the Chiricahuas. It would take the rest of the day to assemble them. They would come down the following day to our camp and make peace once and for all and then inform the other tribes of this. It was evident to us that due to the difficult terrain, weariness of the horses, late hour, and the fact that the Indians had fled, it would not be possible to catch them or punish them properly for their evil deeds. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, saw that nothing could be done with only this one Indian and that everything might be lost if he was pressed too far, so I told him to go and collect the people of the ranchería. In the morning he should come to our camp with some of the chiefs to see and talk with us. He would find us at the mouth of the canyon in the direction he was looking. We assured him that the stolen horses did not matter. They could come with complete assurance that we would do them no harm, just as on many other occasions when they had come to make peace. Even though they had broken it many times, we had repeatedly pardoned all their crimes in view of the orders of the king our lord. It was the will of his majesty, may God keep him, as well as our own, that they should settle down and live quietly in their own country and support themselves by planting corn, beans, squash, and other crops, like all of the tribes who are friends of the Spaniards. They know some of them, such as the Conchos, Opatas, Sobaipuris, Pimas, and many others.

The Jcome answered that they all agreed to the settlement proposed to them so many times because they were now tired of all the difficulties and killings. I said everything to him as is required in such cases. Just as he was leaving, another Suma Indian whom I knew came to me. This man said he had come to see me because he had wanted to talk with me. I told him that it was too late, and because I had a high fever, I could not talk with him there. He should go down to camp; there he could tell us whatever he needed to say. After the Jcome had gone, we marched out of the sierra with all the soldiers and Indian friends in our charge, taking the Suma with us. When we passed through the ranchería, we found that many of the friendly Indians who remained behind had disappeared with all the property they had. After arriving in our camp, we told the Suma to speak his piece. He stated that his captain and governor had sent him to search for us on either side of the mountains. His orders were that he should find us and come to talk with us to tell us that all of the Sumas and Janos were firmly determined to keep the peace. He said that they had gone to the Gila River to wait for us there in order to prevent the young men from raiding. It was there that the Sumas were camped apart from the Janos with the intention of going with us as soon as we arrived. For this reason the leaders had collected all the Sumas who had been among the Janos and Jcomes. The man also stated that there was an Apache

ranchería very near the Sumas and Janos and that everyone expected to meet us in peace and friendship. He had come to see us and give us this information in the name of his governor and captain. He had come to this ranchería two days ago and asked if they had seen us, and they had told him no. He also asked them why they had stolen the livestock and where they had taken them. They said that fourteen young men had gone to the Opata pueblos, where they had stolen them. He was asked what people were at the ranchería. He replied that they were all Jocomes and Apaches and that the Jcome governor was sick in the ranchería of the Janos. El Tabobo, their captain, was the only leader with them. We asked him about the two Jocomes and the three Sumas whom they had sent with us and who had later run away to various places. Had they returned to their people telling lies that we had treated them badly or that we had evil intentions? He said that the two Jocomes had returned saying that they had run away because they were ill. The Sumas stated that they had hidden in the woods without our permission and later had fled. They reported only that we had treated them well and that we were on our way to the country of the Pima rebels. The Sumas knew that from there we were returning to make peace. Each of the Indians agreed that this is what they had said. We then told the Suma to wait one more day to see if the Jocomes presented themselves or attacked us. Whatever happened, he could report later to his governor and the other tribes. To this he replied that he would wait to see the outcome.

*The following day more searches led to the discovery of butchered horses in one of the canyons. They were identified as the ones stolen from Teuricache. A Jcome man and woman were taken prisoner. Many of the men were now seriously ill with chills and fevers; Padre Campos had to be carried on a litter, and Terán was too sick to go on patrol. One hundred friendly Pimas who had joined the campaign a week earlier slipped silently out of camp in the pre-dawn hours of the 18th. The Indian prisoners were interrogated. The woman said that the Jocomes had joined the band of the Apache chief "El Salinero," who had sent the message throughout the region that, although the Spaniards talked, ate corn, and wore clothes, they were not men. Though mildly ill himself, Fuente had thoughts of invading the Apache sanctuary they learned of along the Gila River. Solís found a large water hole three leagues to the north, and the troop encampment was moved there.*

On September 20, 1695, at daybreak we generals were situated in this arroyo at the north end of the sierra of Chiricahua.<sup>83</sup> Both of us, Don Domingo Terán and Don Domingo Jironza, were very ill, helpless, and unable to ride a horse.<sup>84</sup> We told General Juan Fernández de la Fuente in the name of the king's service to do whatever

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83. This is probably at the western approach to modern Apache Pass between the Chiricahuas and the Dos Cabezas Mountains.

84. Many other soldiers and Indians in the command were suffering from fevers and convulsions. Juan Mateo Manje wrote that the men had drunk from stagnant pools that had been poisoned by enemy Indians. It is equally possible that the men had contracted some viral infection by drinking contaminated water—a condition very common during the heat, humidity, and violent rains of the summer season.

seemed best to him. Although sick with a fever, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, ordered the Indian woman who had arrived in camp yesterday brought before me. This captive was asked the whereabouts of the Jocome, Janos, Suma, Manso, and Apache Indian bands. She answered that several young men who went back and forth among the settlements had told her that the Apaches, Sumas, and Chinarras were in the woods along the Gila River. The Janos were located at the spring on the northern slope of the Santa Rosa Mountains, whereas the Jocomes and Apaches were located on the west side of the Santa Rosa Mountains.<sup>85</sup> This woman said that she was acquainted with the location of the Jocomes. On being asked the number of Jocomes and Apaches in the village where she and her husband lived, she said there were nineteen Jocome men and many more Apaches. When asked who had gone to bring the horses to Sonora, the woman said that her husband, accompanied by eight young Jocomes and four Apaches, had left the ranchería on this expedition. The party brought all the horses we had seen, including the dead ones, plus animals the Jocomes and Apaches had taken when they fled to the mountains. When asked about their assembly point, she heard the men say that they were going to go through the mountains to the canyon, where the Indians had greeted us on their way to the sierra of San Bartolomé to eat dates.<sup>86</sup> This place is to the east near the frontier of Teuricache.

We asked about the message brought by the Suma Indian who had come to the camp to see me, General Fernández de la Fuente. The woman responded that the Sumas had been in the village for two moons. This man did not bring a message from the Suma governor or anyone else. She said everything he had told us, for that matter, was a lie. The Indian in question was the one who had seen us the night we arrived at the arroyo. For this reason, when he informed the others, they retreated to the mountains. She said that the Apaches had been friends with the Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, and Mansos for a long time and they always traveled together. This witness was not sure whether they intended to make peace or war; however, she did know that after peace was declared the Janos had gathered horses in the Bacanuche valley. She also declared that the Apaches had said that they did not want peace with the Spaniards. What they wanted was vengeance for those killed and captured by them. According to her, what she said was the truth and verified by what she had seen and heard.

In accordance with this information, I immediately ordered that sixty-four of the best soldiers be picked from the companies. A unit of one hundred friendly Indians, including Opatas, Conchos, and some Pimas, was added to augment the Spanish military contingent. A report was sent to me that only a few Pimas were left, as the others had fled. I ordered Lieutenant Antonio de Solís to equip each soldier with at least three horses and to carry four days' rations. The mission of this troop was to find the governor of the Jocomes. This force was to attack at dawn and to kill all of the Indian adults. If they heard of any other rancherías, the soldiers had orders to attack them, too. In case the attackers should meet the enemy in rough

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85. These are the modern Pinaléño Mountains, 80 kilometers northwest.

86. These are really not dates, but rather the fruits of the yucca which are abundant and ripening at that time of year.

country and need help, a smoke signal was to be sent up. In this event I, General Fernández de la Fuente, would go to the scene with the soldiers left behind because of illness.

At approximately four in the afternoon Lieutenant Antonio de Solís, the troop commander, set out from this military encampment with the Indian woman designated as the guide. About seven in the evening a soldier named Esteban Varela from the company of General Juan Fernández de la Fuente arrived, bringing an Indian whose hands were tied. Varela told me that Lieutenant Solís had sent him back in order to tell me that fresh tracks had been sighted on the road. The soldiers followed these tracks to an arroyo where two Indians were hidden; there they were surrounded and forced to surrender. The Spaniards questioned them as to their destination and the location of their village. They answered with a thousand lies. The *alférez* took one for a guide and sent the other, who was considered uncooperative, to me so that I might question him. The interpreter was summoned, and through him I asked the prisoner for the name of his tribe. Even though we spoke to him in his own language he refused to reply verbally, but answered by making a thousand faces. Finally we threatened to torture him with ropes, break his hands and feet, and then shoot him if he did not answer our questions truthfully. The prisoner then said he would talk, provided we did not hurt him. In response to a question about his origins, the prisoner said that he was from the Jcome tribe. He and a companion left their village on the Gila River about four days ago. The two were going to see the Jcomes and Apaches in the Chiricahuas to ask about the many horses they had rounded up. He and his friend wanted to verify the story and, if true, acquire horses as a number of others were doing. After this statement was shown to the prisoner the interrogators asked two recently captured Indian females to confirm it as true. The women added that at present the Janos, Jcomes, [ . . . ovias?], Mansos, Chinarras, and many Apaches were assembled in the woods along the Gila River. Responding to the query as to whether the Indians were for peace or war, the prisoner said that to his knowledge all the tribes were expecting the Spaniards' arrival. He denied any knowledge of the chief's intentions in this matter. When asked if the rebels knew we were in the area, the prisoner replied that they were not aware of it in the *rancherías*. The prisoner went on to say that if they had known of the Spaniards' presence he and his companion would not have been traveling so carelessly. When the two in question observed so many soldiers, they became frightened, took flight, and hid. This man offered to take us to where the tribes were gathered. He was then handcuffed and turned over to the guard. At this point, I had the captive Indian woman brought in to see if she knew the prisoner. She recognized him and said that the man was a war captain in the settlement of the Jcome governor. I asked no more questions since it was two o'clock in the morning. Since the prisoners did not all agree in their statements, I decided to wait for Lieutenant Solís and his patrol so as to decide what to do next in the service of the two majesties.

On September 22, 1695, we were in the arroyo of the Chiricahuas. Both generals, Don Domingo Terán and Don Domingo Jironza, had been taken ill, as were many soldiers and friendly Indians. While we were waiting to hear word concerning Lieutenant Antonio de Solís' situation, I decided to talk again to the prisoner he had sent me. My desire was to see if he would hold to his original statement. He was asked to confirm whether the information that he and the two Indian



women had reported concerning the location of the hostile tribes was true. He repeated the same story, saying that they were in the woods along the Gila River. This was later confirmed by our own observations.

On September 22, 1695, we were located in this arroyo at the base of the Chiricahua Mountains. It was after ten at night and still there was no news concerning Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. We were worried about not only his delay but the fact that we had no idea which direction he had taken with his detachment. Because of the distance, Solís had been ordered not to go to the Gila River but to reconnoiter this section of the Animas<sup>87</sup> and Santa Rosa mountains. The Indian woman said that is where the Jocomes could be found. If Solís did not find the village on the west side, his orders were to return with his troops to continue working here in the royal service. However, there was a chance Lieutenant Solís was experiencing difficulties trying to comply with his patrol orders. It was possible the Indian that Solís had previously captured on the road was deceiving him by taking the patrol on a chase through the mountains. This is likely because the Indians are known to do this to avoid betraying their people by leading the Spaniards to their home ranchería. We had posted sentinels on the mountains day and night to inform us if they saw smoke or dust from Indian camps.

On September 23, 1695, we generals were located in this arroyo in the Chiricahuas. At about twelve noon, the governors, Don Pablo Quique of the Opatá nation and Juan Corma of the Conchos, presented themselves to us. These two were part of the contingent of Indian auxiliaries operating with Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. The governors had ridden in ahead of Solís and the main body to report a victory. They told us that the Spaniards and their Indian allies had fought a skirmish at the Jocomes' ranchería. The victors had killed several Indians and captured an unknown number of women and children. While no friendly forces were reported hurt, a few of the soldiers' horses were wounded. The rest of the troops led by Lieutenant Solís were moving slowly because of their captives. After they finished their story we ordered the governors to eat and rest. Later, about two in the afternoon, Lieutenant Antonio de Solís rode into camp with his troops in formation, with the soldiers in two columns on the flanks with the women and children in between. Alongside the troops came the Indian auxiliaries, carrying the scalps of those they had killed as a sign of victory. As they marched in everyone yelled and the soldiers fired their arquebuses. The soldiers and Indians in the camp reciprocated by greeting them in the same way. The lieutenant dismounted with his officers as they received congratulations from us for their successful mission. The lieutenant delivered forty-four women and children of all ages plus one venerable old man.

Lieutenant Solís told us that on the march they had shot the captive who had led them on a fruitless search through the mountains. If Chief Silvestre Pacheco had not sighted two Indians who were located at a greater distance, Solís' patrol would not have found the settlement. The troops caught sight of the Indians in question at about ten in the morning. They set out in rapid pursuit and suddenly found themselves at the Indian village located on level ground. The inhabitants

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87. These are the modern Dos Cabezas Mountains and should not be confused with the Animas Mountains mentioned at the beginning of this document.

had already left, heading for a rough arroyo where the mountain slopes towards the Sobaipuri country. This region is about eight leagues from the Santa Rosa Mountains in the west below Quíburi and very near the Sobaipuri rancherías.<sup>88</sup> The soldiers and friendly Indians split up into groups and stopped them, telling them to give up their weapons and come peaceably so they would not be harmed. As a defensive tactic the hostile Indians had earlier placed their women and children in front of them. They refused to surrender and began to shoot arrows at the Spaniards and friendly Indians. Our troops proceeded to surround them, killing the governor and twelve Indians. The remaining rebels fled to the sierra, and we could not catch them, as the horses were tired and the ground was rough. Our men brought most of the women and children with them. They had to shoot two aged Jocomes because they could not walk; later two other old Sumas were sent to tell the Janos and Sumas that they had killed the Indians and taken their women only because they had started to fight and refused to surrender. The hostiles were ordered to tell the governors and captains to meet us at the San Simón spring if they wanted peace and friendship.<sup>89</sup> Otherwise we would seek them out and fight them as the enemy. This message was sent on the 22nd after the fighting was over and the captives taken. We told the lieutenant he had acted as a good soldier in all aspects and should go now to rest with the others.

While the prisoners were placed under guard, another Indian captive of advanced age was brought before us. We asked him if he was a friend of the Sobaipuris. He said he was on good terms with the inhabitants of the northern villages and his people visited them without any problems. Not long ago the old man had visited the settlements of Coro, Todos los Santos, and the home of the Indian leader, Taravilla. His people went to the northern villages to make peace, eat corn, and to tell them about their friendship with the Spaniards, that the Spaniards had told them to be friendly with the Sobaipuris, Pimas, Opatas, Conchos, and the other nations that were associated with the Spaniards. These tribes had given him a quantity of arrows and corn.

We, the generals, asked the old man why, if his people were at peace, they were rounding up horses and preparing to fight us. He said it was the young men who were doing this, and the governors and captains could not stop them. When they saw how these youths had acquired horses, the governors and captains had departed in order to avoid us. A Jcome who said he was the only survivor reported to them that the Spaniards had massacred the people in the Chiricahuas. The governors and captains had sent two Indians out to verify this story. These were the two men who had been captured on the road by Lieutenant Antonio de Solís. Their orders were to determine whether the Spaniards had gone away or were staying at some watering place. It was while the governors and captains were waiting for their report that an Indian spy had informed them that Spaniards were coming. For this reason they had fled and refused to surrender. We asked the old Indian if he knew the number of Indians that had been killed. He replied that both he and the Indian woman had seen ten dead, including an Apache, who was the governor

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88. Quíburi was 90 kilometers southwest on the Río San Pedro.

89. This was probably located on the modern Ciénaga Ranch in the San Simón Valley about 40 kilometers to the east.

of the Jocomes, and another man who was called El Tabobo. This means "great captain" in their language. A number of the men, women, and children had escaped among the cliffs. Among the prisoners was a twelve-year-old Opata boy from the pueblo of Bacoachi.<sup>90</sup> He did not understand the Opata language as he was very small when the other Indians had captured him. We asked the old man where the other tribes had their rancherías. He replied that the Janos, Sumas, Chinarras, Mansos, and many Apaches were living in the woods on the Gila River and on the slopes of the Santa Rosa Mountains. Since the Jocomes had come on horseback with the Janos, they and some Apaches had departed as soon as the others had made peace with us. He was asked if he knew the intentions of the tribes referred to and if they wanted war or peace. The old man had heard that the Apaches did not want peace. Many people had assembled but they were confused and not sure if they wanted war or peace. When pressed for more information concerning the above-mentioned tribes, he refused because the witness had told all he knew. We ordered him shackled and delivered to the corporal of the guard. The corporal's job was to guard the captives in the encampment day and night, with the help of a detachment of twelve soldiers and some friendly Indians. The guard's orders were to put them to the sword if anyone tried to escape.

On September 24, 1695, we were in the arroyo of the Chiricahuas. We wanted to be sure that we had made a thorough search of all the places where the hostile Indians lived. The area in question was located on the west side of the Chiricahuas in the Animas, Santa Rosa, and other mountains and hills in their vicinity. As reflected in these documents, the rebellious Indians were in the Jcome and Apache rancherías. We planned to continue searching for the Janos, Sumas, Mansos, Chinarras, and Apaches. According to the statements of captured Indian men and women, they were to be found in the woods on the Gila River and in the marsh and arroyos that rise on the north side of the Santa Rosa Mountains in the home of the Apaches. In preparation for this search we decided today to shoot the three Jcome captives and the two old Indian women. One of the women was a well-known conspirator. First, they were to be catechized and instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith. Then our father chaplain, Agustín de Campos, instructed and baptized them. At about eight in the morning, in view of the whole camp, the Indians were shot and left hanging on a gallows of three posts. The purpose of all this was to frighten the people who might see them.

Don Domingo Terán, Don Domingo Jironza, and many soldiers, both Spanish and Indian, had become ill. In spite of this we decided to leave and ordered the horses brought to the camp. Due to his illness General Don Domingo Terán could not go on horseback. We had a litter made to carry him on the shoulders of friendly Indians, so the general could travel more easily. We sent Lieutenant Antonio de Solís with an advance party of twenty soldiers to explore the canyons and arroyos of the Chiricahuas. Solís' patrol was to inform us if he found enough water for all our men and horses. His orders were to be watchful and to capture any enemy encountered, dead or alive. Solís was told to send us smoke signals if he found any sizable group of Indians. The lieutenant was reminded that if no water

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90. Bacoachi is on the upper Río Sonora 90 kilometers southwest of modern Agua Prieta; it was the site of a populous Opata village first contacted in the late 1630s.

or Indians were found up to the pass between the mountains he was to leave a soldier there. Solís was instructed to scout for water on the east side of the pass and then report to us.<sup>91</sup> With these orders the lieutenant marched off. We placed General Don Domingo Terán in the vanguard on his litter. We turned over the women and children to the guards; they were to look after them with great care. The horses and cattle were lined up, one after the other, between the vanguard and the rear. In this formation we traveled as far as the pass, where we found a soldier from Solís's group named Cristóbal Granillo. He told us they had not found water on the west side; however, there was a little water among the rocks at the bottom of the eastern side of the pass, but only enough for the men, not for the horses. Continuing our march we came to the San Simón valley and at about sunset we found Lieutenant Solís. He told us that about two arquebus shots distant there was some water among the rocks which he thought would be enough for the men. We ordered camp to be made there for the night as there was no other water for twelve leagues in any direction. That day we had traveled more than six leagues northward on level ground and three leagues through the eastern side of the sierra. The sick were very weary, and many had simply fallen down on the way. They could not go farther with their chills and fever.

On the 25th of September, 1695, we were in this arroyo in the gap between the Chiricahua and the Animas Mountains. From now on it is to be known as the pass of San Felipe.<sup>92</sup> At about six in the morning we ordered the horses to be brought to this encampment. Once again we placed General Don Domingo Terán in the front to be carried on a litter on the shoulders of friendly Indians. The provisions were loaded, and when the soldiers were mounted we set out, marching in regular order. Our intention was to get as far as some pools of water at the foot of a hill between the sierras of Animas and Santa Rosa and bivouac there that night. There is a pass between these two mountains, and from there we could send out spies to the Gila River and the ciénaga and arroyos of the Santa Rosas. We marched about five leagues and passed through the Animas Mountains. There was no water in the aforementioned pools, as there was in previous times. The pools had appeared to be permanent. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, went out with a squad of soldiers seeking water two leagues beyond the camp. Several soldiers reported to me that the two generals, Don Domingo Terán and Don Domingo Jironza, had become very ill; General Don Domingo Terán was so ill he could not continue the march. He was overcome with convulsions, and the father chaplain was preparing him for a good death. They wanted me to come immediately so as to decide what to do. I returned at full speed and ordered the whole camp to take shelter in a section of an arroyo coming down from the Animas Mountains. When I came to where Generals Don Domingo Terán and Don Domingo Jironza were, I saw they could not keep on due to the weakness caused by their illness. The same was true of many other Spanish soldiers and Indians, so I gave the order to camp in the arroyo. Then, at about one in the afternoon, General Don Domingo Terán made his will and testament. Since he was suffering so much from his illness he made

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91. This was modern Apache Pass, which the Spaniards at the time called San Felipe.

92. They were apparently camped somewhere in the vicinity of modern Fort Bowie.

his confession and received the holy sacraments. Many others who were ill and suffering severely also went to confession. With great difficulty we found enough water for all the horses in some rock pools high up in the Animas Mountains.

On September 26, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in a bowl formed by the Animas Mountains about four leagues north of the San Felipe Pass.<sup>93</sup> Many soldiers were ill and suffering greatly, as were we, Generals Don Domingo Terán and Don Domingo Jironza. We saw it was impossible to go on to the Gila River and the Santa Rosa Mountains. We were very sick, as were many soldiers and Indians. A number of others were stricken ill every day. There were not even enough soldiers to guard the horses. For these reasons and because there was no water, we decided to march the command to the springs of San Simón. This was about two leagues from here on the eastern slope of the mountain facing the canyon in the Chiricahuas where the enemy had made peace with us last June. Our plan was to remain there for a few days and see if the sick improved. Then we could decide what was best for us in the royal service. There is sufficient water and pasturage at San Simón to stay for several days. The sick could recover here and the horses would have the chance to regain their strength after the rough treatment they have suffered. After deciding this, we ordered the horses to be brought up. Since it was a long journey we sent the advance guard ahead with the sick. This group included the two generals, Don Domingo Jironza and Don Domingo Terán; Terán was very ill and continued to be conveyed on a litter by our Indian allies. The supplies were loaded, and when the soldiers and friendly Indians mounted, we set out marching in formation with a vanguard, main body of troops, and rear guard, and with the prisoners under guard. It was a rough road and hard going. We marched about six leagues along the slopes of the Animas Mountains, leaving the San Felipe pass behind. At about twelve noon we came to some water holes at a hill at the north end of the Chiricahua Mountains. There all the men drank and then continued the march without stopping until we came to the springs of San Simón. We reached this encampment with the cattle and horses at sunset. General Don Domingo Terán arrived at this place about nine at night; however, many of the sick Indians remained behind on the trail. This was a trip of more than twelve leagues, and they could not travel any farther.

On September 27, 1695, we, Generals Juan Fernández de la Fuente, Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, and Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, were at this water hole at the San Simón springs. General Don Domingo Terán was near death, and General Don Domingo Jironza was suffering, as were a number of other ill soldiers and Indians. After a conference we decided not to move from this place until the sick were a little better. We could see the middle of the Chiricahua Mountains, the heights of San Bartolomé, and the cliffs of Alonso Pérez, where the Apaches and other rebel tribes continued to live. To determine if there were any enemy settlements in these mountains we ordered Corporal Diego Ortiz [de Anda] to hunt for the enemy. He was to take eighteen soldiers and search all the watering places, access routes, and canyons in the Chiricahuas as far as Las Lágrimas

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93. This may have been Buckeye Canyon on the north slope of the Dos Cabezas.

de San Pedro, about twelve leagues south. From there the patrol should cross the plain to the sierra of San Bartolomé, searching the entire area. If the patrol were to come upon any Indians they should either kill them or take them alive. Ortiz also had orders to make smoke signals if the country was rough and if they were fighting and needed help. If any fresh tracks were seen the patrol should follow and catch them or determine the direction of march. Another group consisting of a squad of eight soldiers under Corporal Sebastián de Hinojosa was sent to search the place which we call "La Mina" and the cliffs of Alonso Pérez, about seven leagues north of here. These detachments set out at about seven in the morning. Later, at about eleven o'clock, a friendly Indian of the Opata tribe, who died a natural death last night, was buried.

On September 28, 1695, we were still at this watering place of the springs of San Simón. At about ten o'clock in the morning the two patrols under Corporals Diego Ortiz de Anda and Sebastián de Hinojosa, who were sent yesterday to survey the Chiricahua and San Bartolomé mountains and the heights of Alonso Pérez, returned to camp. The corporals told us they had searched all the springs, entrances, and canyons of both sierras, neglecting nothing. In the canyon where the enemy had made peace with us last July, they saw the crosses we had set up as a sign that the peace was secure. Traveling night and day the patrols reported they had not seen any Indians, campfires, or fresh tracks. It seemed to them that as soon as we had left the Chiricahuas the last time for the Pima country, the enemy had left the area. Judging by the villages and huts we had seen in the arroyos of the Animas Mountains and other places, the enemy had quickly departed for the Gila River. This agrees with the statements of captured Indian men and women. Furthermore, it is in accord with the league and union these tribes have with the Apaches. The horse thievery committed by these Indians in the various parts of Sonora, particularly after they had made a truce with us, shows that the peace requested was made only because of the threat of our weapons and their hunger. As soon as we had left to attack the rebellious Pimas, they again returned to their stealing. For the Yaquis it was a well-known pattern after making peace. They kept the peace only as long as our weapons were present. For these reasons we felt that war should be made against them with fire and blood, just as they do and have been doing for the last fourteen years. We, Generals Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Don Domingo Terán, had agreed to come back to see them in two months in order to settle them in pueblos. They had agreed to wait and to do this, but perversely, we found them at war on our return. Many tribes had left for the Apache country. Up to the present we have not been able to follow them as we might have wished to do. Now we are hindered by the illness of our men during the last twenty days—both Spaniards and Indians. Every day more of us and our allies are taking sick. Some have died and others are near death. As a result we do not have enough men left to guard the camp and horses while we go to hunt the enemy. It is certain the hostiles are on the Gila River and in the sierra of Santa Rosa at a distance of about thirty leagues from here. On the 22nd of this month, Lieutenant Antonio de Solís had sent two Indians who were captured earlier to tell the Janos, Sumas, Mansos, and Chinarras that if they wanted to talk with us and make peace, they should come here within six days. Seven days went by, yet no Indian man or woman from any of the tribes mentioned had arrived here. Thus we considered them to be in a state of rebellion.

On September 29, 1695, we are at this watering place of the springs of San Simón. General Don Domingo Terán and the Spanish soldiers and friendly Indians continue to be ill. Most of those in the camp are sick, and a number are dying. At present we are more than thirty leagues from the Gila River and Santa Rosa Mountains where, according to statements of the captive Indian men and women, the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Chinarras, and Apaches have assembled. They are aware of what was done in the two villages of the Jocomes and Apaches and are hiding in inaccessible places where Spanish arms cannot attack them. It seemed to us that the officers of all ranks in the companies in this command ought to hold a council of war; thus everyone can openly express his opinion about future military operations for the greater service of the two majesties and the common good. This meeting is being held because General Don Domingo Terán is near death. He is weak and is unable to express his opinion. So far as we can understand, General Terán is saying that since he is very tired and his men are very sick, we should retreat. This is what we have understood, and even though the general wants to sign the statement, he is unable to do so. Accordingly, we, Generals Don Domingo Jironza and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, will do what is best after hearing all the opinions.

On September 29, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, Don Domingo Jironza, and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, were in this place, the springs of San Simón. At about four in the afternoon we met in the tent of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate and informed Alférez Pedro de Villegas, currently of the company in the charge of General Don Domingo Terán, of the above decision. We also made it known to Captain Nicolás de la Higuera, commander and chief of the presidio of Sinaloa; to Lieutenant Antonio de Solís and to Alférez Francisco de Acuña; to Sergeants Diego López [Zambrano] and Cristóbal de Vargas and many other officials experienced in this type of war. We told them they should state their opinion considering the sickness in camp, the supply problem, and the overall condition of the command. The question to be discussed is whether we should continue to hunt the enemy or retreat. After this matter was placed before them and everyone had discussed it, the first one to give his opinion was Alférez Pedro de Villegas. He spoke both for himself and for General Don Domingo Terán. He said his company had been away from their presidios for five months, with no supplies, and his general, Don Domingo Terán, was dying. Both he and twenty-five soldiers of his company were very ill. There was no one available to give them food because the nine soldiers who were in good health were guarding the horses. Because of this situation in the company under General Don Domingo Terán, they could not be of any help or continue to campaign. He said this was what General Don Domingo Terán had often expressed. The cabo y caudillo, Nicolás de la Higuera, said that of twenty soldiers in his charge from the company of General Manuel de Agramont y Arce, seven were very sick.<sup>94</sup> He considered it impossible to continue searching for the enemy. These hostile Indians had retreated to the center of the Apache nation, where it was impossible to catch them. They were located in places which could not be attacked even if the Spaniards were able to

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94. Since Agramont y Arce had remained in Sinaloa, Higuera was acting commandant of the company.

follow them. The experienced Higuera expressed concern over the number of sick in the command. He was seriously convinced that it was impossible to keep on; he recommended that we should withdraw until a more favorable time for making war was available. Lieutenant Antonio de Solís repeated the problem about the sad state of the personnel. There were not enough men who were healthy, and too many ailing soldiers and auxiliaries to do the job. The Conchos, Opatas, and Pima governors and captains were pleading to return to their own regions. If we persist in continuing the campaign, our Indian allies will run away, as 170 Pima and Oyata Indians have already done. In order to invade the Apache country where the rebellious tribes are staying, the whole command should be able to travel together as a unit. In view of its size, it is not possible to stay in this country for any length of time. The enemy is located in an inaccessible place; therefore it would take a large number of Spanish and Indian soldiers to dislodge them. Lieutenant de Solís feels that the command is hampered by illness and is getting worse, that it is impossible to invade and wage war in such a great territory. It is what this officer feels and is his opinion before God and his conscience. The three commanders mentioned in this council of war say they agree. Alférez Francisco de Acuña, Sergeants Diego López Zambrano, Cristóbal de Vargas, and a number of other officers all agreed with this. The officers stated what they believed and that it had to be said. The three experienced commanders referred to in this report recommended unanimously that the campaign be abandoned until our combat strength is enough to accomplish the mission.

On September 29, 1695, we, Generals Don Domingo Jironza and Juan Fernández de la Fuente, reviewed the report presented in this declaration. The factors discussed by the commanders that are affecting the success of this campaign are true, and we concur with them. It is our opinion that we should act in accordance with the opinions made at this conference. General Don Domingo Terán has been ill for more than a month and is near death. He still travels for short distances, with great difficulty, on a litter carried by the Indians. Eleven of the thirty-six soldiers under the command of General Don Domingo Terán are sick, as are Alférez Pedro Pérez de Villegas and twenty-five other soldiers. Nicolás de la Higuera of the Sinaloa presidio has twenty troops under his command, and seven are very ill. A number of soldiers in our charge have fallen victim to fevers and chills. We recognize that it is not possible to stay in this locality. In addition, more than 170 friendly Indians have left here. Most of the ones who remained are ailing, and more than a few are dying.

With all this affliction, we find it is not possible to continue hunting the enemy in such a broad area among great numbers of hostile people. The Indians can continue to resist in the woods and mountains. To punish them we need a strong force of Spanish soldiers and Indian allies along with sufficient supplies to support us for a sustained period of time. All of this is currently lacking. In the last four months we have been trying to wage war against the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Chinarras, Apaches, and rebel Pimas. The Spaniards and their Indian allies were very tired from the long struggle. This has caused the generals, soldiers, and Indians to fall prey to disease. For these reasons, and to avoid total ruin, we believe our forces should withdraw their arms. Every one of us, including the commanders of the presidios of Parral and Sinaloa, should then retire to our respective presidios. We know the war vigorously continues in these areas. As soon as the Span-



ish military leaves, the various tribes will assemble to exact vengeance on us for the punishment inflicted on them. Experience has shown us that every winter when the tribes feel that the Spanish cavalry has become exhausted, they come to the frontiers of Sonora and Casas Grandes. From then on they operate freely since the severe weather and the rough territory prevent us from going to war with them. We know the month of October and part of November is the most appropriate time to achieve success against our Indian enemies. Our present problem of sickness, a lack of supplies, and great distances hold us back. Accordingly, we, the aforesaid generals, have unanimously decided that tomorrow, September 30th, the captive Indians and children of the Jocome tribe are to be distributed equally—a total of forty-three adults and children. At noon today all of our units will leave this place at the same time. I, General Don Domingo Jironza, with the people under my command and the soldiers from Sinaloa will march for the border of Sonora. General Juan Fernández de la Fuente and his troops, with General Don Domingo Terán and his men, will go to the presidio of Janos, about fifty leagues from here.

On September 30, 1695, we bivouacked at this watering place of San Simón. A soldier from General Don Domingo Terán's command reported to us at about twelve o'clock at night. He told us that General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos had just died. For this reason I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, went to General Terán's tent. When I entered, I saw General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos dead in his bed. The Alférez Pedro de Villegas, Sergeant Domingo Grajeda, and many other soldiers in the tent told me that they had been talking with their general when he had a convulsion and immediately died with no other movement. He had died a natural death owing to the long illness he had suffered. I ordered him to be fully dressed and wrapped but decided not to bury him in this camp. Seven soldiers from his command and mine were to leave with his body as quickly as possible. With horses and mules for remounts, they were to carry the general's body without stopping to the presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Janos. I wrote to the priest of the presidio asking that the general be buried as a person of integrity and honor in a grave close to the main altar. The soldiers left the camp with the corpse at about one o'clock in the morning. They were under orders to arrive at the Janos presidio with the body at the same hour the following night. At eleven in the morning, as previously agreed upon, the war council distributed equally the forty-three captives, including the women and children. We first set aside a girl and a boy for the governor and captain-general of this realm, Don Gabriel del Castillo. Two others were selected for General Don Manuel de Agramonte, captain of the presidio of Sinaloa. The rest we allotted equally among us and ours. Everyone was pleased. With the sickness still plaguing the various companies and auxiliaries, we decided to leave at about two in the afternoon. Each general would march off with the men under our command to our respective presidios.

On September 30, 1695, at the watering place of San Simón, after loading up the supplies, the soldiers mounted their horses. At about two in the afternoon I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, took leave of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. His grace with his troops and those of the Sinaloa presidio were departing for the Sonora frontier. I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, with a combined detachment of soldiers and those from the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya formerly under the command of the deceased General Don Domingo Terán, com-

menced our journey. May God keep him in his glory. There was no water on the trail to Santo Domingo, so we marched about twelve leagues and arrived at the springs of Santo Domingo about two in the morning. In order to wait for the cavalcade, I ordered camp made there for the remainder of the night.

On October 1, 1695, at the watering place of Santo Domingo I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, ordered the horses brought to the camp at about five in the morning. All the sick Indians and soldiers were mounted first so they could leave before the rest of the group. The main body of troops, with the prisoners, were to march on ahead of us while the supplies were being prepared and loaded. We left when all the soldiers were mounted. At about midday my command came to the springs called Alemán. There was not enough water for the cavalcade so we continued our march as far as the water hole of Alamo Hueco, where the entire camp arrived at about six in the afternoon. Since we had traveled more than twelve leagues I gave orders for the whole body of troops to make camp and to spend the night there.

On October 2, 1695, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, was encamped about four o'clock in the morning with the people under my command. It would be a long and waterless journey to La Palotada. Therefore, I ordered the horses to be quickly saddled and the supplies to be loaded. The ailing soldiers, Indians, and the prisoners marched ahead of the main body. At about five in the morning our column filed off in formation. After traveling about twelve leagues we came to the waters of La Palotada about six in the afternoon. Here I told the troops to bivouac for the night.

On October 3, 1695, at about six in the morning, I, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, ordered the horses brought to camp at this watering place of La Palotada. After the supplies were loaded and the soldiers had mounted their horses, we set out marching in a regular formation. At about ten o'clock in the morning we came to the royal presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Janos. There I learned from my alférez, Juan de Cantos del Castillo,<sup>95</sup> and from Licenciado Don Pedro Salgero de la Fuente,<sup>96</sup> curate and vicar of this presidio, that the seven soldiers had arrived with the body of General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos. The priest had buried him with great solemnity on the first day of this month of October. I asked Alférez Juan de Cantos del Castillo if there had been any enemy attacks on this presidio or on the Casas Grandes frontier during the time that I had been away on campaign. He told me that all was quiet in both places. There had not been any thievery, killings, or even news of the enemy during the three and a half months we had been away on campaign.

In the royal presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Janos, on October 6, 1695, I, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, commander of this royal presidio, lieutenant governor and captain-general and alcalde mayor of San Antonio de Casas Grandes, under the jurisdiction of his majesty, certify that these documents show that Gen-

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95. Cantos had remained at Janos; he was soon promoted to lieutenant.

96. Salgero was a secular priest assigned to the Spanish community at Janos. Under the rules of the Patronato Real and the Leyes de Indias, missionary priests, of whom almost all were exclusively clerics regular, were assigned to Indian pueblos and were not normally permitted to minister to Spanish communities.

eral Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos was present and had concurred in them up to the 29th of the last month of September. Even though General Terán was present and agreed with thirty of these records, he could not sign them due to his serious illness. For the sake of their validity, I therefore certify to this formally. It is done in consideration of the fact that it is necessary to provide a campaign report to General Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor and captain-general of this realm and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya. This is so that his lordship can be informed of all that has been done by his authority and orders. I requested that a testimonial be made concerning the aforesaid documents and sent to the governor as his lordship requests. The originals are to be kept in the archives in my charge for whatever use they may be. As proof of this act I swear that I signed it before my secretary of war and witnesses. Juan Fernández de la Fuente. Witness, Antonio Becerra Nieto, Joseph de Insaurraga. I, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, as secretary of war, approved it.

This copy agrees with the original. I, Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente, at this royal presidio of San Felipe y Santiago de Janos, lieutenant governor, captain-general and alcalde mayor of San Antonio de Casas Grandes for his majesty, had this reproduced carefully. This is so a report can be sent to General Don Gabriel del Castillo, governor and captain-general of this realm and provinces of Nueva Vizcaya. It was accurately and faithfully made from the aforementioned official statements in the presence of the witnesses Antonio Becerra Nieto and Joseph de Insaurraga. The entire document consists of 203 pages of ordinary paper, some completely and some partially filled, along with three blank sheets. All documents were written on the same type of paper since there was none with the proper seal to be supplied by the justice of this jurisdiction. Therefore this type of paper was used in order to avoid delay. To this I swear before two witnesses: Antonio Becerra Nieto, Joseph de Insaurraga. In testimony of the truth of the above, I place my usual signature, Juan Fernández de la Fuente. I, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, as secretary of war, approved it.

*Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, microfilm 1695, fr. 5-208*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**n este real presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos en 7 días del mes de junio de 1695, años estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente teniente del gobernador y capitán general, alcalde mayor de la jurisdicción de San Antonio de Casas Grandes y actual capitán protector de este dicho presidio, como a horas de las ocho de la mañana, llegó a las casas de mi morada el señor general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, actual capitán del real presidio de San Pablo del Gallo, quien trae a su orden los cuarenta soldados que envía de socorro el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino don Gabriel del Castillo, que son de los reales presidios de la Vizcaya. Y dicho señor general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, me dio una orden despachada por el señor gobernador don Gabriel del Castillo, su fecha en el real presidio de San Francisco de Conchos a 9 del mes de mayo pasado de 1695 años.

Y habiendo visto yo, el capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, y dicho señor general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, los puntos de dicha orden sobre que razón de las cartas e informes qué por mí, dicho capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente y por el general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, alcalde mayor y actual capitán de la compañía volante de la provincia de Sonora y de los señores vecinos del real de San Juan Bautista de dicha provincia, tenemos hechos a dicho señor gobernador don Gabriel del Castillo de ocho meses a esta parte sobre los muchos daños, robos, muertes y emboscadas que han dado los enemigos en diferentes pueblos de la provincia de Sonora, haciendo en ellos y en todas las fronteras la guerra de fuego y sangre siendo tanto su orgullo que se han opuesto a los campos españoles en diferentes ocasiones logrando con sus victorias atraer así muchas naciones muy dilatadas y numerosas de gente.

Y viendo que andan incorporados los janos, jocomes, mansos, sumas, chinarras, y apaches y que son en mucho número y que siempre andan juntos y que jamás se dividen ni apartan de las ásperas sierras donde de continuo tienen sus habitaciones y logran desde sus picachos el hacer cuanto intentan sin que se los pueda haber hecho castigo con los campos españoles, que para ello se han juntado en estas y las fronteras de Sonora. Que viendo el orgullo de las naciones referidas y que a su incitación por muchas veces se han sublevado a la real corona los indios de la nación pima haciendo muertes en los padres misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús y en algunos españoles y naturales de dicha provincia y que lo mismo han hecho las naciones conchos y tarahumaras en diversas ocasiones. Que aunque se les ha hecho la guerra y castigos condignos a sus maldades, sin embargo de que han pedido las paces en muchas ocasiones y se las hemos admitido en nombre de su majestad y guardando toda fidelidad de nuestra parte las han quebrantado muchas veces. Y porque al presente se esperaban nuevas rebeliones y alzamientos en todas las naciones referidas y en otras que están a la mira de los malos o buenos sucesos que hubiere de parte de las católicas armas, que por no poder con pocas fuerzas resistir el orgullo y habitantes de tanta bárbara nación y número de enemigos de quienes se componen sus gruesas juntas y la mucha circumvalación de tierra que cogen para en lo de adelante poder conservar y mantener lo ya reducido y poder hacer la guerra ofensiva y defensivamente, se pidieron socorros al señor gobernador de este reino de la Vizcaya y su señorío, con su acostumbrado celo en el real servicio, proveyó dicho socorro.

Y viendo nosotros, los dichos general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, que se nos ordena que en este presidio confirmamos los dos la forma de hacer la guerra en estas las fronteras de la provincia de Sonora o en donde más convenga al servicio de las dos majestades y bien común. Y habiendo conferido y determinado el salir de este presidio el día 15 o 16 del corriente mes, dicho señor general don Domingo Terán con cuarenta soldados de su cargo y yo, dicho capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con treinta y seis soldados de mi compañía y sesenta indios amigos de arco y flecha, todos prevenidos y abastimentados para tiempo de más de dos meses. Unánimes y conformes fuimos del parecer salir dicho día incorporados, recorriendo con escuadras de soldados por falta de indios espías las sierras de Carretas, la de En Medio, valle de San Miguel, sierras del Sarampión, la de Las Animas, la de San Bartolomé, Los Embudos y lajones de la sierra de Pitaicache y valle de Batepito. Y que de dar con los enemigos en estos

parajes, procuraríamos hacerles la guerra y que de no dar con ellos, nos arrimaríamos con el campo de nuestro cargo a las fronteras del partido de Teuricache. Y que de dar con los enemigos en malos parajes, daríamos cuenta al general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate para que asistiese a lo que de nuestra parte se le previniese así para la prontitud de socorrérmolos unos a los otros con gente, bastimentos o caballos. Y asimismo, conferimos el escribirle a dicho general, don Domingo Jironza, dándole rumbo diario y el derrotero que hemos de llevar con nuestro campo previniéndole procurase juntar los más indios amigos que pudiese de las naciones yaquis, seris, tepocas, ópatas y pimas que estuviesen de parte de la real corona. Y que asimismo se juntasen entre los reverendos padres misioneros y vecinos los más caballos y bastimentos que se pudiesen adquirir y que los tuviesen con tiempo en dicha frontera de Teuricache o donde más conviniera para poder hacer la guerra sin alguna detención en la parte que le pareciere más conveniente. Previniéndole que los bastimentos y caballos que se nos diesen para el sustento de nuestros soldados y gente amiga estamos yo y dicho señor general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos muy prontos a pagarlos y asistir a cuanto fuere del real servicio en estas y aquellas fronteras. Y asimismo mandamos sacar un tanto de dicha orden para que se le despache a dicho general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate para que por ella reconociese lo dispuesto y determinado por el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino don Gabriel del Castillo, como constará de la carta mencionada, su fecha de 8 de junio y para que fuese con seguro y brevedad a manos de dicho general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. Se despachó dicho día con seis soldados de este presidio para que dicho pliego lo entregasen en el pueblo de Santa María Bácerac al reverendo padre rector Horacio Polize de la Compañía de Jesús. Y escribimos a su paternidad que con toda brevedad despache dicho pliego a manos de dicho general don Domingo Jironza por que importaba al servicio de las dos majestades y bien común. Y porque en todo tiempo conste en estos autos de guerra y en donde convenga, lo mandamos proveer y firmamos en dicho día por ante el escribano de guerra de este presidio y de este real de que damos fe: don Domingo Terán, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, Diego López Zambrano, Tomás de la Mora, pasó ante mí—Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, secretario de guerra nombrado.

El 17 días del mes de junio de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde salimos marchando con todo el campo de nuestro cargo. Y habiendo andado como cuatro o cinco leguas, llegamos al aguaje de la Palotada como a las nueve de la noche donde hicimos parar el real así por ser forzoso estar en dicho paraje hasta el otro día y para salir de él sobretarde y caminar de noche para ir a dormir sin agua, por estar lejos el aguaje de San Antonio. Y por no ser vistos por los enemigos, que suelen habitar en las sierras de En Medio, y la de Carretas, las cuales es forzoso ir costeanado y por dar tiempo a que una escuadra de doce soldados, que fueron con el cabo Francisco de Medrano, quienes salieron desde el presidio con orden de que recorriesen y reconociesen los bosques del río de Casas Grandes hasta abajo del Cerro Espía y que si viesen algunos rastros o rancherías se quedasen a una vista y nos dieran aviso con uno o dos soldados. Y que de no ver nada caminasen de noche y reconociesen el aguaje del Ojo del Perro y el del Alamo que es el del Alemán. Y que si viesen que los enemigos estaban en el Peñol de Lagos o la Sierra del Hacha o en alguno de los dichos aguajes que nos diesen aviso

a toda diligencia. Y que de no descubrir rastros ni enemigos, no saliesen el día 19 a topár al aguaje de San Antonio para desde allí determinar lo que pareciere más conveniente.

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En 24 días del mes de junio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en los bosques de Cuchuverachi a la hora que iba saliendo el sol, volvimos a descubrir los rastros de los enemigos que iban para la junta de los ríos, puesto y camino para las fronteras de Teuricache y partido de Huásabas. Y reconociendo que los rastros iban muy frescos, aligeramos el paso yendo siempre para el camino que llevaban. Y habiendo colado más de dos leguas, desde lo alto de una barranca, divisamos a los enemigos que estaban sobre una loma dando alaridos. Y presumiendo tendrían la chusma allí y que la habían despachado para esperarnos ellos y pelear mientras colaba a asegurarse la chusma, que es lo que siempre hacen, para lo cual fuimos sobre ellos. Y habiendo llegado a todo correr les dimos con los arcabuces la primera carga recibiéndonos los enemigos que estaban en lo alto de la loma favorecidos de una barranca empinada.

Y viendo que nos habíamos estrechado entre la barranca y un arroyo hondo, seco, cubierto de monte de mesquite que estaba por la mano izquierda a la parte del oriente y al poniente el bosque del río de mucha espesura donde habíamos entrado sin ver el cerco que nos venían echando, porque éstos que estaban emboscados no dieron alaridos ni se mostraron hasta que nos vieron dentro. Que por los lados flechábamos a su salvo donde lograron herirnos cuatro soldados y a un indio amigo. Y viendo el daño y que no hacían caso de los arcabuces y que se venían a las riendas, mandamos hechar mano a las lanzas y espadines y cerrando con ellos a todo correr los desbaratamos y pusimos en huída. De suerte que en el alcance y en la pelea, en sólo los vistos, quedaron muertos treinta gandules de los más briosos. Y sin embargo de ser la tierra muy fragosa y áspera, de arroyos hondos, bosques y cerros, los seguimos por breñas y malos países más de cuatro leguas, llevándolos siempre desparramados sin que tuvieran lugar de juntarse ni pararse a flechar hasta que todos los caballos, con el mucho calor, se nos asolearon y en el todo se llegaron a parar. Que viendo ellos un mal cerro de mal país y bien alto, se juntaron en lo alto como unos ochenta indios con todos, donde aunque con trabajo, unos a caballo y otros a pie fuimos subiendo y con nosotros hasta treinta indios amigos. Allí se pararon a pelear y llegamos a estrecharnos. De suerte que habiéndoles dado algunas cargas con los arcabuces cayeron de ellos siete u ocho indios muertos, por lo cual se fueron retirando por tan mala tierra que así por la falta de los caballos como por estar nosotros y los soldados y gente amiga bien fatigados no los pudimos seguir, por lo cual nos fuimos retirando a topár el real y la caballada que venían caminando.

Y habiendo topado la caballada que llevábamos de remuda, nos dijeron cuatro soldados que iban en ella que una escuadra de hasta veinte enemigos se les había arrojado y la defendieron y sólo logran herir un soldado. Volvimos viendo los muertos y buscando algunas espadas y trastes que se habían caído en la pelea y todo se halló. Y en la ranchería hallamos dos guerras y una espada, un justacol, una silla, dos adargas, toda ropa conocida de los soldados que han muerto los enemigos. Y asimismo hallamos nueve cabalgaduras, siete caballares y dos mulares, muchos cabrestos y la carne fresca de un toro y algunas cabezas de mescale. Y al

pie de la loma, hallamos una india de nación suma pasada de un balazo que aunque estaba mal herida, por medio de un soldado llamado Cristóbal Granillo, inteligente en la lengua suma, le preguntamos que de qué nación era y dijo que era suma y cristiana, que se llamaba Teresa.

Y habiéndole preguntado que dónde iba con toda aquella gente y dónde tenían la ranchería y chusma. Dijo que la ranchería estaba en la sierra de Chiricahua con todas las mujeres y muchachos y algunos viejos y mocetones. Que ella y otras siete mujeres habían salido con aquellos hombres y que habían caminado tres días. Que iban todos con intención de dar en casa de Salvador Moreno, matar la gente y traerse la caballada y ganados que pudieran. Y que de camino querían dar de emboscada en el pueblo de Huásabas. Que habían dicho que de allí a tres días habían de dar en dichas poblaciones. Y no pudo declarar otra cosa porque la sangre que echaba por la boca la ahogó quedándose muerta. Por lo cual pasamos a cogerle declaración a otro indio que había cogido vivo, sin herida ninguna, un soldado llamado Cristóbal del López. Al cual le preguntamos de qué nación era y en lengua castellana, aunque algo cerrado, dijo que era chinarra, que hacía poco tiempo que se había juntado con los janos.

Y preguntándole que dónde iban y dónde quedaba la chusma, respondió lo mismo que la india Teresa con cuyas razones y por no detenernos marchamos a topar con el real, que los cuales venían en él no sabían donde habían de parar. Y habiéndolo topado como a la una del día, paramos a orillas del río para refrescarnos nosotros y dar algún descanso a la caballada y mulas de carga que de continuo trabajo de las marchas y correrías estaba toda bien fatigada. Allí conferimos que sería bueno y acertado el salir marchando como a las cuatro de la tarde para el aguaje de San Bernardino, que estaba de distancia como seis leguas. Y que llegados a dicho aguaje dejaríamos el real guarnecido y saldríamos con cincuenta soldados, con tres o cuatro caballos cada uno, para ver si podíamos alcanzar a darle a la ranchería donde estaba la chusma antes de que tuvieran aviso y cargaran el aguaje donde estaban, que según dice el indio, es el aguaje que llamamos de los Sinaloas, que está arrimado en la medianía y aspereza de la sierra de Chiricahua que distará poco más o menos de veinte leguas.

Y habiendo mandado arrimar la caballada y cargado las cargas, y todos montados a caballo, salimos marchando como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde con todo el real por angosturas y mala tierra. Y como a la una de la noche llegamos a este aguaje de San Bernardino donde reconocimos que iban rastros por delante de los enemigos a todo correr por el mismo camino que habían traído y que ya tendrían en lo áspero de la sierra asegurada a la chusma y que aunque saliéramos en buenos caballos a todo correr, no era posible alcanzar en toda la noche y lo más de otro día a dar en la ranchería. Y que ya los enemigos estarían incorporados en dicha sierra. Y sin embargo, determinamos salir luego que paró el real. Y habiendo reconocido la caballada estaba toda tan cansada, que no había caballos que poder ensillar y la gente amiga tan destrozada de las marchas y tres días de corrida por las sierra, que sólo en la noche que salimos de Guadalupe en alcance de los indios y llegada a este paraje habían corrido y marchado como diez y ocho leguas, lo imposibilitado de los caballos, el cansancio de los soldados y gente amiga y que la ranchería distaba como diez y seis leguas y que había de ser en balde el ir con poca gente, determinamos hacer noche en este aguaje de San Bernardino para otro día conferir lo que pareciera más conveniente. Y al paraje donde fue la pelea le pusimos por nombre San Juan Bautista, por ser su día en el que conseguimos la victoria y por-

que invocando todos al santo bendito nos favoreció en que ninguno muriese en su día y que de los heridos no peligrará ninguno por su santa intervención. El número de enemigos cuando menos serían muy cerca de doscientos los que se vieron.

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En 29 días del mes de junio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en los Chupaderos de las Lágrimas de San Pedro, a la hora que iba amaneciendo, mandamos arrimar la caballada. Y habiendo ensillado todos los soldados y cargados los bastimentos salimos marchando con manguardia, batallón y retaguardia. Y habiendo andado como una legua, en un mesquital, hallamos un ojo de agua y al pie de él más de cuarenta montones de cenizas divididos y alrededor de cada uno camas de zacate. Y viendo que la rastrería y las cenizas de las lumbres eran muy frescas, preguntamos al indio apresado que cuándo o en cuál tiempo habían estado los enemigos en aquel paraje. Y respondió que allí habían hecho noche, que después iban a dar a las fronteras. De allí proseguimos marchando. Y habiendo andado como tres leguas, descubrimos una fila de rastros muy frescos que iban para una cañada de monte espeso que está en dicha sierra de Chiricahua.

Y habiendo despachado al cabo Francisco de Medrano con unos soldados para que reconociese si habían algunos ranchos, lo cual ejecutó. Y habiendo vuelto, nos dijo que habían algunos ranchos despoblados de poco tiempo y que en uno de ellos hallaron lumbre encendida y que el rastro iba subiendo a la sierra. Y preguntándole al indio apresado de nación chinarra, llamado Pascual, que qué gente había vivido allí, dijo que todas las naciones y que cuando se mudaron adonde estaba la ranchería sólo quedaron dos ranchos de apaches. De ahí proseguimos. Y habiendo marchado como dos leguas por las veredas muy frescas, entrando con nuestro real por la boca de una cañada, oímos gritos y alaridos que nos daban desde los dos altos picachos algunos enemigos por lo cual hicimos parar el real en forma y dejándolo guarnecido, salimos con sesenta soldados y ochenta indios amigos. Y entrando el arroyo adentro por la mano izquierda a la parte del sur, en muy áspera tierra, nos gritaron los enemigos. Allí revolvimos ganando un cerro arrimado a los picachos, donde paramos por no poder manejar los caballos. De allí vimos a los enemigos que en gran número venían saliendo por lo más áspero. Y habiéndoles gritado que bajaran a pelear, se acercaron algunos a distancia de tiro de mosquete. Allí empezaron a hablar en lengua castellana y a decir que no querían pelear sino dar la paz a lo cual les respondimos que allí estábamos para pelear. Que si querían la paz se la admitiríamos en nombre de Dios y del rey, nuestro señor, con tal de que bajasen de la sierra a asentarla. Y dijeron que bajarían al real y la asentarían. Allí les dijimos que teníamos vivo y preso a un indio chinarra y dijeron que lo querían ver. Y habiéndoselo mostrado nos lo pidieron diciendo que si se lo entregábamos nos darían todos los cautivos que tenían en su poder de la nación ópata cristiana. Que viendo estas razones, despachamos al indio con una cruz y antes de que llegara a donde estaban sus compañeros bajó un indio cristiano, llamado Agustín, de nación chinarra, ladino en la lengua castellana, sin armas y se abrazó con el intérprete que teníamos a tiro de pistola, que estaba a pie, el cual era un soldado llamado Cristóbal Granillo, muy inteligente en la lengua suma.

Y habiéndose sentado los dos y empezado a hablar, bajaron los capitanes de las naciones janos, jocomes, sumas, chinarras y mansos, los cuales se sentaron con nosotros y dijeron que querían la paz y no la guerra. Que entregarían a los cautivos



y que les entregásemos las bestias que les quitamos en la pelea el día de San Juan. A lo que le dijimos que se las entregarán los cautivos y bajarán con sus chusmas a nuestro real y que se les guardaría toda la fidelidad que como cumpliesen lo referido. Y que en el todo quedarían ajustadas y asentadas las paces.

Otro día y estando a caballo todos los soldados para bajarnos al real, por ser ya tarde, nos dijeron que enviáramos unos soldados a la ranchería que tenían despoblada. Que allí verían que tenían cruces labradas en el suelo en señal de que querían la paz, que las habían puesto porque se les había aparecido allí un hombre viejo metido en el agua hasta la rodilla y que les había dicho que ya bastaba de guerra que si veían a los españoles, que ya venían cerca, les dieran la paz. Y que así la daban porque tenían mucho miedo al hombre que se les había aparecido porque les había dicho que si no daban la paz se les secarían los agujes y que no llovería y que no tendrían que comer tunas, ni mesquite, ni maguey, ni semillas. Y que antes que este hombre se les apareciera, habían visto dos papeles escritos donde tenían las cruces y que yéndolos a coger se les desaparecían, que por esto tenían mucho miedo y daban la paz de todo corazón. Por cuyas razones despachamos a los cabos Francisco de Medrano y Nicolás de la Higuera con doce soldados para que viesan las cruces. Y habiendo ido y vuelto, nos dijeron que tenían una cruz muy alta y otras tres pequeñas y muy barrido y compuesto a modo de iglesia. De allí nos bajamos al real que estaba como a un cuarto de legua, y con nosotros bajaron el gobernador de los janos y el Tabobo de los jocomes y otros capitanes y mocetones de todas las naciones. Y habiéndoles dado todos los tlatoles que se requieren, quedaron de bajar otro día con toda su gente y cautivos al real. Y habiendo cerrado la noche, dijeron se querían ir a su ranchería y les dimos a todos tabaco, pinole, carne y harina y se despidieron muy contentos quedándose algunos en nuestro real.

En 30 días del mes de junio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en nuestro real a la Boca de la Cañada, donde se hallaban los enemigos y a la cual le pusimos por nombre la Cañada de las Paces de San Pablo, como a horas de las siete de la mañana, llegaron a nuestra presencia tres correos en diferentes veces despachados de los capitanes de las naciones. Los cuales nos dijeron que dichos capitanes los despachaban a decirnos que no podían bajar con toda la gente de sus naciones por estar algo lejos y porque la noche anterior, viendo que se tardaban los capitanes y mozos que bajaron al real, entendiendo que los habíamos muerto, se habían huido las mujeres y los muchachos a lo más áspero de la sierra. Que por andarlos juntando se habían tardado, que por esta razón no podían bajar. Que fuéramos hasta donde tenían las cruces, que allí estaría toda la gente y tendrían a los cautivos y se ajustarían de una vez las paces, por cuyas razones mandamos que se previnieren sesenta soldados y toda la gente amiga para que fueren con nosotros.

Y estando todos a caballo y prevenidos, marchamos la cañada adentro como un cuarto de legua y antes de llegar donde estaban las cruces, como a dos tiros de arcabuz, nos salieron a recibir algunos indios y entre ellos el Tabobo y capitán de los jocomes, el que nos dijo que los esperáramos debajo de unos árboles porque andaban juntando la gente que se había desparramado por los picachos. Y diciéndole que se dieran prisa y que nos avisaran cuando fuera hora, se fue y como a las once del día nos enviaron a decir con un indio chinarra, llamado Agustín, que esperáramos, que todavía no se había juntado la gente, al cual reñimos diciéndole que fuera y les dijera a los capitanes y a toda la gente que para qué andaban con

tantos embustes, que si querían paz como la habían pedido se les daría y que si querían guerra allí estábamos para dársela y pelear con ellos. Y habiéndole dicho otras muchas razones se partió a dar el tlatole y volvió como a las doce del día diciendo que subiéramos, que ya estaba esperando toda la gente.

Y habiendo subido la ceja del arroyo, sobre un loma arrimada a un alto peñol donde había mucho monte y barrancos, vimos muchos ranchos despoblados y fuera de ellos, en un llanete, tres cruces seguidas y detrás de ellas cuatro indios viejos en fila sentados de rodillas y algunos indios entre el monte, todos con sus armas y muchos con hojas de espadas puestas en palos a modo de chuzos y otros en sillas de españoles con arcabuces y espadas. Y habiendo llegado nosotros a las cruces, alabamos al santísimo sacramento y algunos de ellos hicieron lo propio allí.

Preguntamos que qué significaban aquellas cruces y aquellos hombres de rodillas sin armas y los demás con ellos metidos en el monte entre los barrancos, que adónde estaban las mujeres y muchachos cautivos. Y habiendo bajado algunos capitanes, dijeron que tenían miedo las mujeres y muchachos, que no los podían hacer bajar y que, con la huida de aquella noche, se habían desaparecido las más mujeres con los cautivos. Que los juntarían y que a la tarde los tendrían allí y estarían todas sus mujeres y muchachos. Que les llevamos los caballos que les habíamos quitado y alguna carne, harina y tabaco. A lo cual respondimos que andaban con dos mil mentiras que si querían pelear que allí estábamos. Que nosotros les habíamos dado la paz en nombre de Dios y del rey y que no se la habíamos de quebrantar con tal de que cumpliesen todo lo que habían quedado.

Y habiéndoles dado muchas ocasiones para que declarasen su depravada intención, no pudimos conseguir el que bajasen la chusma y los cautivos que tenían metidos en los peñoles donde era menester para vencer los millones de hombres. Y viendo que todos ellos estaban con gran confianza amparados de la mala tierra y que no les podíamos hacer mucho daño, les dijimos que los indios que pedían la paz admitiendo que los capitanes españoles bajarán sin armas con sus mujeres e hijos y no andaban con los embustes ni armados como andaban ellos reconviéndole muchas veces que no les quebrantaríamos la paz que bajarán al real con sus chusmas y cautivos, lo cual no pudimos conseguir con las naciones janos, jcomes y mansos. Los sumas y chinarras dijeron que ellos no tenían ningunos cautivos que a tenerlos los hubieran entregado y que luego bajarían todos a nuestro real. Y viendo todas las referidas razones, les dijimos que a la tarde volveríamos que trataran de tener junta toda la gente, que cuando nos avisaran iríamos luego al instante.

Y como a las dos de la tarde nos despedimos de ellos. Y habiendo llegado a nuestro real, mandamos arrimar la caballada y que todos los soldados remudasen para salir al tiempo que nos avisaran. Y habiéndolo hecho, llegaron muchos hombres y mujeres de la nación suma y entre ellos algunos capitanes de las demás naciones, los cuales dijeron que ya quedaban juntando toda la gente y los cautivos. Y habiéndoles dado de comer y los tlatoles que se requieren, como a las seis de la tarde vinieron algunos correos a decirnos que fuéramos, que ya tenían junta toda la gente. Y por ser tarde y estar en los tlatoles con los capitanes y la gente que habían bajado, les enviamos decir que se recogieran y que descansaran, que bien sabían que era muy tarde. Que por la mañana iríamos y les llevaríamos los caballos y algunas frezadas y pan o carne y pinole. Y si ellos querían venir al real con toda la gente, que lo hicieran, que allí hablaríamos más a gusto y les daríamos

bastimentos y harían sus cambalaches con los soldados y su gente amiga. Que de lo que determinaran nos avisaran muy de mañana. Y con este tlatole despachamos los correos. Y después de puesto el sol, racionamos cincuenta y seis indios de arco y flecha y entre ellos el capitán jano y otros capitanes de las demás naciones. Y con ellos se racionaron cuarenta y ocho mujeres de carne y pinole, las más de la nación suma. Y les dimos tabaco y papel y les dijimos cuanto les podía estar bien el asentar la paz y reducirse a pueblo, que los poblaríamos en los parajes que cada nación señalare y que se les pondrían padres para que los administrasen e instruyesen en nuestra fe. Y con estas y otras muchas razones que les propusimos, se despidieron todos muy contentos quedando de que aquella noche tendrían tlatole todos y que avisarían por la mañana lo que resultare entre los capitanes y demás gentes. Y con estas razones se despidieron y salieron del real como a las nueve de la noche.

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En esta plaza de armas del pueblo y valle de Cocóspera en 16 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, por estar próximos para entrar con el campo de nuestro cargo a tierra de los pimas rebeldes, hemos conferido que para hacer la guerra y entrar en forma de poder conseguir, desde luego, hacerles castigo condigno a sus maldades.

Se ha acertado que desde esta plaza de armas salga una escuadra de cincuenta soldados y alguna gente amiga para que ésta les gane las espaldas a las rancherías y parajes que habitan los enemigos y que el real y caballadas fueran marchando por otro rumbo algo distante unos de otros porque la escuadra, el día que saliere de esta plaza de armas, había de ir a hacer noche a la ranchería de San Cayetano, que es de indios pimas amigos y que distará de esta plaza de armas como catorce leguas. Y que desde dicha ranchería se había de caminar de noche a un aguaje que distará de San Cayetano como nueve leguas. Y que desde dicho aguaje se ha de salir de noche para poder lograr el darse el albazo en la ranchería de Tucubavi, que es la primera de los enemigos por la parte del norte. Y que desde dicha ranchería, a la parte del sur, todo el río abajo de Tubutama, por estar poblado por una y otra parte de rancherías de los enemigos por donde se les ha de ir haciendo la guerra con dicha escuadra hasta llegar al pueblo de Caborca que fue donde mataron al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta, que distará desde la ranchería de Tucubavi como cincuenta leguas. Y que el campo, el primer día que saliere de esta plaza de armas ha de marchar hasta la estancia de este puesto para allí hacer noche, que distará como tres leguas. Y desde dicha estancia, se ha de ir otro día al pueblo de San Joseph de Imuris, que distará como siete leguas. Y desde dicho pueblo, se ha de marchar otro día por tierra que habitan los enemigos hasta la ranchería de la Magdalena, que distará como seis leguas. Y otro día, se ha de marchar hasta la ranchería del Tupu, que dista como seis leguas. Y desde allí, se ha de marchar otro día hasta el pueblo de Tubutama, que distará como doce leguas, pueblo y paraje nos hemos de incorporar los del real y la escuadra referida. Y el real, desde que llegué al pueblo de San Joseph, ha de llevar por delante escuadra de soldados y gente amiga para ir reconociendo los pueblos y rancherías de San Ignacio, la Magdalena, el Tupu, Toozona, Bosane y Tubutama, por haber noticias que los enemigos las habitan por quedar sus milpas y comer pitayas.

Y habiéndole preguntado al teniente Antonio de Solís, que qué distancia habría desde los parajes por donde ha de ir la escuadra referida hasta los referidos por

donde ha de ir marchando el real, dijo que habría como treinta y cinco leguas de travesía de unos a otros parajes. Sin embargo de ser mucha la distancia, convenimos todos en que para conseguir el hacer algún castigo en los rebeldes sería bien que en esta forma se haga la entrada en busca de los enemigos. Y para mayor seguridad juntamos todas las justicias, gobernadores, capitanes y topiles de los pueblos y rancherías de los pacíficos y cristianos pimas, a los cuales les dijimos por medio de los intérpretes Francisco de Acuña y Agustín, indio de nación suma, el uno y otro muy inteligentes en lengua pima, que habiendo el rey, nuestro señor, tenido noticias que algunos de sus parientes, los pimas, habían muerto en el pueblo de Caborca al padre que los estaba administrando con orden de su majestad, por haber ellos pedido a dicho padre y su majestad haberlo dado a pedimento de los pimas para bien de sus almas. Y que sabiendo la muerte que habían ejecutado y el haber hecho pedazos las imágenes de Cristo Señor Nuestro y de su Madre Santísima y otros santos, los ornamentos y vasos sagrados. Que el rey nuestro señor había sentido mucho la maldad que habían hecho y que para castigar los rebeldes motores y cabezas principales nos despachaba su majestad con las armas españolas y gente amiga que traíamos. Que pues ellos eran cristianos y estaban en nuestra amistad y bien veían la razón y castigar los rebeldes. Y que así juntasen su gente para que fuesen con nosotros a hacer la guerra. Que ellos, sus mujeres e hijos, pueblos y sementeras estaban muy seguros. Que la intención de su majestad y nuestra no es de hacer agravios a los que no tienen delito. Que antes nos envía a amparar los buenos y castigar a los malos. Que así ellos como gobernadores y leales vasallos habían de cooperar y hacer de su parte porque se castigasen los rebeldes proponiéndoles que si los alzados entregaban las principales cabezas, para que a vista de los pimas buenos los castigásemos a los malos. Que de entregarnos dichas cabezas motores de la muerte del padre y alzamiento en nombre de su majestad, que Dios Nuestro Señor guarde, se les perdonaría a todos los demás el delito que tenían de haberse *aunado* con dichas cabezas. Y que de no hacerlo así, se les haría a todos la guerra a fuego y sangre. Y que así fuesen todos advertidos por si algunos de los rebeldes hubieren bajado a sus rancherías, o por si los toparan en el camino.

Y con esta y otras muchas razones que les dimos tocantes a lo que les estaría muy bien en dichas cabezas. Porque de no hacerlo con tiempo, si esperaban a que se ensangrentara la guerra, les talaríamos las milpas y morirían chicos y grandes a fuerza de las armas y del hambre. A lo que propusieron que todo de su parte harían por verlos y darles este tlatole. Y que con lo que respondieron avisarían que de no entregar las cabezas, ellos acudirían a hacer la guerra hasta acabarlos. Y esto se les propuso por ser forzoso despachar por delante a los gobernadores y capitanes de las rancherías del valle de Guevavi y San Cayetano y otras rancherías para que juntasen toda la gente que pudieran de arco y flecha para que fuesen en nuestra compañía. Y quedaron de ir con toda brevedad a juntar toda la gente de su séquito y rancherías. Y que con la que hallara esperarían en el pueblo de San Cayetano. Y habiéndoles dado pinole, carne y tabaco, se despidieron de nosotros como a las nueve de la mañana, yendo todos muy gustosos.

Y porque es forzoso reconocer las armas ofensivas y defensivas que hay en este campo, así de soldados españoles como de gente indiana amiga, para lo que dimos orden a todos los oficiales que para mañana, que se contaran 17 del corriente mes, previnieran a todos los soldados y vecinos para que pasasen muestra en forma. Y que al romper el día mandasen arrimar las caballadas, porque dicha muestra debía

de pasar a caballo. Y asimismo, que previniesen a todos los gobernadores y capitanes de la guerra de las naciones conchos, pimas y ópatas, juntasen la demás gente para que pasaran muestra y reconocer los indios que hay amigos de arco y flecha para llevar a la campaña.

Y en este instante, que se estaba dando esta orden, llegaron a nuestra presencia los gobernadores pimas del pueblo de Cocóspera, el de Santa María, el de la nación sobaipuris, los capitanes Juan María Salvatierra, el Taravilla llamado Santo Domingo Jironza y otros muchos, quienes nos dijeron estaban prontos con su gente para venir a pasar muestra e ir con nosotros a la campaña. Que ellos eran cristianos y amigos nuestros, y que habían sentido mucho la muerte que habían dado sus parientes al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta. Y habiéndoles respondido que nos alegrábamos mucho de ver que procuraban estar quietos en sus pueblos con sus mujeres e hijos. Que como ellos nos ayudaran en esta campaña sabríamos ayudarles en cuanto se les pudiera ofrecer. Y que estimábamos mucho su amistad. Y respondieron que si sus parientes habían sido locos, que ellos no lo querían ser. Y habiéndoles dado los tlatoles que se requieren en tales casos, se despidieron todos muy gustosos.

En esta plaza de armas del pueblo y valle de Cocóspera de la nación pima en 17 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, Juan Fernández de la Fuente en este pueblo y plaza de armas, en virtud del auto antecedente, por nosotros proveído, como a horas de las seis de la mañana, se arrimaron a este real las caballadas. Y estando montados a caballo todos los oficiales y soldados de las unas y otras compañías, mandamos se pusieran en diferentes filas. Divididos los unos de los otros para que por la vista de cada compañía se fuesen llamando a pasar muestra a cada uno de por sí. Y todos los oficiales y soldados que hay en este campo pasaron muestra en la forma y manera siguiente y son como se siguen:

El teniente Francisco de Medrano pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.

El sargento Diego López Zambrano pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

El cabo de escuadra Diego Ortiz pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

El cabo de escuadra Silvestre Pacheco pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

Bartolomé de Arriego pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Bernardo de la Parra pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.

Francisco de Gracia pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Cristóbal Fontes pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Cristóbal Márquez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Cristóbal de Chávez pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

Carlos Martín Barba se fue herido de la pelea del día de San Juan a curar al presidio de Janos.

Fernando de Borja pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Cristóbal Granillo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Cristóbal López pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

Campaign Against the Pimas

Esteban Varela pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco Gómez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco Hurtado pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco de Salazar pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas y terno de caballo.

Francisco Madrid pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco Pacheco pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Felipe Romero pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco de Valencia pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.  
Joseph Ramos pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Joseph López Holguín pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Juan Pérez de Carmona pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Miguel de Cáceres pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Nicolás Muñoz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Sebastián de Hinojosa pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Esteban de Morales pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Simón López Zambrano pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Tomás Alvarez de Soto pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco Grijalva pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Joseph Romero pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Juan de Medrano pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco de Ochoa pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Francisco Téllez pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio Belasinerio pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Y en esta forma pasaron todos los oficiales y soldados referidos que son de la compañía y cargo del general Juan Fernández de la Fuente.

Y prosiguen los oficiales y soldados de la compañía del cargo del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y son como se siguen:

El alférez actual Santiago Pérez Villegas pasó muestra con todas armas.  
El sargento Tomás de la Mora quedó enfermo en el presidio de Janos.  
El sargento Domingo de Grajeda pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Joseph de Soto pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Bernabé Saenz pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Francisco Rodríguez pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Ignacio Díaz Marroquín pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio de Villareal pasó muestra con todas armas.  
El cabo de escuadra Manuel de la Riva pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Francisco de Algarate pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Pascual Morcillo pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio Contreras pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Joseph Hurtado pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Cristóbal Díaz pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Nicolás Quijas pasó muestra con todas armas.  
El cabo de escuadra Joseph de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Nicolás Gómez pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Ignacio de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio Núñez pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Marcos González pasó muestra con todas armas.

Diego de Astorga pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Xavier de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Joseph de Insaurraga pasó muestra con todas armas.  
El cabo de escuadra Miguel Zambrano pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Matías Navarro pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio Rodelo pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Marcos Delgado pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Nicolás Tarango pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Joseph Delgado pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Bernardo Cobos pasó muestra con todas armas.  
El cabo de escuadra Joseph de Porras pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio de Soto pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Antonio Portillo quedó enfermo en el presidio de Janos.  
Miguel Sapín pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Juan de Santiago pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Nicolás Holguín pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Francisco de Herrera fue herido al presidio de Janos a curarse.  
Lázaro Martín pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Cristóbal de Sepúlveda pasó muestra con todas armas.  
Juan de Sebreros quedó enfermo en el presidio de Janos.

Y en esta forma pasaron muestra todos los oficiales y soldados de la compañía del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos.

Y prosiguen los oficiales y soldados de la compañía del cargo del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y los vecinos. Y son como se siguen:

Antonio de Solís, teniente actual de la compañía volante de la provincia, va de Sonora con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.

El alférez Francisco de Acuña pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.

El sargento Cristóbal de Vargas pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

El ayudante Juan de la Riva pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

El cabo de escuadra Ignacio de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

El cabo de escuadra Juan Mazo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan de Escalante pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan de Arvizu pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Francisco Pacho pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Joseph López pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan de Moraga pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Pascual del Castillo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan Mateo Ramírez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Tomás García pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Antonio Gamboa pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan de Montoya pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan Sánchez pasó muestra con todas menos terno.

Juan Germán pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Pedro de León pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Antonio de Acuña pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Agustín Cadimo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Antonio de Santa Cruz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

## Campaign Against the Pimas

Lázaro de Moraga pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Cristóbal de León pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Xavier de Barcelona pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Miguel de la Cruz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Pedro de la Cruz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Hernando de la Cruz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Ignacio de Buelme pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Antonio Núñez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Miguel Hernández pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Baltazar Trujillo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Antonio Chamorro pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Nicolás Marín pasó muestra con todas armas ofensivas y defensivas.  
Luis de Valencia pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Francisco Pérez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Diego Milán pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Pedro B. pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Alejo Martín pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Bartolomé Barrios pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Roque Jacinto pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Domingo Tisnado pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Juan de Santa Cruz pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Joseph de Rentería pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Joseph Hurtado pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Andrés Mejía pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.  
Ignacio Carmelo pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

En esta forma se pasó la muestra de los oficiales y soldados y vecinos de la compañía de la provincia de Sonora del cargo del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate.

Y prosiguen los oficiales y soldados de la compañía del presidio de Sinaloa del cargo del general don Manuel Agramonte y Arce y son como se siguen:

El cabo y caudillo Nicolás de la Higuera pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Domingo Verdugo, cabo de escuadra, pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Antonio López, cabo de escuadra, pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Manuel Alvarez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Joseph de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Joseph de Elizalde pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Nicolás de Armenta pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Nicolás de Urías pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Miguel de Soto pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan de Acosta pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Nicolás de Urías pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Santiago de Soto pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Ignacio de Armenta pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Juan Rodríguez pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Alonso de la Serna pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Tomás de Aro pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Diego Mejía pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.



Miguel Coronado pasó muestra con todas armas menos terno.

Francisco González quedó enfermo.

Joseph de Acuña quedó enfermo.

Lázaro Milán quedó en Teuricache con la caballada.

Y en esta forma se pasó la muestra referida de los oficiales y soldados del presidio de Sinaloa y todos los referidos oficiales y soldados de todas las compañías pasaron en la forma y manera siguiente prevenidos de municiones y caballos suficientes para asistir en la guerra, el tiempo que fuera necesario. Y se prosigue con la muestra de la gente indiana amiga.

El gobernador de los conchos, Juan Corma, pasó muestra con treinta indios de su nación de arco y flecha.

El gobernador y capitán de la guerra Juan María Salvatierra del pueblo de Cocóspera de nación pima pasó muestra con diez indios de su nación de dicho pueblo.

Juan Eusebio, gobernador del pueblo de Santa María de nación pima, pasó muestra con doce indios de su pueblo de arco y flecha.

El gobernador de la nación sobaipuris llamado el Cara Gentil, pasó muestra con diez indios de su nación de arco y flecha.

El capitán don Domingo Jironza pasó muestra con ocho indios de arco y flecha de su ranchería de la nación pima.

El capitán de la guerra Pedro Banico del pueblo de los curis pasó muestra con doce indios de arco y flecha.

El capitán de la guerra Isidro Sauri de nación ópata, pasó muestra con ocho indios de arco y flecha del pueblo de Arizpe.

El capitán de la guerra Juan de María pasó muestra con once indios de nación ópata de los pueblos de Banámichi, Aconchi, Huepac y Sinoquipe.

Y los gobernadores y capitanes del valle de Guevavi y los del pueblo de San Cayetano de nación pima pasaron a sus pueblos y rancherías a juntar la gente de su séquito quedando de tener juntos cuantos indios pudieran de arco y flecha para salir con ellos al camino para ir en nuestra ayuda y compañía. Y en esta forma se concluyó la muestra de la gente indiana amiga.

En esta plaza de armas del pueblo y valle de Cocóspera de la nación pima en 18 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, unánimes y conformes, conferimos sobre la disposición que estaba determinada para la entrada a tierra de los enemigos, como consta de auto antecedente al de muestras que aunque estaba determinado por nosotros, dichos generales, salir desde esta plaza de armas por diferentes rumbos, el real y escuadras. Hemos reconocido será mucha distancia las marchas de la escuadra y el real y que de suceder algún contratiempo en el real o la escuadra, no se puede socorrer el uno al otro por ser mucha la atravesía y delante de ser áspera tierra, ser toda habitable de enemigos.

Y mirando a que en más tiempo de doce días, no se podían incorporar las unas y otras armas ni tener noticias unos de otros, hasta habernos incorporado con buenos o malos sucesos. Que mirando nosotros a que un campo tan cruzado no se malogra por ir divididas las fuerzas a largas distancias, no pudiendo unos a otros socorrerse en ocasión precisa. Y por haber nosotros, dichos generales, tenido noticias muy ciertas por los indios amigos y otras muchas personas, así de palabra como por escrito, de que el mayor número de los enemigos se hallan en las ranche-

rías de la Magdalena, la del Tupo, Toozona, Bosane y adelante del pueblo de Caborca, por cuyas razones nos ha parecido ser muy acertado el que todo el campo salga junto marchando desde esta plaza de armas. Y que desde las estancias de este pueblo se adelanten ochenta soldados de todas las compañías con la más gente amiga que se pueda, caminando de noche para ver si se puede lograr algún albazo en los enemigos que habitan en dichos pueblos y rancherías. Y en todo se irá obrando conforme lo fuere pidiendo la ocasión.

En esta plaza de armas del pueblo y valle de Cocóspera en 19 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando juntos nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, don Domingo Jironza y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, conferimos el que se avisasen a todos los oficiales, soldados y gente amiga, que hay en este real, que todos se previniesen y estén prontos con sus armas, caballos y bastimentos para mañana que se contarán 20 del corriente mes, salir a campaña y tierra de los enemigos. Y todos los que han de estar prontos y prevenidos son los que consta de las muestras. Y asimismo mandamos que se apartarán todos los caballos cojos y mancos y maltratados para que se quedaran en este valle. Y que al pueblo y casa del padre se llevasen todas las cargas que pudieran servir de embarazo. Y para guardia de lo uno y otro, mandamos se quedaran doce soldados de la compañía de dicho general, don Domingo Jironza.

Y como a horas de las siete de la mañana de este dicho día, se arrimaron las caballadas a este real y se apartaron todos los caballos que no podían servir y se pasaron al pueblo algunas cargas que podían servir de embarazo para las marchas del real.

En la plaza de armas y pueblo y valle de Cocóspera de la nación pima en 20 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, como a horas de las seis de la mañana dimos orden para que se arrimasen las caballadas al real. Y habiéndolo ejecutado, oímos misa que la dijo el reverendo padre Eusebio Francisco Kino. Y habiendo cargado los bastimentos y todos montados a caballo salimos marchando el río abajo. Y habiendo caminado poco más de dos leguas, nos fue forzoso parar con el real en la estancia de dicho pueblo por apartar ochenta reses de ganado vacuno, que dan los reverendos padres de la Compañía de Jesús para el gasto de esta campaña y por no haber paraje a propósito más adelante. Y habiendo parado toda la gente del campo, se levantó una gran tempestad de agua, truenos y rayos y uno de los que cayeron mató un soldado y al caballo en que iba sin hacerle herida al uno ni al otro. Y como dos horas antes se habían apartado y despedido de nosotros, el general don Domingo Jironza y dicho padre Eusebio Francisco Kino para irse al pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

En 21 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, estando en la estancia del pueblo de Cocóspera, como a horas de las cinco de la mañana, mandamos arriar las caballadas para seguir la marcha hasta el pueblo de San Joseph de Imuris. Y habiendo despachado el ganado mayor por delante con una escuadra de soldados, oímos misa que la dijo el reverendo padre Agustín de Campos, de la Compañía de Jesús, capellán que llevamos en este real. Y se cargaron las cargas de bastimentos. Y montados a caballo todos los soldados de nuestro cargo salimos marchando en forma. Y habiendo caminado como seis leguas, llegamos al pueblo de San Joseph de Imuris donde hallamos quemada la iglesia y casa del padre y los

jacales de los indios y hallamos muertas algunas cabezas de ganado mayor y menor. Y sólo las mataron los enemigos por hacer daño y no llevarse la carne, porque se conoció están enteras. Y habiendo pasado un cuarto de legua más adelante en la junta de los ríos que están a la vista de dicho pueblo y por ser, como a horas de las tres de la tarde, mandamos parar el real en la junta de dicho río encima de una loma donde nosotros, dichos generales, conferimos que sería acertado que a las seis de la tarde de este dicho día, salieran sesenta soldados de todas las compañías, interpelados los unos con los otros a caballo ensillado y caballo de diestro y cincuenta indios amigos de naciones pima, ópata y conchos. Y que todos fuesen a orden de dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, caminando de noche para reconocer si en el pueblo de San Ignacio, que dista de este paraje como tres leguas, hay alguna gente de los amigos pimas o enemigos. Y que de haber reconocido dicho pueblo y no haber en él gente alguna se pasase tres leguas más adelante para que antes que amanezca reconozca el pueblo de la Magdalena, donde hay noticias se hallan algunos enemigos rancheados en dicho pueblo, así por cuidar sus milpas como por comer pitaya. Que de dar en dicho paraje con ellos se obre conforme la ocasión lo pidiere. Y habiendo dispuesto en esta forma la escuadra referida, determinamos asimismo que dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, se quedase con la demás gente española e indiana y el real estandarte, bastimentos y caballadas por lo que se puede ofrecer para salir de este paraje con todo lo referido. Mañana que se contarán 22 del corriente, llevando la misma marcha y rumbo que lleva dicha escuadra para incorporarnos los unos y los otros en dichos pueblos de San Ignacio o la Magdalena o donde más convenga.

En 22 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, como a horas de las doce del día, nos incorporamos en este pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de la nación pima, donde habiendo visto, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, el pueblo de San Ignacio, como a horas de las ocho de la noche del día antes, quien habiendo visto quemada la iglesia y casa y los jacales y casas de los indios todas quemadas y el trigo que estaba desgranado, derramado por el campo. Y por no haber hallado gente ninguna en dicho pueblo ni rastro de amigos ni enemigos, siguió la marcha y a las horas que iba rompiendo el día, se reconoció este pueblo de la Magdalena. Y habiendo visto quemadas las casas del pueblo y la iglesia, no hallando indios amigos ni enemigos en todo este contorno, se dividieron diferentes escuadras con orden que dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, les dio a los cabos para que por un lado y otro del río fuesen reconociendo los bosques del río abajo, por ver si algunos topaban con algunos enemigos rancheados en dichos bosques por estar muy cercana a los árboles que dan las pitayas. Y habiendo registrado por uno y otro lado más de dos leguas, no se pudo descubrir indio ninguno ni más rastros viejos ni nuevos. Que fue uno que iba por el camino de una persona descalza que al parecer sería del día antes. Y habiéndolo seguido, se vio que llevaba la derecha del camino del Tupu, pueblo de los enemigos que dista de éste como seis leguas.

Y por esperar el real que venía marchando, yo, dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, mandé tocar a recoger. Y habiéndonos juntado todos los soldados y gente amiga, me retiré a este pueblo donde llegué, como a las once del día y como a dicha hora de las doce, llegó dicho general don Domingo Terán con todo el tren del real, quien también vino viendo todo lo referido. Y por parecernos que en el pueblo del Tupu podrá haber alguna gente de los enemigos, por tener milpas de

maíz y muchas pitayas que comer conferimos y determinamos de que sí dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, saliera con sesenta soldados de todas las compañías que hay en este campo para ir a reconocer dicho pueblo caminando esta tarde y parte de la noche, hasta llegar cerca de dicho pueblo y hacer hora a que amaneciera el día 23 para echar espías y ver si había gente o no. Y obraren todo conforme la ocasión lo pidiere. Y para poder conseguir dicha diligencia salió de este real, dicho general, don Domingo Terán, con los sesenta soldados y un indio de nación pima, llamado Cristóbal, para que sirviese de intérprete. Y llevando cada soldado un caballo de diestro y otro ensillado para dicha marcha, yo, dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, salí de este real con dicha escuadra como a las cinco de la tarde.

En 23 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, no habiendo tenido noticia del general don Domingo Terán, como a horas de las cinco de la mañana, mandé arrimar las caballadas al real. Y habiendo cargado los bastimentos y montados a caballo todos los soldados, di orden que el ganado mayor y gente amiga indiana saliera marchando por delante por el camino del pueblo del Tupo sobre el rastro que había llevado la escuadra que el día antes había salido a cargo del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos. Y estando todo el tren del real en vía de poder marchar, como a las seis de la mañana, salí del pueblo de Santa María Magdalena. Y habiendo andado como tres leguas, al tiempo que la manguardia iba alcanzando la gente amiga y ganado mayor aún a vista de los jacales del pueblo del Tupo, nos fueron saliendo dos soldados de los que habían ido con dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, el uno llamado Simón López Zambrano y el otro Joseph Delgado, quienes me dijeron que los despachaba el general, don Domingo Terán, a darme razón de como había echado espías a dicho pueblo del Tupo, quienes se habían vuelto y dicho que en las casas y milpas no había gente ni habían podido ver lumbres. Que esta diligencia la había mandado hacer de noche. Que por esta razón, había proseguido más adelante como media legua desde donde había parado y despachado algunos soldados para que registrasen la Ciénaga de la Matanza, que dista de dicho pueblo, como una legua. Y que habiéndola reconocido y vuelto, dichos soldados habían dicho que no habían podido descubrir indios enemigos ni lumbres. Que siendo esto al cuarto de alba, había proseguido marchando para dicha ciénaga, donde habían dado vista, como una hora después de haber salido el sol. Y que desde la ceja que hace el monte habían visto un indio enemigo que iba montado en un caballo y estirando otro para la ceja que hace en el monte a la parte del poniente y corriendo los soldados tras de él, largó el caballo que llevaba de diestro y en el otro dio a huir. Yéndolo corriendo divisaron otros dos indios que iban a pie, a los cuales siguieron algunos soldados que por no haber remudado no pudieron coger, si no es el uno que yéndolo alcanzando un soldado rindió las armas y sin hacerle daño lo había cogido. Vino el cabo de escuadra Silvestre Pacheco y siguiendo otro soldado al otro indio yéndolo alcanzando por no querer rendirse, le había tirado un arcabuzazo y por el indio haber ganado unas peñas, tuvo tiempo de flechar y herir el caballo. De suerte que aunque llegó, dicho general, don Domingo Terán y los soldados no pudieron conseguir coger ni matar al indio, porque ganó lo áspero de una sierra que estaba inmediata. Y que el de a caballo iba por todo el camino que va a la ranchería del Bosane. Y que habiéndole preguntado al indio apresado, que dónde estaban los enemigos, había respondido que estaban repartidos en diferentes para-

jes. Que no estaban juntos todos los pueblos que se habían alzado, sino divididos en parcialidades. Y que por haber dado razón de que una ranchería estaba en buena tierra adelante de la del Bosane, que distaría de este paraje, como seis a siete leguas y que por ver si podría llegar a dicha ranchería antes que tuviesen aviso, iba sobre ella llevando por guía al indio apresado, que yo, dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, parase con el real en esta ciénaga y de lo que se pudiera ofrecer me daría segundo aviso dicho general don Domingo Terán. Que por esta razón, no salió como intenté salir con veinte soldados, alguna caballada y gente amiga, luego que dichos soldados me dijeron que dicho general, don Domingo Terán, iba en el alcance y seguimiento de la ranchería, temiendo nos sucediera algún contratiempo. Y habiéndome dicho los dos soldados lo referido, por no errar a dicho general y dejar el campo a tan larga distancia, determiné esperar segundo aviso de dicho general, para según la noticia que me diese, estar pronto para ir a la parte que me señalare. Y habiendo parado el real en esta ciénaga, como a las diez del día, envié al cabo Francisco de Medrano y algunos soldados para que reconociesen donde estaban rancheados los enemigos.

Y habiendo ido y vuelto muy breve, me dijo que a la orilla del monte junto al camino arrimado a esta ciénaga, había visto dos lumbres bien grandes y alrededor de ellas como siete u ocho camas, unas de zacate y otras de petates. Y habiéndole dicho a los dos soldados que, cómo habiendo tantas camas no habían divisado más que los tres indios referidos. Dijeron que no habían visto otros, pero que habían conocido por las camas y por haber hallado seis caballos. Y que para todos había lomillos, hechos para todos los caballos que vieron y que ellos no habían visto ni oído decir al indio apresado cuantos iban con él. Que al que ganó la sierra, lo llamaba por medio del intérprete dicho general, don Domingo Terán, diciéndole que bajara, que no le hacía mal ninguno. Y que aunque le había dicho muchas razones nunca quiso responder ni bajar. Que viendo su terquedad le habían tirado algunos arcabuzazos y el indio había tirado algunas flechas, yéndose retirado a lo más alto, por donde no lo habían podido seguir por lo áspero de la tierra.

Y estando yo, dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en esta ciénaga parado con todo el real, como a horas a las doce del día, llegó un indio pima, quien me dio una carta de letra y firma del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, su fecha en el pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y 22 del corriente. Y en ella me dice: "estando escribiendo ésta, me llegó noticia que los enemigos del poniente se llevaban del pueblo de Cucurpe, una manada de yeguas y que de su pueblo se llevaban algunos caballos y habían flechado cinco mulas y sería fácil por los rastros ver a la ranchería que las llevaban. Que por estar esperando alguna mala o buena noticia del general don Domingo Terán, no determiné cruzar la tierra hasta dar con el rastro de dicha caballada."

Y como a las tres de la tarde, llegó a este real el gobernador y capitán general de la nación yaquí, llamado Juan Andrés, quien me dio una carta del general, don Domingo Jironza, su fecha Dolores y julio 22 y en ella nos dice a mí y a dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, que despacha con dicho Juan Andrés, cincuenta y ocho indios de arco y flecha de dicha nación. Que luego que lleguen a este campo despachemos a dicho capitán, Juan Andrés, porque hace mucha falta en los pueblos de una nación tan dilatada. Y habiéndole preguntando a dicho Juan Andrés, que cuándo llegarían los indios que traía, me respondió, que por mañana estarían en este real, que él se había adelantado por venir a caballo y traer guía. Que la

gente venía más destropeada por haber caminado más de ciento treinta leguas. Y habiéndole dado chocolate y mandado parar en este real, le dije que esperaría su gente y que en el ínterin que él llegaba, tendríamos razón de lo que podría haber sucedido a dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, que para que llevase razón de todo al general don Domingo Jironza, se había de esperar en este real. Y por ser más de las doce de la noche y no haber tenido ningún auto del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, yo, dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, lo puse por diligencia. Mandé y firmé por ante el secretario de guerra y dos testigos de que doy fe.

En 24 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en esta Ciénaga de la Matanza, pasado con todo el real de mi cargo, por ser más de las siete de la mañana y no haber tenido razón ni aviso ninguno del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y hallarme con bastante cuidado de que haya sucedido algún contratiempo y que haya sido algún engaño del indio apresado en que siga metido en algún empeño a larga distancia a dicho general y demás soldados que le acompañan. Causa de que no haya podido darme aviso por no arriesgar pocos soldados. Por lo que dimos orden a los tenientes Antonio de Solís y Francisco Medrano para que saliesen con veinte soldados de unas y otras compañías y llevasen caballo ensillado y caballo de diestro y que por el rastro que dejaba la caballada de la escuadra caminasen hasta llegar a la ranchería del Bosane y que allí reconocieran por donde iba la marcha de la escuadra del cargo de dicho general, don Domingo Terán, que de verse destraviaba para el Tubutama o dicha parte distante se volviesen a este real con toda brevedad por si por otra parte llegara algún aviso de pedir socorro o llamar el real. Y que si en el camino topaban algún correo que viniese a pedir socorro, que pasasen dichos tenientes a darlo. Y que con dos soldados me avisasen para obrar según la razón que me diera por dicho general, don Domingo Terán. Y que en todo obrasen dichos tenientes conforme la ocasión se les ofreciera y tuviesen presente que el no salir yo en persona con dicha escuadra o ir caminando con todo el real, ha sido por errarnos los unos a los otros y que de ello se siga alguna ruina o dilación en que se deje de lograr algún buen suceso. Por lo que me es forzoso no levantar el real hasta tener razón para hacer lo de dicho general, don Domingo Terán.

Y habiendo salido dichos tenientes y soldados de este real, como a las ocho de la mañana, como a las ocho y media hora llegaron a este real los cincuenta y ocho indios de nación yaqui, quienes vinieron a saludarme. Y habiéndolos saludado con todo amor, les mandé se rancheasen donde estaba parado su capitán general. Y a este tiempo llegaron todos los gobernadores y capitanes amigos de la nación pima y conchos y me dijeron que estaban muy tristes, porque veían que se tardaban en venir dicho general, don Domingo Terán y los soldados, que quizás el indio apresado los habría engañado o se les habría huido. A lo que les respondí que podría ser, pero que no tuviesen cuidado que hasta la noche no tardaban en venir a dar aviso y con estas y otras muchas razones que les dije, para que no se desanimasen.

Se despidieron muy contentos y como a horas de las dos de la tarde, llegaron a este real los tenientes Antonio Solís, Francisco de Medrano y demás soldados que con ellos habían ido y me dijeron que habían ido sobre el rastro que llevaba la caballada de la escuadra del general don Domingo Terán y que vieron que nunca iban por camino derecho a ninguna ranchería porque llegaron a la del Bosane. Y como una legua más acá, por unas lomas y un mesquital espeso, iba el rastro de la

escuadra de dicho general sin haber llegado a la ranchería. Que yendo sobre el rastro, vieron que iba dando muchas vueltas enderezando hacia el pueblo de Tubutama, que dista de este paraje, como diez a once leguas. Que por parecerles que el indio apresado los andaba engañando y que ya pudieran estar de vuelta en este real. Por no errarlos y hacer falta para lo que se pudiera ofrecer, se habían vuelto a darme esta razón. Que no sabían fijamente en la parte donde podrían hallarse dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y demás soldados. Y que viniendo para este real, hallaron el caballo de un soldado llamado Tomás Alvarez, que fue el que hirió el indio el día antes y habiéndolo traído a este real ya moribundo del flechazo, lo mandé curar y echar a la caballada. Y como a las doce de la noche, llegaron a este real cinco soldados y vecinos de los que habían ido con el general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, quienes me dijeron que dicho general los despachaba para que me dijese que en el pueblo de Tubutama estaba parado con la gente de la escuadra de su cargo esperando a que yo fuese con todo el real para que nos incorporásemos en dicho pueblo respecto a que el día 23, como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde, dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y soldados en los bosques del río de este pueblo habían dado con una ranchería de los enemigos, a quienes le hablaron por medio de un indio llamado Cristóbal, quien venía con dicho general para servir de intérprete. Y asimismo por medio del indio apresado llamado Xavier, que se les había dicho no peleasen ni cogieran las armas para los españoles, que no se les venía a hacer guerra a los que no eran culpados en la muerte del padre Francisco Xavier Saeta ni a los que no habían sido causa del alzamiento, que sólo se venía a castigar a las cabezas principales motores de dicha muerte y sublevación del alzamiento. Que si entregando dichas cabezas en nombre del rey nuestro señor se perdonaría a todos los demás. Y que a ninguna de estas razones habían querido responder, antes sí con gran furia empezaron a flechar a dichos intérpretes y demás soldados desde la espesura del bosque, obligándoles a que se retirasen a mejorarse de terreno, yéndolos sacando por engaños. Y dichos enemigos con bravo orgullo y sobrados habitantes venían jaleando a los soldados hasta que viéndolos en paraje donde se pudieran manejar los caballos, revolvieron sobre ellos con las lanzas y espadines. De suerte que en breve tiempo consiguieron los soldados matar once indios de los más esforzados y que los demás se habían puesto en huída por la espesura de los bosques. Y aunque entraron los soldados y dicho general, don Domingo Terán, en la ranchería por ser tan fragosa no pudieron conseguir apresar sino es cuatro indios y dos muchachos y dos niñas de pecho. Y que habían hallado algunos pedazos de diferentes ornamentos y dos corporales todos maltratados sino es un cingulo que estaba nuevo. Que habían sacado algunas yeguas y caballos en que actualmente estaban los enemigos cargando sus trastes para mudarse, respecto a que habían tenido aviso por los indios que se habían escapado en la ciénega. Y que todo lo referido había sucedido el día 23 del corriente y que dicho día 24 el general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, había despachado una escuadra de veinte soldados a reconocer los cuerpos muertos. Y que vieses si hallan en la ranchería o en los bosques, algunas alhajas de las iglesias u otras cualesquiera pertenecientes a las misiones. Y que yendo con esta orden, dicha escuadra al llegar a la ranchería les había salido otra tropa de enemigos, dando alaridos y tirando flechazos. De suerte que los soldados enderezaron con ellos y lograron matar cuatro indios y los demás, puestos en fuga no les pudieron dar al-

cance, por cuya función se retiraron los soldados del real sin tener en unas y otras peleas más pérdida, que la de dos soldados heridos sin riesgo de la vida y seis caballos que de las heridas habían muerto dos. Que a los enemigos les habían quitado como treinta bestias. Y diciéndome los soldados que se habían de volver de mañana por llevar algún bastimento para dicho general, don Domingo Terán y los soldados, a lo cual le dije que volvieran a la hora que les pareciese y que de mi parte diesen el parabién del buen suceso al general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y dijesen que para mediodía del día 25 del corriente estarían con todo el real en compañía de su merced.

En la Ciénaga de la Matanza en 25 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con el real y gente de mi cargo, como a horas de las cuatro de la mañana, di orden para que se arrimasen las caballadas a dicho real. Y habiendo oído misa, se cargaron los bastimentos y habiendo montado todos los soldados a caballo, salimos marchando por el camino real. Y como a horas de las dos de la tarde, llegamos al pueblo de San Pedro Tubutama, donde hallamos al general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y demás soldados que habían venido en su compañía. Y habiendo saludado a dicho general don Domingo Terán, nos sentamos y su merced y otros oficiales del campo, me dijeron haber sucedido todo lo referido en el auto antecedente según y como me lo habían dicho los soldados. Y dicho general don Domingo Terán, sacó un liachuelo de diferentes retazos, al parecer de ornamentos de las iglesias que habían quemado y saqueado. Y todos los recogió el padre Agustín de Campos de la Compañía de Jesús, capellán de este real.

Y habiéndole preguntado a dicho general don Domingo Terán, que qué noticias daban de los enemigos las cuatro indias apresadas, me dijo que habían dicho estaban en diferentes parajes rancheados y que su merced había despachado el día 24 a una de las indias con tlatoles, que se le dieron por medio del indio intérprete de nación pima, llamado Cristóbal, diciéndole a dicha india fuese a las rancherías y dijese a todos los gobernadores y demás indios que bajasen a este real los que le pareciera venir, asegurándole de que no se les haría agravio ninguno. Que con todo amor serían recibidos y bien tratados y que se les oíría en justicia cuanto de su parte tuvieran que decir. Que si querían paces se les admitiría en nombre de las dos majestades, con tal de que entregasen las principales cabezas motores del alzamiento. Que haciéndolo así, los demás quedarían libres y quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías. Que si decían no querían bajar a ver a dicho general sino es que querían guerra, que dicha india volviese con los tlatoles que le dieran sobre esta razón sus parientes, ofreciéndole que de volver con mala o buena razón se le haría buen tratamiento y se volvería libre con sus parientes o donde ella eligiese se pondría con toda seguridad y buen pasaje. Y con estos y otros muchos tlatoles que se le dieron tocantes a este fin de reducirle al gremio de nuestra santa madre iglesia, se le dio una cruz en señal de que se le guardaría a los que bajasen toda fidelidad. Y que dicha india salió del real, como a horas de las ocho de la mañana. Y que después de haber salido la india, como a horas de las diez de dicho día 24, salió la escuadra que logró por segunda vez matar en la propia ranchería los últimos cuatro indios, quienes con sus compañeros se pusieron a pelear sin querer rendir las armas ni pararse por muchas veces que los soldados se lo propusieron. Que este suceso temía dicho general, don Domingo Terán, que la india ni otro ninguno de



los enemigos bajasen con tlatoles de paz ni de guerra, pero que se esperaría hasta los tres días que se le habían dado de plazo, que de no venir alguno se determinaría lo que pareciera ser más conveniente al servicio de las dos majestades.

Y por haber corrido entre los soldados y dicho que entre los indios muertos estaban dos de las cabezas principales motores del alzamiento, naturales de este mismo pueblo de Tubutama, cristiano el uno, llamado Diego, que tenía oficio de fiscal mayor de la iglesia, y el otro gentil que era caporal. Y por reconocer si eran muertos, dimos orden para que fuesen el teniente Francisco Medrano y el sargento Domingo Grajeda, quien se había hallado en las dos peleas con veinte soldados y cuarenta indios amigos y un indio pima, llamado Juan Antonio, quien los conocía muy bien. Y habiendo ido dichos oficiales, soldados y gente amiga, anduvieron mirando cuerpo por cuerpo y entre doce indios que hallaron muertos de los enemigos, no conocieron ni hallaron ninguno de los dos referidos. Y no echaron menos ningún cuerpo de los que decían haber muerto en las dos peleas. Solo sí, dicho indio, Juan Antonio, conoció dos de los muertos naturales de este pueblo, cristianos llamados el uno, Pedro que había sido paje del padre y el otro, Cristóbal, que había sido alcalde y aún fiscal de la ranchería del Bosane. Y asimismo, conoció todos los muertos y dijo que los cuatro eran de este dicho pueblo de Tubutama y los ocho de dicha ranchería del Bosane.

En 26 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este pueblo de Tubutama por ser mal paraje, de bosques muy espesos y no haber ningún zacate donde pudiese comer la caballada ni donde poder velarla de noche. Por lo referido, determinamos el que todo el campo se mudase a la estancia que está río arriba de la parte del norte, como tres leguas de este pueblo. Y habiendo mandado arrimar las caballadas, se cargaron los bastimentos y estando montados todos los soldados, salimos marchando río arriba. Y como a horas de las once del día, llegamos a la estancia y paraje, donde hallamos los corrales que servían al ganado que tenía el padre. Y en el camino se topó con un atajo de yeguas y dos mulas y después se hallaron cuatro vacas, todo perteneciente a esta misión. Que uno y otro se juntó en la caballada y ganado mayor. Y porque son, como las cuatro de la tarde y no ha venido la india que consta del auto antecedente haber ido a los tlatoles que la despachó dicho general, don Domingo Terán, con el término de ir y volver dentro de tres días que se cumplen por mañana que se contarán 26 del corriente. Y por si no viniera dicha india o bajaren algunos indios, mandamos que al indio apresado y a las dos indias mocetonas se les coja declaración en forma. Que la una por ser ciega no se le puede coger, porque no tendrá conocimiento de los parajes que suelen habitar los enemigos.

En dicho día 26 de julio de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en virtud del auto de arriba, hicimos parecer ante nosotros, al alférez Francisco de Acuña, que lo es actual de la compañía volante del cargo del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, al cual por ser muy inteligente en la lengua pima, le dimos a entender que lo teníamos nombrado para que a su leal saber y entender, hiciese el oficio de intérprete. Y asimismo, nombramos dos indios de dicha nación, pimas cristianos, el uno llamado Cristóbal y el otro Francisco, para que estuviesen presentes. Y en lengua ópata se le diese a entender en todo lo que se le preguntaba a los declarantes y que en la misma lengua dijese ellos lo que respondieren. Que para entenderlos, se

nombró por intérprete de la lengua ópata, a un soldado de la compañía de dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, llamado Cristóbal Granillo. Y estando todos los dichos intérpretes presentes, les dimos juramento en forma de derecho, el cual hicimos por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la cruz. So cuyo cargo prometieron decir verdad y de interpretar bien y fielmente a su leal saber y entender sin añadir ni quitar palabras ni razones. Y en conformidad de lo dicho, hicimos traer ante nosotros al indio pima preso con un par de grillos, al cual se le preguntó por medio de los dichos intérpretes, si era cristiano o gentil. Dijo ser cristiano y que se llamaba Xavier y lo había bautizado el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino en el pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y que es natural de la ranchería del Bosane. Y por ser cristiano se le cogió juramento en forma de derecho, el cual hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la cruz. So cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado. Y habiéndole dado a entender la gravedad del juramento por medio de los intérpretes nombrados y habiéndole preguntado que de donde iba o venía cuando lo cogieron los soldados de la escuadra que iba a cargo de dicho general, don Domingo Terán, dijo que iba al pueblo de San Ignacio con tlatole que le había dado su gobernador de la ranchería del Bosane para que fuese este declarante al pueblo de San Ignacio y de parte de dicho gobernador, le dijese al gobernador de dicho pueblo de San Ignacio, que él y todos los de su ranchería tenían deseo de hablarle. Que no tuviera miedo ni recelo de él ni de sus parientes. Que viniera a este paraje del río de Tubutama y que trajera en su compañía al fiscal y a un topile. Que él no sabe como se llaman, pero que iba a llamarlos en nombre de su gobernador y demás parientes y que no sabe para que. Que yendo a esto, había topado con unos indios en el camino que, por ser tarde se quedó con ellos a dormir. Y que por la mañana andando buscando los caballos para irse de los unos y los otros, divisaron los españoles y se pusieron en huida y él solo había sido apresado. Y preguntándole que cuántos eran los que estaban con él y de qué pueblo o ranchería, dijo que eran nueve naturales de la ranchería Bitaca y que le habían dicho que venían del pueblo de Cucurpe, de nación ópata. Que habían ido a juntar caballada y que de allá traían siete caballos. Y diciéndole que dijera la verdad, si había él ido con ellos o no, porque en lo que lleva dicho no lleva fundamento. Que sin miedo dijera la verdad, que de decirla no se le haría ningún agravio y de cogerlo en mentira sería castigado, a lo cual dijo que sí había mentido, pero que diría la verdad. Y habiéndole dicho que dijese todo cuanto sabía y había visto, dijo que habían salido de la ranchería este declarante y tres indios del pueblo del Tupo y uno de la ranchería Suamca y dos indios de la ranchería de Jécori y tres de la ranchería del Bosane y que todos juntos fueron hasta el pueblo de la Magdalena, donde se quedó este declarante con otros dos a coger pedernales para las flechas. Y que los siete pasaron al pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores a juntar caballada y que cuando vinieron le dijeron, que habían juntado siete caballos y flechado unas mulas, porque se les apartaban y no las podían arrear. Y que viniendo con ellas por estar en su tierra, se habían parado a hacer noche y que estando por la mañana para salir del paraje para llegar a su ranchería. Aquel día, estando buscando unos caballos divisaron a los españoles y que entonces largaron cuanto tenían y se pusieron en huida. Que todos sus compañeros habían escapado y que a él solo lo habían cogido. Y que porque le preguntaron los españoles, dónde estaban sus parientes rancheados, lo había dicho y guiado hasta donde estaba la ranchería, porque le dijeron que si la enseñaba, no lo habían de matar y lo dejarían ir libre y

que en fe de esto los había guiado hasta meter a los españoles dentro de la ranchería. Y habiéndole preguntado que cuánta gente y de cuántas rancherías se componía la ranchería donde pelearon los españoles, dijo que había gente del Tupó, de Doaquisona, de Quisore, del Bosane y Tubutama, que son cinco rancherías. Que cuando él salió de la ranchería, habían quedado en ella veintiocho indios que los estuvo contando y dijo que de Quisore eran siete, de Tubutama once, del Tupó ocho, del Bosane seis, de Doaquisona seis, que éstos son los que él sabía y dejó cuando salió con sus compañeros a juntar caballada. Que las mujeres eran muchas, porque estaban las viudas y muchachos de los que habían muerto en la ciénaga en tiempo de que mató el teniente Antonio de Solís sus soldados y gente amiga. Que ellos estaban retirados en un aguaje, que en su lengua le llaman Batopa, porque es poca el agua y cuando se va secando cría gusanos. Que desde allí habían venido a coger el trigo y matar carne y a juntar caballada. Que así que llegaron él y los que habían ido en su compañía se habían de ir todos a dicho aguaje, porque en él, había quedado toda la gente de las rancherías y que se habían retirado allí de temor de los españoles. Que podría ser que toda la gente que se escapó de la ranchería, hubiera ido a dar a dicho paraje a juntarse con los demás. Y que estaba en tierra llana y que no era mal camino. Que saliendo al salir del sol de este paraje, podremos llegar a la ranchería de Quisore, como a las doce del día y que desde allí es lejos. Que volviendo al pueblo de Tubutama, saliendo de él al salir el sol, se podrá llegar donde dice que estará la gente, como a las dos de la tarde. Que de faltar de allí, se habrían pasado a otro aguaje que está más adelante. Que son unos ojitos de agua muy chicos que puede ser por haber llovido, haber algunos charcos de agua. Que si de allí faltan, puede ser vayan pasando a una sierra que está más adelante, que es alta y en ella tienen agua y muchas pitayas. Que les había oído decir a sus parientes, que se habían de ir a juntar con la gente de la ranchería de Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi y otras de estos contornos. Que sabían que la gente de dichas rancherías iban pasando para dicha sierra y que también pudiera ser se hubieran juntado en otro aguaje que tiene mucha agua. Que se habían quedado de juntar en él todos. Que no está lejos lo uno ni lo otro. Que los rastros nos dirán la derecha que llevan y él nos enseñará los aguajes que todos son muy cortos por ser de agua llovediza.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe o ha oído decir dónde se hallan los indios del pueblo de Caborca, dijo que había oído decir que habían dejado el pueblo y se habían retirado a una sierra que estaba muy lejos de dicho pueblo y de este paraje. Que en todo el camino no hay agua ni pastos. Que esto lo ha oído decir. Que una india de las apresadas llamada María, natural de la ranchería de Quisore, lo había de saber más bien que dicho declarante.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe la causa de haberse alzado los indios de los pueblos y rancherías referidas y que por qué causas habían muerto al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta en el pueblo de Caborca y al indio Antonio, de nación ópata, mayordomo del padre Daniel Janusque, misionero de este pueblo del Tubutama. Y por qué lo habían querido matar a dicho padre, dijo que al padre de este pueblo nunca lo quisieron matar, porque lo querían mucho. Que sólo quisieron matar a los ópatas, que eran tres porque no eran de su nación y porque el Antonio, que era mayordomo de dicho padre, había azotado al caporal de esta estancia, que era gentil y que éste dio tlatoles a sus parientes de las rancherías de Quisore y de Araupo y este pueblo. Que teniéndolos juntos en esta estancia para matar dichos

ópatas, llegó dicho padre y su mayordomo donde estaba la gente y que estuvo hablando con ellos y les dijo, que se quería ir y no había de volver, porque le estaban matando las vacas y las bestias. Que conocía que ellos no lo querían. Que sacaría cuanto tenía y se iría de una vez. Que con estas razones se fue por las lomas con un muchacho. Y que queriendo algunos seguir al padre para matarlo, dijo el caporal que no siguieran al padre ni lo mataran, porque él lo quería mucho. Y que habiéndolo dejado ir, empezaron luego a flechar a dicho mayordomo, porque en el rodeo había visto muerta una vaca, que dicho caporal la había matado para los indios de la junta.

Y estándolo riñendo, lo empezaron a flechar y viéndose herido, había ido huyendo a caballo hacia el pueblo y que el caporal y todos lo fueron siguiendo. Y que en una casa de un compadre suyo se había metido, donde cuando ellos llegaron lo hallaron muerto. Y que allí lo sacaron y lo tiraron en un arroyo. Y que allí mataron a los otros dos ópatas y los tiraron. Y que a un indio llamado Angel y a su mujer, que eran del pueblo de los Zuris, que hablaban bien la lengua pima, los había escondido un compadre suyo, porque no los matasen y que de noche los sacaron para que se fuesen a su pueblo como se fueron. Y que el caporal quebró las puertas de la casa del padre y entró con los demás indios y sacaron los ornamentos y cuanto había y lo repartieron entre todos.

Que al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta sabe que lo mataron los indios del pueblo de Caborca y que los que viven por allí cerca, que de todas estas rancherías de Peroqui no fue ninguno, que no sabe ni ha oído decir por qué causa lo mataron. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si cuando bajaron a dar la paz al teniente Antonio de Solís a la Ciénaga del Tupo habían bajado de todo corazón y sin engaño ninguno. Dijo que el gobernador de la ranchería del Bosane había venido y les había dicho a todos que había estado con dicho teniente y los soldados de su cargo y que todos le habían hablado bien. Que así fuesen a dar la paz y que en esta fe habían ido a hablar y ajustar las paces con dicho teniente. Y que dicho gobernador les había propuesto a todos antes de ir, que dicho teniente le pedía las cabezas motores del alzamiento, que entregándolas en nombre de su majestad, les ofrecía a todos el perdón. Y que sin llevar cabeza de las que pedía dicho teniente se había ido. Y preguntándole, que por qué no las habían llevado, dijo que porque no parecían las principales. Que entre los que habían bajado a dar la paz iban ocho de los que fueron causa del alzamiento. Que él no sabe por qué dicho teniente y soldados y gente amiga mataron a los que bajaron. Que sabían que habían perdonado a muchos y entre ellos al gobernador del Bosane y al alcalde de este pueblo, al paje del padre y a otro indio llamado Lorenzo y a otros tres. Que éstos vinieron y se juntaron otra vez con ellos y fueron juntos todos los de estas rancherías a quemar y saquear las iglesias, casas y pueblos de Imuris, San Ignacio y la Magdalena como lo ejecutaron.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe que indios tienen los cálices, patenas y ornamentos y demás cosas pertenientes a las misiones, dijo que no ha visto cálices ningunos. Que los que llegaron a su ranchería trajeron algunos pedazos de ornamentos y una ollita de cobre. Que esto es lo que ha visto y no otra cosa. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe que determinación tienen los gobernadores y cabezas de las referidas rancherías que están alzadas, que diga si están para dar la paz o hacer guerra. Dijo que a pocos días que se juntaron todos los indios donde mismamente fue la pelea, que allí tuvieron tlatole y que todos los gobernantes y

capitanes culpaban al caporal diciéndole que por él se bajan fuera de sus pueblos con sus hijos y mujeres, huyendo por sierras y barrancas sin tener que comer. Que ya tenían noticia de que venían muchos españoles e indios a hacerles guerra. Que por esto les obligaba a irse a las sierras donde morirían de hambre ellos y sus hijos. Que sentían que sería mejor pedir la paz y estar quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías. Y que a esto respondió el caporal, que por qué habían de dar la paz. Que si no eran hombres para pelear con los españoles, que él sabía pelear y que los españoles tiraban un tiro con los arcabuces y luego daban a huir. Y que todos le respondieron: "si eres tan valiente en viniendo los españoles, te veremos como peleas." Y que todos le echan la culpa a dicho caporal de todo cuanto les ha sucedido. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si el fiscal mayor acompañó a dicho caporal, dijo que él no sabía ni había oído decir que el fiscal llamado Diego, hubiese dado malos tlatoles, que antes sí los daba buenos. Y habiéndole preguntado otras muchas cosas, dijo que no las sabía, que ya había dicho cuanto había visto y oído. Que no tenía más que decir a cuanto ha sido preguntado. Y habiéndole dado a entender por medio de los intérpretes éste su dicho. Se firmó y ratificó en todo lo que tiene dicho. Y no firmó porque dijo no sabía. Y será el dicho confesante de edad al parecer de veinte años poco más o menos según el aspecto.

En esta estancia del pueblo del Tubutama en 27 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales en este paraje, como a horas de las seis de la mañana, mandamos traer ante nosotros a la india María presa citada por el indio Xavier en su declaración. Y habiéndole preguntado por medio de los intérpretes nombrados, si era cristiana y es bautizada y de qué pueblo es natural, dijo ser cristiana y que la bautizó el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino en el pueblo de Tubutama de donde dice ser nacida.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe o ha oído decir qué causas y motivos tuvieron para alzarse los indios de este pueblo los de Caborca, Bosane, el Tupo, Tucubavi, Araupo y otras muchas rancherías, dijo que lo que sabe y ha oído decir a sus parientes, que el fiscal mayor del pueblo de Tubutama llamado Diego, había sido el principal motor del alzamiento, porque él fue el que convidó a los indios de las rancherías referidas y les dijo que los ópatas que tenía el padre Daniel Janusque en su servicio, eran causa de que los azotasen cada el día, porque le contaban y decían al padre cuanto ellos hacían. Que así sería mejor que los matasen. Que para efectuarlo, juntaron en esta estancia toda la gente y que estando juntos, llegó dicho padre con su mayordomo indio de nación ópata, llamado Antonio y que el padre les habló a todos. Y a este tiempo salió el caporal y les dijo: "padre vete a toda prisa por esas lomas, porque esta gente está muy mala y puede ser que te maten." Que entonces el padre se fue por las lomas, llevando consigo un muchacho paje suyo, natural del pueblo de Tubutama. Y que acabado de salir el padre, empezaron a flechar todos a un tiempo al dicho mayordomo, llamado Antonio, quien llevando algunas flechas en el cuerpo por estar a caballo, había ido huyendo hasta el pueblo y se había metido en casa de un compadre suyo, donde llegó toda la gente en su alcance. Y aunque el compadre lo defendió, lo mataron entre todos y lo tiraron en el campo. Y que luego fueron a abrir la casa del padre y en ella mataron a otros dos indios de nación ópata, que estaban escondidos. Y que luego entre el gobernador y un fiscal y el paje Perucho, repartieron entre todos los ornamentos, alahajas y ropa que tenía el dicho padre, haciéndolo todo pedazos. Que luego empezaron a matar las vacas y coger los caballos.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que a donde se habían ido después que hicieron las muertes, dijo que toda la gente se había ido a la ranchería de Quisore y que ella con otras mujeres y hombres se habían ido a la ranchería del Bosane. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe o ha oído decir, que por qué causa mataron al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta en el pueblo de Caborca y que qué gente o de qué rancherías se habían hallado en dicha muerte o llevado tlatoles para que lo ejecutaran. Dijo que no sabe ni ha oído decir, que de todos los pueblos y rancherías referidos hubiesen ido ningunos indios a matar a dicho padre ni llevado tlatoles.

Que sólo sabe que vinieron unos indios naturales del pueblo de Caborca y dijeron a todos sus parientes, que ya habían muerto al dicho padre Francisco Xavier Saeta y que con faroles les dijeron que habían hecho mal en matarlo. Que más valiera que lo hubieran echado. Que se fuera como lo habían hecho ellos con su padre, que no lo habían querido matar porque lo querían mucho.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe o ha oído decir quién trajo los tlatoles a sus parientes para que fuesen a dar la paz al teniente Antonio de Solís y que si habían ido a darla de todo corazón. Dijo que sabe que los españoles les enviaron un tlatole al gobernador del Bosane, diciendo que si entregaban las cabezas del alzamiento en nombre de su majestad, que Dios guarde, perdonarían a todos los demás para que con sus mujeres e hijos estuviesen quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías. Y que este tlatole lo envió a sus parientes, dicho gobernador del Bosane, que no sabe quién lo trajo.

Que por esta razón dijeron, vamos a ver los españoles para estarnos quietos en nuestros pueblos. Y que ella fue con la gente que bajó a la Ciénaga del Tupo a dar la paz al teniente Antonio de Solís. Que allí vio matar a sus parientes que habían ido con ella y que no sabe por qué causa. Que de allí se fue con el gobernador del Bosane y con otras mujeres, porque no lo quisieron matar los españoles porque se estuvieran quietos. Que los otros dieron en huir. Que a ellos le dieron buenos tlatoles los españoles para que se estuviesen quietos. Y que el haber muerto a los que mataron, había sido porque se pusieron en fuga al tiempo que iban cogiendo los malos y porque llevaban los ornamentos hechos pedazos y por taparrabos. Que esto lo vio por sus ojos por pasar todo delante de ella. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe, qué gente y por qué causa fueron a quemar los pueblos e iglesias de San Ignacio, Imuris y el de la Magdalena, dijo que fueron todos los indios de cuantos pueblos y rancherías hay desde el Tupo hasta los sobas y mucho más adentro a la parte del poniente que había visto que iban muchos hombres. Y que todas las mujeres se quedaron en el Cerro del Chile que los sobas vinieron sin mujeres.

Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe por qué causa no mataron a los indios e indias de dichos pueblos, dijo que lo que sabe y ha oído decir que sus parientes no están enojados con los naturales de los pueblos. Que sólo sí habían sabido que estaban los soldados en el pueblo de San Ignacio y que iban a pelear con ellos. Que como no los hallaron, quemaron las iglesias y casas y se trajeron algunos pedazos de ornamentos y ganados mayores y menores. Que éstos se los ha visto comiendo y que los ornamentos y cálices, oyó decir que los pajes del padre de este pueblo, los habían repartido los pajes entre la demás gente, que en su ranchería quedó poco. Que vio que todo el pillaje de ropa lo llevaban los indios del soba y los del Tucubavi y otras rancherías. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si sabe a qué paraje se habrán ido a juntar todos los indios e indias de los pueblos y rancherías que se alzaron y hemos hallado despoblados y los que estaban en la ranchería con quien

se peleó el día 23 del corriente. Dijo que todos los que se escaparon y los que estaban en la sierra a la parte del poniente de este paraje se habrían ido a juntar con la gente de las rancherías de Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi y otras rancherías que habían quedado de juntarse en viniendo los españoles en una sierra que está de este paraje a la parte del norte, porque en ella hay mucho mescal y que hay agua arriba, de ahí no sabe donde podrán ir. Y habiéndole preguntado, que si ella sabe el camino para guiarnos e ir nosotros allá y si hay pasto y aguajes en el camino. Dijo que ella no sabe hasta la sierra, que sólo ha visto y andado hasta unos cerros que están más acá. Que en un día se podrá llegar a ellos. Que no hay aguaje sino es en las peñas y algunos charquitos que habrá de agua llovediza. Que zacate si hay bueno en lo que ella ha visto. Que guiará hasta donde sabe, que el indio Xavier es de este pueblo de Tubutama y no del Bosane, como tiene dicho y por ser hombre sabrá más bien que ella toda la tierra. Que ella no ha salido de estas rancherías y que puede ser que la gente de Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi y otras rancherías estén todavía en el Cerro del Chile por ser áspero y tener agua y mescal. Que allí sabe que estaban. Que no sabe si se han salido o no y que puede ser no se hayan juntado unos ni otros por temor de los españoles. Que esto es lo que sabe y tiene que decir a todo que se le ha preguntado. Que si supiera otra cosa lo dijera. Y habiéndole dado a entender todo lo que tiene dicho y declarado por medio de los intérpretes, se afirmó y ratificó en todo y no se le cogió juramento en forma, por parecernos no ser capaz de entender la gravedad de él. Y será de edad al parecer de dieciocho años poco más o menos y no firmó porque dijo no saber.

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En 31 días del mes de julio de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo de Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández, de la Fuente, en esta estancia del río de San Pedro de Tubutama por cuanto estamos esperando a la india que largó dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente en la ranchería y aguaje de Santa Marta. Hemos estado en este real y paraje sin determinar echar escuadras a correr la tierra ni a salir a cabo ninguno, a hacer guerra hasta tener razón de dicha india o que se le cumpla el día que llevó de término, que es el día 2 de agosto. Y según lo que resultare, de venir o faltar dicha india, así determinaríamos lo que pareciere ser más conveniente.

En la estancia del pueblo de San Pedro de Tubutama en primero día del mes de agosto de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, estamos este paraje con todos los soldados y gente amiga de nuestro cargo esperando la venida de la india que fue despachada a su pedimento por dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente para que llevase los tlatoles a los gobernadores, capitanes y justicias que están con los enemigos. Que hasta ver si vuelve con malos o buenos tlatoles como quedó de venir o si por algún accidente no viniere a traer razón, se determinará lo que convenga al servicio de las dos majestades.

En este paraje de la estancia de Tubutama en 2 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, por estar el general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos embarazado en materias del real servicio y ser conveniente coger declaración en forma del indio apresado el día 29 del mes pasado de julio en la ranchería y aguaje de Santa Marta para que hagan la declaración y los tlatoles que supiere la india despachada en dicha ranchería determinará lo que pareciese más

conveniente al real servicio. Y para hacer dicha declaración, hice parecer ante mí, el alférez Francisco de Acuña, que lo es actual de compañía al cargo del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, el cual está en estos autos nombrado por intérprete y tiene dicho el juramento acostumbrado de interpretar bien y fielmente a su leal saber y entender lo que se preguntare y respondiere el declarante. Y para mayor verificación, mandó se llame a Francisco y Cristóbal, indios naturales de nación pima que saben hablar lengua ópata, para que se hallen presentes a dicha declaración por si se ofreciere alguna duda que entre los tres intérpretes lo puedan aclarar. Y estando los dos en mi presencia, mandé traer al indio preso con un par de grillos a quien, estando presente, le pregunté por medio de los intérpretes referidos si era cristiano o gentil y de qué pueblo o ranchería era natural. Respondió que era gentil y que cuatro hijos que ha tenido eran cristianos y que los tres habían muerto y uno que tiene vivo está ciego de las viruelas, y que él es natural de San Pedro de Tubutama.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe o ha oído decir las causas que hubo para que se alzasen los indios de los pueblos y rancherías del Tupo, Bosane, Toozona, Araupo, Tucubavi, Quisori, Tubutama, y Caborca, pueblo donde mataron al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta y quiénes fueron los motores, cabezas principales de alzamiento. Responde que el caporal que tenía en esta estancia el padre Daniel Janusque fue el principal motor, porque envió a llamar a los indios de la ranchería de Moicaque y que habiendo venido a su llamado, les dijo que él estaba enfadado de guardar vacas y yeguas porque estaba solo y no las podía cuidar, que así bien podían, desde luego, matar vacas y yeguas. Y que entre los que vinieron desde dicha ranchería vino un indio muy malo y gentil que siempre andaba por las rancherías haciendo daños y muertes. Que éste, con los suyos, empezó a matar y flechar vacas y yeguas. Que habiéndolo sabido dicho padre Daniel Janusque, juntó las justicias de estos pueblos y rancherías. El capitán del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, llamado Joseph, vino a esta diligencia y con todas las justicias pasó a aprender al indio gentil y que lo trajeron a Tubutama donde lo azotaron y después le dieron buenos tlatoles. Y que por ver si se enmendaba le habían dado un bastón para que hiciese oficio de topile. Y que habiendo salido de dicho pueblo para su ranchería, en el camino, clavó el bastón y le dijo: quédate ahí parado y luego irás a ver al padre y le dirás que yo no te he menester para nada. Y que con esto se fue a su ranchería donde juntó mucha gente de otros pueblos y rancherías. Les dijo: vamos alineando nuestros arcos y nuestras flechas porque hemos de ir a la estancia a matar vacas y yeguas y luego hemos de matar a todos los cristianos. Y que vinieron a esta estancia muchos indios que estando aquí juntos llegó dicho padre y habiéndolas visto salió por las lomas y sin camino se fue saliendo que nunca más lo volvieron a ver. Y que en este tiempo andaban los indios y el caporal dando rodeo. Y que llegó el mayordomo de dicho padre llamado Agostino, de nación ópata y les dijo que para qué daban el rodeo. Y el caporal le respondió que para sacar el ganado porque se lo había mandado el padre, que estando en ésta por un lado le dieron dos flechazos que atravesaron a dicho mayordomo, quien viéndose herido y por estar en un caballo ligero salió huyendo para el pueblo donde llegó y se metió en casa de este declarante por ser su compadre, quien dice que estándolo cuidando y haciéndole tlatole llegaron y en su propia casa lo acabaron de matar, que aunque él lo quiso defender por si solo no pudo. Y que luego el paje del padre, llamado Panacho, mató a dicho ópata sirviente del padre y que entre los dos



mataron a otro indiesuelo ópata, también sirviente del padre. Y que luego fueron los naturales de dicho pueblo de Tubutama y abrieron las puertas de la casa del padre. Y el indio Panacho, su paje, sacó las cajas con la ropa y ornamentos que tenían y en la calle los fue repartiendo a pedazos entre todos los naturales de dicho pueblo, porque de los de las rancherías se vinieron luego a esta estancia y mataron mucho ganado y se llevaron mucha yeguada. Y que habiéndose ido éstos, el fiscal mayor del pueblo de Tubutama, llamado Diego, les dijo a sus parientes y a dos indios que habían venido del pueblo de Caborca el uno, paje del padre llamado Francisco, y el otro un arriero, a quienes dicho fiscal les dijo que fueran a su pueblo y dijeran a las justicias y demás indios que ya ellos habían matado a los cristianos ópatas y quemado la casa e iglesia del padre y repartido y hecho pedazos toda su ropa y ornamentos. Que así ellos mataron al padre y repartieron su ropa entre todos que bien sabían que tenía mucha. Que habiéndose ido con estos tlatoles los referidos, después, estando este declarante en el pueblo del Bosane, supo y oyó decir que los del pueblo de Caborca habían matado al padre y repartido toda su ropa.

Y habiéndole preguntado que después de que ejecutaron lo referido donde se habían retirado todos los de estos pueblos y rancherías, que dijera a qué sierras o aguajes se habían ido a juntar. Responde que algunos de este pueblo de Tubutama con este declarante se fueron a juntar con el gobernador y la gente del pueblo del Bosane y que los demás se juntaron con el topile y la gente de Araupo, y que con los de Tucubavi se fueron al Cerro de Cócori, que quiere decir en su idioma, cerro del chile. Que allí se estaban de temor de los españoles. Que los de Caborca supieron se habían retirado a unas sierras que están tierra muy adentro que él no las sabe, que ha oído decir que el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino entró una vez a ver allá, adentro, y que lo guiaron los indios de Caborca. Que a éstos les llaman sobas, aunque son pimas. Y que donde se retiraron hay otras rancherías, que aunque son pimas, les llaman los desnudos y que éstos tienen poca comunicación con ellos porque no hablan muy bien su lengua y porque hombres y mujeres andan de los pies a la cabeza desnudos.

Y habiéndole preguntado qué causas o motivos tuvieron para ir a quemar los pueblos e iglesias y casas de Imuris y San Ignacio y la Magdalena y quienes fueron los que hicieron causas para conseguir la junta de indios. Responde que el gobernador del pueblo de Bosane envió los tlatoles por todos los pueblos y rancherías diciendo que aunque a él le habían perdonado los españoles por haberle muerto a un hermano suyo y a sus parientes en la Ciénaga del Tupo quería coger venganzas que así era forzoso juntarse para ir a matar a los españoles y quemar los pueblos. Y con este tlatole se juntó la gente de diecinueve pueblos y rancherías sin que quedara indio, desde los desnudos hasta los sobas y todos estos contornos. Y que se juntaron en el Araupo y de allí fueron por la sierra que está en frente del pueblo de Imuris. Se descolgaron, y viendo que no hallaron españoles, quemaron la iglesia y las casas y mataron los ganados menores y mayores que hallaron. Y que de allí, pasaron vía recta el mismo día y quemaron el pueblo de San Ignacio y el de la Magdalena: Que los ganados menores los mataron todos y sólo se aprovecharon de cargar los cueros. Que los ornamentos y cálices y ropa del padre de todas las iglesias, lo tienen entre todos hecho pedazos. Y en este declarante hallamos un purificador y en la ranchería un candelero de azófar. Y habiéndole preguntado que si se había hallado él en la junta que quemó los pueblos, dijo que no se había ha-

llado. Y habiéndole reconvenido que cómo traía el purificador, dijo que se lo había hallado el día que lo apresamos.

Y habiéndole preguntado si sabía o había oído decir por qué causa el teniente Antonio de Solís había matado a sus parientes en la Ciénaga del Tupo. Dijo que lo que había oído decir a los hombres y mujeres que se hallaron en la función y perdonó dicho teniente por haberse metido en su propia tienda y no haberse huído no los habían muerto. Que el gobernador de los Dolores y otros les dijeron que por haber muerto ellos al padre y a los cristianos y por ponerse en huída los habían matado los españoles. Que esto oyó decir a los indios e indias que se hallaron en las muertes.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe o ha oído decir que el padre de esta misión y el de Caborca les hicieron algunas vejaciones a ellos, a sus mujeres e hijos, o por qué los hacían venir a misa o al rezo si los castigaban mucho. Responde que los padres los hacían trabajar mucho y si alguno faltaba lo solían, las justicias azotar y el padre los solía reñir porque no acudían a la iglesia a oír misa ni a rezar, que por esto se enojaban algunos de sus parientes.

Habiéndole preguntado si sabe en qué pueblos o rancherías tienen sembrado maíz, trigo o frijoles. Responde que lo que sabe es que los de Tucubavi y el Araupo han sembrado muy poco. Que los demás pueblos y rancherías no han sembrado nada. Que del maíz chiquito tenían sembrado los del Tupo y otros y se lo habían comido en elote. Y que aunque en este pueblo habían cogido algún trigo se lo habían comido por ser poco.

Y habiéndole preguntado porqué causa, cuando quemaron los pueblos de Imuris, San Ignacio y la Magdalena, no habían peleado con los naturales de dichos pueblos ni matado a ninguno, grande ni chico. Dijo que por qué los habían de matar si eran sus parientes, que sólo el capitán de San Ignacio les decía a los de su pueblo que pelearan con los enemigos pero que ninguno peleó. Que todos se juntaron y estuvieron hablando unos con otros. Que sólo quemaron algunas casas de los cristianos. Y que al padre misionero, llamado Agustín de Campos y a los soldados que estaban en su guardia los siguieron gran rato. Que viendo no los habían podido alcanzar, se habían vuelto al pueblo donde estuvieron muy despacio. Y que al presente hay algunos indios de los pueblo de Imuris y San Ignacio junto con los de Toozona.

Y habiéndole preguntado qué tlatoles han tenido y tienen al presente los gobernadores, capitanes, justicias y demás indios de los pueblos alzados que en qué parajes han dicho se han de juntar para hacer robos y muertes, o si han dicho que se estarán quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías. Responde que luego que se fueron los sobas y los desnudos a sus tierras, se juntaron en el Cerro del Chile todos los de los pueblos y rancherías de estos contornos. Y dijeron que allí habían de esperar a los españoles para pelear con ellos. Y que si algunos quedaran, se irían a juntar a una cañada que está en la sierra donde lo apresamos. Que ha oído decir que en dicha cañada está un aguaje, donde estaban cuando lo apresamos la gente de Tucubavi, Quisore, y Moicaque. Que allí se iban juntando todos para pasarse a la otra sierra grande que está más adelante que le llaman, en lengua pima, Unaco, porque tiene mucha lechuguilla y que en lo alto tiene un pozo de agua. Que ha oído decir que en ella no tienen que comer y que no sabe si al presente se habían ido algunos a dicha sierra. Que si a él lo largáramos iría a traer de paz a todos sus parientes. Y habiéndole dicho que haría lo propio que han hecho las mujeres que

hemos despachado que ofrecieron ir y volver con buenos o malos tlatoles y que nunca habían vuelto a tener razón alguna, que él haría lo propio. A lo cual respondió que él no lo había de hacer. Que en tres días se atrevía a ir y a volver con la razón que le dieran sus parientes que si no nos fiamos de él, podía ir en su compañía otro pima de los amigos. A lo cual respondimos que esperaríamos hasta ver si mañana viene la india que despachamos desde el aguaje y ranchería de Santa Marta que fue donde los apresamos.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe o tiene otra cosa que decir más de lo dicho, dice que no sabe ni tiene que decir otra cosa más de lo que tiene dicho. Y habiéndole dado a entender todo lo que tiene declarado, se afirmó y ratificó. Y no se le cogió juramento por ser gentil y no saber la gravedad de él. Y no firmó por no saber firmar.

En esta estancia del pueblo de San Pedro de Tubutama, en 3 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, por haber visto que se ha cumplido el término de los cinco días que pidió la india que despachó dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, para que fuera con los tlatoles que se le dieran por medio de los intérpretes convenientes a la reducción de los rebeldes a sus pueblos y rancherías. En que sólo mirando al mayor servicio de las dos majestades y bien común, nos reducimos a ofrecerles el perdón general a todos los rebeldes con tal de que nos entregasen las cabezas principales motores del alzamiento. Como consta de las tres declaraciones dichas ante nosotros, dichos generales. Los más culpados son el fiscal mayor y el caporal de esta estancia y pueblo de San Pedro de Tubutama.

Y habiendo despachado dos indias de las apresadas, a su pedimento, pidiendo plazo y habiéndoselo concedido, ofrecieron de ir y volver dentro del término que se les señaló con cualquier, bueno o mal tlatole. Que sus parientes le diesen, así de admitir la paz como de querer guerra y no reducirse a pueblos, ni entregar las cabezas que les pedíamos. Que con cualquier razón, sin ninguna falta, nos la vendrían a dar el día que se les señaló como de término. Y habiendo reconocido que la primera que despachó dicho general, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, no volvió el día señalado, como asimismo la india que en su propia ranchería y en medio de la sierra despachó dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente.

Después de haber peleado con ellos en las dos ocasiones, que consta de estos autos, habiéndole hecho muertes y presa de mujeres y hombres, perdiendo sus rancherías y cuanto tenían, desparramados por las sierras y bosques de los montes se desaparecieron. De suerte que nos pareció sería fácil la reducción de los no culpados y el castigo de las cabezas motoras del alzamiento. Y aunque han ido dichas dos indias despachadas por nosotros con cruces y con mensajes tan justos, no ha vuelto ninguna de ellas con malo o buen tlatole, ni los rebeldes se han dado por entendidos. Y ninguno de ellos ha bajado a este real por donde se conoce estan rebeldes y pertinaces en su apostacía sin querer reducirse a sus pueblos y rancherías, todos huyendo de estar sujetos al yugo de nuestra santa madre iglesia y a la real obediencia. Sólo mirando a vivir en sus idolatrías y bárbaras costumbres confiados en que ningún español ni indio amigo sabe de sus habitaciones y aguajes por ser ásperas sierras y montes firmes de bosques espinosos e inandables, ni a pie ni a caballo, según lo que tenemos andado y visto. Y hemos adquirido por noticias así de los apresados como de los amigos pimas que vienen a este campo, por cuyas razones nos hallamos confusos de poder mudarnos del campo y real a otros parajes

fuera de este río por no haber pastos en muchas leguas en contorno, ni haber aguajes, según las declaraciones de los indios e indias apresados.

Y sin embargo, habiendo visto nosotros, dichos generales, la rebeldía de los enemigos para seguirlos a riesgo de perder toda la caballada teníamos determinado salir con dos escuadras en su alcance, la una para el pueblo de Caborca, que dista de este paraje río abajo más de veinte leguas hacia el sur, la otra escuadra a reconocer el pueblo de Tucubavi, el Cerro del Chile, y la ranchería de Moicaque. Y según lo que sucediera en estas correrías y diligencias determinar lo que pareciera ser más conveniente al real servicio.

Y estando en estas prevenciones y cogiendo lengua del indio apresado por dicho general, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, nos dijo dicho indio que a las mujeres que habíamos despachado no les habían dado crédito a los tlatoles que les habíamos enviado los gobernadores y demás justicias. Que si a él lo despacháramos, iría y dentro de tres días volvería a este real con algunos de sus parientes bajándolos de paz y que cuando no quisieran admitirlo vendría él a darnos razón de todo lo que determinarían y respondieran los rebeldes. A lo cual le respondimos que si a él lo despacháramos, haría lo propio que habían hecho las dos indias. Que de verse libre no atendería volver con malos o buenos tlatoles de parte de sus parientes. A lo cual nos satisfizo diciendo que no faltaría de volver dentro de los tres días de término, y para que supiésemos que él iba de todo corazón a hablar y dar buenos tlatoles a sus parientes, que despachásemos con él otro indio pima, de los amigos, que él lo aseguraba de la vida e iría y volvería en su compañía. Y a estas razones se convidó a ir con él un indio mocetón y natural del pueblo de la Magdalena.

Reconociendo nosotros, dichos generales, lo imposibilitado que nos hallamos de poder hacer la guerra como se debe hacer por todo lo referido hicimos una junta en que se hallaron todos los oficiales mayores y menores de este campo. Y todos fueron de sentir que convenía se despachasen los dos indios con los tlatoles que conviniera darles para que los llevasen a los gobernadores, capitanes y justicias de los pueblos alzados. Y atendiendo nosotros, dichos generales, a hallarnos sin conocimiento de la tierra y estar faltos de bastimentos y tener enfermos al padre capellán Agustín de Campos y otros muchos soldados españoles e indios amigos. Y que cada día van cayendo otros muchos de fríos y calenturas y otros achaques por lo destemplado que es este valle y todos los de la nación pima como tenemos por experiencia en muchas otras ocasiones. Y así con el acuerdo y parecer de todos los de la junta, determinamos despachar como despachamos el indio apresado en la guerra y en la compañía del indio mocetón que se convidó a ir con el de su espontánea y libre voluntad. Y habiéndoles dicho que de nuestra parte dijese a los gobernadores y demás indios de los pueblos rebeldes que en nombre de su majestad, que Dios guarde, les habíamos despachado dos indias de las apresadas en sus rancherías y en la guerra, ofreciéndoles a todos el perdón en nombre de su majestad y nuestro, con tal de que nos entregasen las cabezas motores del alzamiento. Que de hacerlo así desde luego los admitiríamos en una amistad y se poblarían en sus pueblos y rancherías como lo estaban de antes sin que recibiesen vejación de los españoles. Que antes si serían amparados de las reales justicias y de nosotros con tal de poblarse y dar la obediencia al rey, nuestro señor y a sus ministros. Que de otra suerte no los admitiríamos en una amistad, ni daríamos la paz y que ninguno de estos mensajes y tlatoles no habían querido responder con dichas indias, ni con ningún otro indio. Que no sabíamos por qué estaban tan

rebeldes. Que así dijese que éste sería el último tlatole que de nuestra parte se les había de despachar y que de no querer la paz y resistirse en entregar las cabezas, les haríamos la guerra a fuego y sangre, llevando a cuchillo chico y grande sin reservar sexo ni edad en que los topáramos por de canto. Que si aguardaban a esto, aunque después pidieran la paz, viéndose en aprietos, no se la admitiríamos por ningún pretexto, respecto a tener tan justificada la voluntad de su majestad, que Dios guarde y nuestra.

Y con estos y con otros muchos tlatoles que de nuestra parte y la de los gobernadores e indios pimas amigos se le dieron a los dos indios referidos. Quedaron de ir a dar dichos tlatoles y volver con cualquier respuesta que los rebeldes le diesen dentro de los tres días de término, que se cumplen el día 5 del corriente mes. Y habiéndole dado carne, pinole y tabaco para el camino, les dimos dos cruces de azófar que llevaron pendientes de los cuellos en señal de que se les admitiría la paz en nombre de su majestad y nuestro con tal de que cumpliesen todo lo referido. Y yendo bien instruídos en todo lo que puede conducir al servicio de las dos majestades y bien común, salieron de este real como a horas de las cinco de la tarde de este dicho día.

En esta estancia de San Pedro de Tubutama, en 4 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, por haber despachado el indio que teníamos preso de los alzados con los tlatoles que se le dieron para que se los diese a los enemigos rebeldes y asimismo por haber ido con el dicho indio cristiano amigo, natural del pueblo de la Magdalena, quienes quedaron de ir a ver a los enemigos y decir de nuestra parte lo que le propusimos y asimismo quedaron de volver con la respuesta que les diesen los rebeldes dentro del término de tres días que pidieron de plazo. Por cuya razón, nos hemos estado en este paraje sin determinar cosa alguna hasta ver el resultado que traen los dos correos o alguno de ellos. Que de ver no vienen el día que se les señaló se determinará lo que más convenga al servicio de las dos majestades y bien común.

En esta estancia del pueblo de San Pedro de Tubutama, el 5 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este real con la gente de nuestro cargo, por haber visto que este dicho día se les cumplió el término de los tres días que llevaron de plazo los dos indios que fueron con los tlatoles para que los diesen de nuestra parte a los enemigos rebeldes, quienes quedaron de ir y volver con cualquier mala o buena respuesta que les diesen dichos rebeldes.

Y viendo nosotros, dichos generales, que son más de las nueve de la noche y que no ha venido ninguno de los dos referidos correos ni otro alguno de los alzados ha bajado a este real a pedir paz ni a dar razón sobre los otros correos que tenemos despachados. Que reconociendo y en adelante su rebeldía y que será forzoso persistir en buscarlos hasta conseguir el castigo o la paz aunque sea con todo riesgo de quedar este campo imposibilitado de caballada por los pocos pastos y malos aguajes que ofrecen en lo visto y descubierto estos contornos. Y por hallarnos muy faltos de bastimentos de harina y pinole, así para los soldados como para la gente amiga para poder proseguir en lo de adelante, que vengan o no vengan los correos. Que para mañana se contarán 6 del corriente mes de agosto, se prevengan de todas las compañías de este campo catorce soldados y treinta mulas de carga para que dicho día salgan marchando para el pueblo de Cocóspera a traer, con la

mayor brevedad que se pudiese, los bastimentos que se hallaren haber conducido los reverendos padres misioneros de la Compañía de Jesús. Que según nos escribió el general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, hay en otro pueblo hasta treinta cargas de pinole y harina.

En 15 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, estando nosotros los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente en esta plaza de armas y paraje de San Lorenzo, como a horas de las cinco de la mañana llegó a nuestra presencia el alférez Francisco de Acuña, quien ha hecho y está haciendo el oficio de intérprete en lengua pima, por ser muy inteligente en ella, quien nos dijo que los indios pimas amigos y los que habían bajado a pedir la paz lo habían llamado al cuarto de alba. Y le habían dicho que el topile del Bosane y el otro indio que bajó con él se habían huido sin que los hubieran visto ni sabido hasta que los echaron de menos a media noche. Y habiéndoles preguntado que por qué habían huido los dos referidos, respondieron algunos que aquellos eran sobas y no del Bosane. Que porque tenían mucho miedo, y por sentirse muy culpados se habían procurado huir. Que ellos no tenían la culpa. Y habiéndoles dicho que oíríamos misa y se juntarían todos para hablarles, dijeron que sí esperarían y vendrían cuando los llamáramos.

Y habiendo dicho misa el padre capellan Agustín de Campos, de la Compañía de Jesús, como a horas de las nueve de la mañana, enviamos a llamar a todos los indios pimas así amigos como a los que habían bajado a pedir la paz. Y habiendo llegado todos, los unos y los otros, los hicimos sentar apartando los gobernadores, topiles y alcaldes que tenían sus bastones de tales oficios, a los cuales sentamos junto nosotros, como asimismo los gobernadores y capitanes pimas amigos. Y por medio de los intérpretes y muy en particular por el alférez Francisco de Acuña, les dimos a entender y preguntamos que quiénes habían tenido la culpa y sido motores de la guerra que había habido. Que el haber procurado juntarlos en este real, había sido para hacer la dicha pregunta y hablarles a todos juntos lo que se pudiera ofrecer y debe convenir.

A lo cual todos a una respondieron que bien veían que los españoles no habían empezado la guerra, sino es sus parientes los del pueblo de Tubutama y los de Caborca. Que ellos se hallaban en sus pueblos y rancherías muy quietos al tiempo que tuvieron noticia de las muertes del padre Francisco Xavier Saeta y los ópatas que estaban en su servicio, como asimismo de los tres sirvientes que mataron al padre Daniel Janusque en dicho pueblo de Tubutama. Que cuando tuvieron esta razón, de miedo de los españoles se habían retirado a sus pueblos y rancherías por lo que habían ejecutado sus parientes en dichos pueblos. Y que después se juntaron algunos para ir a dar la paz a la Ciénaga del Tupo, donde habían hecho las muertes los españoles. Que por esto se habían vuelto a retirar y hecho junta para irlos a vengar al pueblo de San Ignacio.

Y habiéndoles preguntado que si no habían visto algunos de ellos o sabido que cuando bajaron a la ciénaga a asentar dichas paces con el teniente Antonio de Solís y los españoles, que dicho teniente les habló a todos muy bien y apartó toda la gente del pueblo del Tupo y los de la ranchería de Toozona, y les dijo a chicos y a grandes que todos se fueran a sus pueblos. Y que después de haberse ido estos, llamó a los del pueblo de Tubutama, a los del pueblo del Bosna y a los de la ranchería del Araupo, y que teniéndolos juntos, les dijo: bien sé que entre vosotros hay algunos de los muy culpados, los cuales es forzoso cogerlos para castigarlos,

por que no os vuelvan a alborotar y así estaros quietos. No procuréis huir porque tengo dado orden a los soldados que maten a todos los que procuraren huirse. Y que yendo dicho teniente a coger el primero, se había procurado defender y todos los demás se habían puesto en huida causa de que los españoles e indios amigos los mataron a los más antes de coger las armas que iban a coger.

A lo cual respondieron que el gobernador del Bosna y el perucho de Tubutama, paje del padre, y otros siete u ocho indios que cogieron vivos los españoles. Y los largaron naturales del pueblo de Araupo, y otros cuatro que habían llevado hasta Imuris los había soltado dicho teniente Antonio de Solís. Y que todos habían dicho que sus parientes, los muertos, habían tenido la culpa. Que los españoles no querían matarlos a todos, sino escoger a los malos, que por haberse querido huir los habían muerto. Y habiéndoles dicho que el fiscal y el caporal del pueblo de Tubutama tenían la culpa de todas las muertes que habían sucedido, y de las quemas de las iglesias y pueblos. Dijeron todos que era verdad, que por codicia de una silla y de la ropa de los padres, habían sido los dos referidos los tlatoleros y alborotadores de toda la gente. Y que por ellos habían sucedido todas las muertes. Y se huían ellos fuera de sus pueblos y rancherías, huyendo por las sierras con sus hijos y mujeres muertos de hambre. Y que por la guerra y andar de esta suerte no habían sembrado, que este año perecerían de hambre.

Y habiéndoles dicho a todos que pues los dos referidos habían sido los principales motores, que como ellos no los habían cogido, y muertos o vivos nos los entregaban para castigarlos como se los teníamos pedidos, que no era bien que los admitieran en sus pueblos y rancherías porque como malo y rebeldes, habían de querer de nuevo, darles malos tlatoles. Que miraran lo que habían de hacer así gobernadores como capitanes, alcaldes y topiles, y todos los demás, que ello era fuerza que los buscaran y muertos o vivos, nos los trajeran. Que debajo de que cumplieran esta palabra, les perdonaríamos sus delitos en nombre del rey nuestro señor y nuestro. A lo cual respondieron uno a uno y todos juntos, que al presente habían hecho todas las diligencias por buscarlos para traerlos por engaños o vivos o muertos y que no habían podido hallarlos ni saber donde pudieran estar. Porque como los dos referidos se sentían culpados, andaban huyendo muy lejos entre otros de otra nación que llaman los desnudos, que están muy lejos tierra adentro. Que en yéndonos nosotros, bajarían todos a sus pueblos y que entonces se obligaban a cogerlos, vivos o muertos. Y que a más tardar, dentro de dos meses nos los llevarían a nosotros o a cualquier capitán español de los más cercanos, porque ellos deseaban la paz y vivir quietos en amistad de los españoles. Porque de todo su corazón habían bajado a vernos y a sentar la paz. Diciendo que estarían muy obedientes a cuanto se les ordenara y mandara por nosotros o cualesquiera capitanes españoles. Que ellos daban la obediencia al rey nuestro señor y a sus ministros. Y que se metían debajo del amparo real para que nosotros los defendiésemos y amparásemos como amigos y leales vasallos de su majestad. A lo cual les respondimos que si de todo su corazón lo decían y todos a una respondieron que según y como lo habían dicho así lo cumplirían, porque ya estaban hartos de ver muertes y andar huyendo. Que procuraban vivir quietos en lo de adelante.

Y habiéndoles dicho que era forzoso que cuando se juntara toda la gente en sus pueblos y rancherías buscaran los ornamentos, aras, cálices y alhajas de las iglesias, y que todo lo llevarán al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, al pueblo de los Dolores. Y que se lo entregaran a dicho padre. Y todos respondieron que en juntándose la gente en sus pueblos y rancherías irían juntando cuanto hubiera de las

iglesias y los padres y que todo lo llevarían y entregarían a dicho padre Eusebio Kino. Y que para el mismo tiempo irían a llevar las cabezas del fiscal y caporal del pueblo de Tubutama. Y habiéndoles dicho que si así lo harían los ampararía el rey nuestro señor y nosotros y que conoceríamos deseaban su quietud y nuestra amistad y todos volvieron a responder que así lo cumplirían y no faltarían a ello.

Y habiéndoles dicho que era forzoso buscar a los sobas del pueblo de Caborca para castigarlos y saber donde se hallaban que así habían de ir algunos con nosotros para enseñarnos la tierra y para lo que se pudiera ofrecer. A lo cual respondió el gobernador de Tucubavi que él estaba pronto a ir con nosotros y que llevaría algunos de sus hijos para cuanto se nos pudiera ofrecer. Y asimismo les dijimos que no habíamos visto que hubieran bajado ningunos los indios de los pueblos del Bosna, Tupo y Toozona. Que no sabíamos si sería verdad o mentira el que hubieran bajado a ver al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, como ellos habían dicho, que era también forzoso buscarlos, que no podíamos irnos sin verlos. Que así les enviasen sus tlatoles para que saliesen a vernos a la Ciénaga del Tupo porque de no hacerlo así, los buscaríamos para castigarlos como a rebeldes y pertinaces. Y que si en la correría de Caborca o sus tierras los topábamos, les habíamos de hacer la guerra. Que así no tuvieran ellos que echarnos la culpa y ni les sirviera de motivo para volverse a retirar, que ellos y todos sus parientes quedaban perdonados, en nombre del rey nuestro señor y nuestro. Que en esta fe y palabra, desde luego, podían bajarse a sus pueblos y vivir sin temor ninguno. A lo cual respondieron que estaban prontos a despacharles tlatoles para que saliesen a recibirnos a la Ciénaga del Tupo. Que si no lo quisieran hacer, sería bien los buscásemos para castigarlos. Que no por esto se habían de volver ellos a alborotar ni a coger las armas contra los españoles.

Y habiéndoles dicho que era forzoso nombrarles un capitán general para que los gobernase a todos, así gobernantes como capitanes, alcaldes y topiles y demás pericuanes, que mirasen ellos cual sería más a propósito, porque todos le habían de obedecer y estar a sus órdenes. Y habiéndose visto en ello respondieron que les parecía a todos sería muy a propósito para que los gobernase el gobernador de Tucubavi. Y a nosotros nos pareció muy bien la elección y la aceptamos en nombre de su majestad, que Dios guarde, la confirmamos y le dimos un bastón de capitán general. Y asimismo nombramos por gobernador del pueblo de Tubutama al indio que apesó dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente en la ranchería de Santa Marta, por haber visto lo mucho que había trabajado en el asiento de las paces. Y que sería muy a propósito para el gobierno y reducir al pueblo toda su gente. Y a un mismo tiempo les entregamos los bastones a los dos referidos indios, al uno de capitán general y al otro de gobernador. Y habiéndose hincado de rodillas para recibirlos, les dimos a entender que aquellos bastones y los que los traían representaban la real persona del rey nuestro señor y que así, en su real nombre, se los entregábamos para que como hombres de juicio gobernasen en toda paz y quietud a todos sus parientes sin consentir que ninguno diese malos tlatoles entre ellos, ni parasen a hacer robos a los poblados de los españoles, ni a los pueblo de los indios amigos. Y que si algunos lo quisieran hacer, los habían de castigar y no consentirlos en sus pueblos y rancherías, porque de no hacerlo así, les echaríamos la culpa al capitán general y demás justicias y que serían castigados por consentidores.

A lo cual respondieron todos a una, que en ningún tiempo habían ellos hecho guerra a los españoles ni a los indios cristianos, ni menos habían robado ganados, ni caballadas. Que por qué lo habían de hacer ahora que habían experimentado en



la guerra las armas de los españoles. Que ellos nunca consentirían tlatoleros ni ladrones en sus pueblos, ni rancherías y que si algunos lo quisieran ser los castigarían con todo rigor.

Y asimismo les dijimos que todos habían de estar muy obedientes a su gobernador y capitán general. Y que de cuanto se les ofreciera le habían de dar cuenta. Y todos respondieron que así lo harían sin faltar a cuanto les habíamos dicho. Y asimismo les propusimos que al presente no habían de entrar padres misioneros a sus pueblos, porque a su pedimento había enviado su majestad al padre que habían muerto en el pueblo de Caborca y al padre que salió huyendo del pueblo de Tubutama, habiendo tan poco tiempo que habían entrado dichos padres en sus tierras a predicarles y darles a entender el santo evangelio por que el diablo no se llevará sus almas como lo había hecho por tanto tiempo con sus antepasados.

Que para lo de adelante se vieran y miraran por sus almas. Que si ellos procuraban ser cristianos y pedir padres para que los administrasen, los enviaría el rey nuestro señor para que los instruyesen en los misterios de nuestra santa fe. Que entendieran que a los padres los habían de venerar y respetar mucho porque dejante de representar en las tierras a Cristo Nuestro Señor, venían a sus pueblos con orden de su majestad. Que ellos no los veneraban ni respetaban como nosotros lo hacíamos, pues pasaban a darles la muerte. Que esto lo había sentido el rey, nuestro señor, mucho. Y que nosotros también lo habíamos sentidos y que por esta razón nos enviaba nuestro rey a hacerles la guerra y castigarlos como merecían. Y que por haber pedido las paces y haber sucedido tantas muertes en ellos, usando de misericordia, los admitíamos y perdonábamos en nombre de su majestad. Que en adelante se miraran muy bien para pedir padres.

A lo cual respondieron que todos los de los pueblos y rancherías de estos contornos no habían muerto ni pretendido matar a ninguno de los padres, porque antes los querían mucho. Que sólo al fiscal y caporal del pueblo de Tubutama los había engañado el diablo para que alborotasen la gente y enviasen los tlatoles a los indio de Caborca para que matasen al padre, que ellos no tenían la culpa de esto. Que en yéndonos nosotros se juntarían todos los gobernaodres y demás gentes para determinar entre todos el pedir padres. Que de lo que resultara avisarían al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino cuando le llevaran las alhajas que pudieran hallar y juntar de las iglesias. Que hasta que juntaran esto y entregaran las dos cabezas del fiscal y el caporal, no podían determinar cosa alguna.

Y habiéndoles dicho que así lo debían ejecutar para quedar bien asentadas las paces y que los esperaríamos los dos meses que pedían de término. A lo cual respondieron todos a una que si antes de dichos dos meses pudieran conseguir todo lo referido lo ejecutarían y pasarían al pueblo de los Dolores a dar noticia al padre Eusebio Francisco Kino o al capitán más cercano. Y habiéndoles dicho que de hacerlo como lo ofrecían quedaríamos todos muy contentos y conoceríamos que deseaban su quietud y nuestra amistad y habiéndole dado cuantos tlatoles pueden conducir al servicio de las dos majestades y bien común, les dijimos que ya todo se había acabado y que así podían irse a descansar y cuando quisieran irse a sus pueblos, lo podrían hacer libremente. Y habiendo alabado al santísimo sacramento por tres veces, nos fueron abrazando todos mostrándose agradecidos, muy contentos y arrepentidos de todo lo pasado, ofreciendo que de su parte serían fijas las paces. Y nosotros le ofrecimos lo mismo. Y luego les mandamos a entregar a las indias cautivas y todas las cabalgaduras que se conocieron ser suyas.

Y habiéndoles mandado dar ración de carne y harina, se contaron cincuenta y cuatro hombres, todos sin armas, y dieciséis mujeres con algunos muchachos, los cuales se fueron a sus ranchos muy contentos como a horas de las dos de la tarde. Y después, anduvieron paseando por los ranchos de los soldados, haciendo cambalaches hasta que cerró la noche.

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En este paraje de la ranchería de Oquitoa en el 22 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, como a horas de las once de la mañana, mandamos traer ante nosotros a la india apresada en la entrada que hicimos el día 20 del corriente para cogerle declaración en forma y saber el diseño de los rebeldes. Y habiéndole preguntado por medio del alférez Francisco de Acuña, intérprete nombrado en estos autos, si era cristiana o gentil y de qué pueblo natural. Dijo que era gentil y natural del pueblo de Caborca. Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe o ha oído decir qué causas tuvieron para alzarse y matar al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta, misionero de su pueblo. Dijo que lo que sabe es que un indio que hacía oficio de alcalde en la ranchería de Oquitoa y que era cristiano y se llamaba Juan, había llegado al cuarto de alba y con mucha gente indiana de arco y flecha de las rancherías de Oquitoa, Pitiquín y algunos del pueblo de Tubutama, habían echado cerco al pueblo sin saberlo ninguno de los naturales de aquel pueblo, ni ella, ni las demás mujeres porque entraron dando alaridos por todas partes. De suerte que todas las mujeres salían huyendo de sus casas. Y topándose con los indios enemigos les decían que no huyeran, que a ellas, ni a sus parientes iban a matarlos. Que a quien iban a matar era al padre y a los ópatas cristianos que con él estaban. Que entonces mataron en sus casas a dos ópatas y que uno salió huyendo por el bosque y que lo siguieron hasta que lo mataron. Y que el padre gritaba al gobernador y al capitán del pueblo, los cuales vinieron y empezaron a defender al padre diciéndole a los enemigos que por qué lo querían matar. Y que ellos les decían que había de morir, que si acaso era su pariente, que por qué lo defendían. Que sin poderlo remediar ninguno del pueblo, había muerto al padre y a un muchacho cristiano de nación ópata. Y que por todos los que mataron con el padre fueron cinco personas.

Y habiéndole preguntado que qué habían hecho con las alhajas de la iglesia y ropa del padre luego que hicieron las muertes. Dijo que los matadores habían entrado en la casa y a pedazos unos con otros repartieron los ornamentos y alhajas de la iglesia y del padre. Y que habiendo hecho líos se volvieron a su ranchería quedándose todos los del pueblo mirándose unos a otros sin saber lo que les había sucedido. Y habiéndole preguntado que si los matadores habían dado alguna ropa de la iglesia o del padre a los del pueblo. Dijo que no le habían dado ninguna del padre ni de la iglesia. Que la ropa que dieron a sus parientes fue la ropa que era de los cristianos sirvientes del padre. Que el cáliz lo tiene un indio de la ranchería de Aritoaba que es hermano del gobernador de dicha ranchería y que a éste se lo dio el alcalde de Oquitoa, porque el que tiene el cáliz ni ninguno de su ranchería, dice este declarante, que no se hallaron en la muerte del padre.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabe o ha oído decir que de qué pueblo o ranchería salió el tlatole para el alzamiento o que si sabía qué indio o indios habían andado dando malos tlatoles. Dijo que lo que sabe es que todo salió del pueblo de Tubutama. Que no ha oído decir que los indios de Caborca hubiesen

venido a Tubutama ningunos a llevar malos ni buenos tlatoles ni menos haberse hallado en las muertes de Tubutama. Que los que se hallaron en Tubutama fueron los de Oquitoa y estos contornos y que éstos fueron los que fueron a Caborca a hacer las muertes como lo tiene dicho. Y que el topile que bajó a vernos a Tucujota no era del Bosane como nos dijo, sino de esta ranchería de Oquitoa donde siempre vivía. Y que éste se huyó de nuestro real y llegó de noche a la ranchería y les dijo a todos los indios e indias: "los capitanes españoles dicen que quieren que les entreguemos al fiscal y caporal de Tubutama y acabar con nosotros porque dicen que matamos al padre y no quieren perdonarnos." Que por esta razón desde aquella hora salieron huyendo las mujeres por los bosques. Que otro día se juntaron y como era mucha gente trataron de apartarse. Y los de Caborca les dijeron a los de Oquitoa, Pitiquín y Tubutama: "Vosotros sois muchos y dejáis ancho camino y os han de seguir y ya que por vuestra causa andamos de esta suerte, nos iremos nosotros para nuestra tierra." Y que entonces tiraron los de Caborca para la sierra donde los apresamos, que cae al poniente como diez leguas del pueblo de Caborca. Y nosotros le pusimos a dicha sierra San Bernardo. Y que toda la gente de las rancherías referidas se fueron hacia otras sierras que están a la parte del sur. Que no sabe ni ha oído decir quienes fueron los primeros indios que empezaron a dar malos tlatoles.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si los indios de Caborca y los de estos contornos habían ido con la junta que fue a quemar los pueblos de Imuris, San Ignacio y la Magdalena. Dijo que sí habían ido todos los indios de los pueblos y rancherías de estos contornos porque el gobernador del Bosane los había andado convidando a todos para ir a dicha función.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si los indios de Caborca, Pitiquín y otras rancherías de los sobas habían traído a sus rancherías algunos cálices u ornamentos de las iglesias de los tres pueblos referidos o alguna ropa del padre, dijo que ella no había visto ninguna alhaja de las iglesias ni ropa de los padres en su ranchería, porque luego que mataron al padre en su pueblo se retiraron a la sierra donde la apresamos. Y que allí se estuvieron mucho tiempo hasta que el gobernador del Bosne envió los tlatoles con una sarta de corales falsos para que se juntase la gente. Que entonces se volvieron a sus pueblos y que el tlatole que daban en las rancherías para que se juntase la gente era diciendo que no tardan de ir a vengar las muertes de sus parientes para que descansaran sus corazones. Que cuando no pudieran matar a los españoles matarían los ganados menores y mayores y flecharían las caballadas, que con esto quedarían vengados.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si en los bailes o tlatoles, que ahora tenían sus parientes, decían que si habían de estar quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías, dar la paz o hacer guerra en las fronteras de los españoles y pueblos de indios cristianos, que dijera la verdad de lo que sabía o había oído decir. Y responde que lo que sabe es que el gobernador del Bosne y la gente que va con él habían dicho a los de Caborca que fueran tantos que asegurarían sus familias y nos espiarían nuestro real y una noche nos flecharían a los españoles y a la caballada, que con eso nos saldríamos de sus tierras y ellos se bajarían a poblarlas. Que no había oído decir que irían o no a los poblados de los españoles a hacer guerra ni a juntar caballadas.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabía en qué paraje se podían hallar los indios del Bosne y los que iban con ellos. Dijo que sí sabía el paraje donde habían dicho iban a rancharse y que ella nos enseñaría. Que esto es lo que sabe y tiene que decir a todo cuanto se le ha preguntado. Que si supiera otra cosa lo dijera.

Y habiéndole dado a entender todo lo que tiene dicho y declarado por medio del intérprete, se afirmó y ratificó en todo, y no se le cogió juramento por parecernos ser incapaz de entender la gravedad de él. Y será de edad al parecer de dieciocho años poco más o menos y no firmó porque dijo no saber. Firmámoslo nosotros, dichos generales, con el secretario de guerra y dos testigos y el alférez Francisco de Acuña, quien ha hecho oficio de intérprete.

En este paraje que llaman el Altar del Mesquite, abajo de la ranchería de Oquitoa en el río de Tubutama, en el 23 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este dicho paraje como a horas de las diez de la mañana llegó a este real el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino de la Compañía de Jesús, misionero en el pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores que es de indios de nación pima. Y en compañía de dicho padre llegaron el sargento Cristóbal de Vargas, con otros siete soldados así de los que fueron en su compañía cuando llevó la orden para traer a este paraje todo el real que estaba en la Ciénaga de la Matanza. Como cuatro soldados más de los que estaban en dicho real y dicho sargento nos dijo que habiendo llegado al real de la ciénega dio la orden que llevaba al sargento Diego López Zambrano, a cuyo cargo estaba dicho real.

Y estando para salir con todo para este paraje les dijo a dichos sargentos dicho padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, que respecto a hallarse en aquel real más de cien indios y algunas mujeres y muchachos que habían bajado a vernos y a pedir la paz y que se esperaban otros muchos de diferentes pueblos y rancherías con sus gobernadores y capitanes. Que no sería acertado que toda la gente española, bastimentos y caballos se mudase de aquel paraje hasta que nosotros fuésemos y viésemos a los indios que allí estaban. Porque de mudarse todo en el todo para acá adentro pudiera ser que en aquellos entraran algunos temores, de suerte que pudieran retirarse a las sierras y perderse lo mucho que por todas partes teníamos adelantado en esta materia. Que su paternidad cogería el trabajo de venir a vernos. Que para lo que pudiera ofrecerse por acá nos despacharan algunas cargas de bastimento para que tuviésemos lo necesario en el ínterin que pudiéramos ajustar la paz con los indios de estos contornos. Y respecto a estas razones que dijo dicho padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, los referidos sargentos se conformaron con ellas, así por lo referido como porque vieron que había muchos soldados enfermos y muchos caballos maltratados y porque los indios que habían bajado a aquel paraje a vernos y a asentar la paz se habían puesto muy tristes. Que viendo estábamos los unos de los otros casi treinta leguas de distancia, determinaron despacharnos siete cargas de harina, pinole y carne, las cuales nos entregó dicho sargento Cristóbal de Vargas. Y nos pareció muy acertada la determinación porque consideramos pudiera haber gran desconfianza en los indios, así en los que estaban en aquel real como a los que se hallan en éste. Y porque pudiera ser mucha la pérdida de caballada que nos fuera de gran atraso para lo mucho que tenemos entre manos a que asistir del servicio de las dos majestades.

Y habiéndose desmontado dicho padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, después de haber dicho misa, nos dijo su paternidad que antes de salir del real de la Ciénaga de su parte había despachado diferentes correos a llamar a los gobernadores y capitanes de los pueblos del Bosne, Caborca y otras rancherías con orden de que con la razón que adquiriesen de los indios bajasen a Caborca o a este paraje a vernos, así por sí solos como viniendo con ellos algunos de los gobernadores, capitanes u otros indios de cualesquiera pueblos o rancherías de estos contornos.

Y mirando nosotros, dichos generales, a todo lo referido y a la declaración hecha por la india apresada y por constar lo poco culpado de los indios del pueblo de Caborca, en este alzamiento, aunque tenemos despachada otra india con tlatoles a llamar a la gente de dicho pueblo, nos pareció que de este real saliesen tres indios, de los que se han asentado de paz, con la india para que todos fuesen en nuestro nombre con nuevos tlatoles a llamar al gobernador, capitán y demás indios del referido pueblo y al gobernador de Tubutama. Y otros dos indios y la india se convidaron a ir y dar los tlatoles y de su parte hacer con todo empeño la diligencia para que toda la gente viniese a vernos y a pedir la paz al pueblo de Caborca donde determinamos ir a esperar los unos y otros correos. Y les dijimos que en aquel paraje nos hallarían, que por la mañana saldríamos de éste sin falta ninguna.

Y habiéndoles dado todos los tlatoles que se requieren en tales casos, así de nuestra parte como la del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, salieron de este real muy contentos como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde de este dicho día.

En 24 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos en este paraje del Altar, como a horas de las cuatro de la mañana dimos orden para que se arrimase la caballada. Y mientras oímos misa ensillaron y cargaron las cargas de bastimento. Y estando todos los caballos, salimos marchando en forma el camino abajo. Y como a las doce del día pasamos por la ranchería del Pitiquín donde reconocimos que no habían llegado ningunos indios a las milpas. Y de allí fuimos pasando hasta el pueblo de Caborca donde antes de llegar, como una legua, adelantamos una escuadra de soldados para que fuesen cortando la tierra y reconociesen si entraban o salían algunos rastros en los contornos del paraje donde estuvimos rancheados y de dicho pueblo. Y habiendo parado con todo el real, como a la una del día, poco más o menos, estando con determinación de esperar los correos que fueron despachados desde la Ciénaga de la Matanza con orden del padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, como por esperar los que fueron despachados por nosotros, dichos generales, al llamado de la gente indiana del pueblo de Caborca. Y como a horas de las tres de la tarde llegaron a este real y ante nosotros cinco indios, los dos del pueblo de San Ignacio y otros dos de la ranchería de Toozona y el uno del pueblo de los Dolores que son los referidos correos que despachó dicho padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, los cuales nos dijeron que habían andado más de treinta leguas por diferentes bosques y sierras en busca de los indios del Bosane y Tucujota y que no habían podido topar en cuanto habían andado con ningún hombre ni mujer, que sólo habían visto unos rastros de mujeres y muchachos que iban enderezados hacia la Ciénaga de la Matanza. Que no los siguieron por ver que iban para donde estaba el otro real. Que desde allí vinieron pasando como dos leguas de Pitiquín a la parte del oeste, donde dieron con una vereda de rastros viejos que iban enderezados a una sierra muy alta que está en dicho rumbo. Que por estar muy lejos y venir muy sedientos por no haber dado con agua en todo el camino se habían vuelto a buscarlos a este paraje para darnos esta razón.

Y habiéndolos oído les dijimos que se fueran a descansar habiéndoles dado carne y pinole para que comiesen. Y como a horas de las nueve de la noche llegaron Francisco de Gracia y los soldados que despaché a correr la tierra yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente. Y me dijeron que habían visto, en contornos del paraje donde habíamos estado y de este pueblo, como veinte rastros al parecer de indios de pie que andaban desparramados. Y que habiéndoles seguido,

por día por diferentes partes, vieron que se fueron juntando en un arroyo que está en el camino que llevamos a la ranchería que estaba en la sierra de San Bernardo. Y que desde dicho arroyo, donde estuvieron parados y todos juntos, se volvieron a desparramar. De suerte que no pudieron volver a verlos, lo uno, por ser la tierra tiesa y haber mucho monte. Y por ver que les cerraba la noche se habían vuelto a darnos esta razón.

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En este paraje de la Ciénaga de la Matanza, en 30 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, después de haber oído misa en el pueblo del Tupo, el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino y en este real, el padre capellán Agustín de Campos de la Compañía de Jesús, como a horas de las ocho de la mañana, dijimos al alférez Francisco de Acuña, quien ha hecho oficio de intérprete en esta campaña, que llamase a los gobernadores e indios pimas que se hallaban en este real. Y estando todos juntos nos sentamos y los mandamos sentar a todos. Y estando presentes los gobernadores del Bosne, el del pueblo de Tupo y el de la ranchería de Toozona y otras muchas justicias y entre ellas el capitán del pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Dolores, a quienes por haberse hallado presentes al tiempo y cuando sucedieron las muertes en este paraje hechas por orden del teniente Antonio de Solís.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si dicho teniente había, el día antes que ejecutara las muertes, apartado y despachado a sus pueblos a la gente del Tupo y la de Toozona quedando algunos hombres del Bosne, Tubutama y Araupo respondieron todos que era verdad, que así lo había hecho dicho teniente Antonio de Solís. Y habiéndole preguntado que si estando juntos y sin armas les había dicho, dicho teniente, por dos y tres veces por medio de dicho intérprete, Francisco de Acuña, que se estuvieran quietos, que no se alborotaran ni procuraran huirse porque el que lo hiciera había de morir a mano de los soldados y gente indiana amiga, que su intención no era otra que el coger algunos otros malos tlatoleros para castigar a los que lo merecían. Y todos a una respondieron que era mucha verdad que así se lo había dicho el referido teniente, pero que viendo que habían cogido a uno, todos los demás se procuraron huir temiendo el que a todos los querían amarrar. Y que entonces los fueron matando antes de poder coger sus armas. Y el gobernador del Tupo dijo que él y su hermano estaban en la tienda con el padre capellán Agustín Campos, quien les decía que no huyeran y que con todo lo que les decía dicho padre se habían huido. Que a su hermano, que era gobernador, lo mataron y que a él lo amarró un soldado y luego lo perdonaron y dicho teniente lo hizo gobernador de su pueblo. Y lo mismo respondió el gobernador del Bosne y todos los demás diciendo que ellos habían tenido la culpa de haber creído a los tlatoleros del pueblo de Tubutama. Que sabían que por aquellos malos habían muerto muchos buenos que estaban quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías pero que ellos procurarían buscar los principales motores del alzamiento para quitarles las cabezas y entregarlas a los capitanes españoles. A lo cual respondimos que los gobernadores y justicias de Tucubavi, Tubutama, Moicaque, Caborca y Pitiquín habían ofrecido lo mismo, que de hacerlo así conoceríamos que procuraban castigar los malos y vivir quietos en sus pueblos y rancherías. Que de no castigar los tlatoleros como merecían, procurarían otra vez inquietarlos con malos tlatoles. A lo cual respondieron que no los admitirían en sus pueblos rancherías, que con toda brevedad procurarían matarlos porque estaban hartos de ver muertes, pasar hambres y

sedes, huyendo con sus hijos y mujeres por los montes y sierras. Que no querían guerra con los españoles sino el ser sus amigos de una vez. A lo cual les dijimos que si de todo su corazón daban la obediencia al rey, nuestro señor y pedían la paz. Y todos respondieron que daban la debida obediencia y la paz a su majestad, que Dios guarde y a sus reales ministros. A lo cual les dijimos que de hacerlo así su majestad y nosotros, en su real nombre, los perdonabamos, ampararíamos y defenderíamos de sus enemigos porque la voluntad del rey, nuestro señor y la nuestra no era otra sino es el que se redujesen a pueblos en forma y pidiesen padres para que los administrasen. Que su majestad, que Dios guarde, se los daría con muy buena voluntad para que no se perdiesen sus almas. A lo cual respondieron que estaban prontos en siendo tiempo a pedir padres y reducirse a pueblos en el río de San Ignacio.

Y habiéndoles dicho que el rey, nuestro señor y nosotros no procurábamos quitarles sus tierras, hijos ni mujeres, que así se mirasen muy bien para ver de poblarse y pedir padres misioneros, porque si había de ser para no respetarlos y para matarlos lo sentirían mucho su majestad y sus ministros y españoles. A lo cual respondieron que ellos no habían muerto al padre Francisco Xavier Saeta, que los de Tubutama y otros lo habían muerto y que después los habían amenazado a ellos si no se juntaban con los malhechores. Que por estas amenazas y todo lo que había sucedido se habían retirado de sus pueblos y rancherías. Que estaban prontos a que los administrasen los padres, que los querrían, respetarían y estimarían mucho. Que en lo que les había pasado, había sido por engaño del demonio. Que ya estaban muy arrepentidos y que no faltarían a lo que le mandasen las justicias españolas y los padres misioneros. Que buscarían, juntándose todos en sus pueblos y rancherías, los cálices, ornamentos y alhajas de las iglesias que habían saqueado y que todo lo restituirían con buena voluntad. A lo cual les dijimos que de hacerlo así y como lo ofrecían conoceríamos que la paz quedaba asentada y que en lo de adelante sería el bien para ellos, sus mujeres e hijos. Y todos respondieron que como lo habían dicho y ofrecido, así lo cumplirían sin faltar en cosa alguna. Y habiéndonos mostrado muy agradecidos a sus razones se mostraron muy contentos. Y al parecer que las paces que han dado, así éstos como todos los demás gobernadores y capitanes indios de esta nación, han sido y serán en lo de adelante muy fijas y las guardarán y cumplirán con mucha fidelidad, a nuestro entender, por ser toda gente muy laboria y tener parajes muy fértiles y abundantes de agua, pastos y montes, que es lo que buscan para sus poblados.

Y habiéndoles dado otros muchos tlatoles, muy del servicio de las dos majestades, les dimos carne y pinole a más de setenta indios e indias y les dijimos que cuando quisieran se podían ir a sus pueblos y rancherías. Y todos respondieron que si les dábamos licencia se irían a limpiar sus milpas de maíz y sembrar frijoles porque había ocho días que estaban en este paraje esperándonos. Y habiéndoles dicho que se fueran con Dios, se despidieron de nosotros abrazándonos los gobernadores y capitanes. Y todos se fueron muy contentos y agradecidos.

En 31 días del mes de agosto de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este paraje de la Ciénaga de la Matanza, que este nombre se le puso por haber sucedido las muertes de los pimas en esta ciénaga como a un cuarto de legua de distancia donde al presente está este real y así se llamara aquel el Paraje de las Muertes, y éste el de las Ultimas Paces de los Pimas y por haber sido el día de Santa Rosa el ajuste de toda

esta nación y no haber más de un álamo en más de cuatro leguas de ciénaga le damos por nombre el Alamo de Santa Rosa.

Y este dicho día, como a horas de las seis de la mañana, mandamos arrimar la caballada. Y habiendo cargado las cargas de bastimiento y estando montados a caballo todos los soldados salimos marchando en forma. Y como a las ocho de la mañana, llegamos al pueblo del Tupo donde vimos en el camino muchas cruces y arcos que tenían puestos los indios de dicho pueblo, quienes nos salieron a recibir muy contentos. Y habiéndoles dicho que nos alegrábamos mucho de verlos en su pueblo y casas, nos dijeron que ellos se hallaban muy gustosos y que procuraban vivir quietos con sus hijos y mujeres y cuidar sus milpas para sustentarse como lo habían hecho siempre sin hacer robos ni muertes en los poblados de los españoles ni de los indios cristianos, que sólo en esta ocasión los había engañado el diablo. Y habiéndoles dicho muchas razones tocantes a su quietud, nos despedimos de ellos dejándolos a todos con mucho regocijo y proseguimos la marcha hasta el pueblo de la Magdalena, donde llegamos como a horas de las diez del día.

Y estando esperando a que llegase todo el real de cargas y caballada, yo, dicho general don Domingo de Terán de los Ríos, dije que era forzoso apartarme con algunos soldados porque tenía algunas diligencias que hacer en la provincia de Sonora del servicio de su majestad, que tardaría de ida y vuelta como quince días. A lo cual respondí que yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, diciendo que este campo se componía de más de ciento veinte soldados pagados y algunos vecinos de la provincia de Sonora y que había en el pueblo de Cocóspera más de cien indios amigos esperándonos para ir a la campaña contra los enemigos janos y sus aliados, que de detenernos tanto tiempo enfermaría la gente española por ser el temple malo y haberlo experimentado y se huirían los indios amigos, pues lo hacían desde más lejos cada vez que se llega a hacer mansión y que se gastarían los pocos bastimentos que había y entraría el invierno y no podríamos hacer castigo ni reducción en las naciones rebeldes. Que sería mejor dejase orden para que sus soldados prosiguiesen marchando vía recta porque no nos detuviésemos y perdiéramos tiempo. Que su merced podía llevar cuatro o seis soldados y hacer despacio las diligencias proponiéndole que en el pueblo de Cocóspera las podría hacer con muchos vecinos republicanos en dicha provincia. A cuyas razones dicho general, don Domingo Terán, dijo que sus soldados lo habían de esperar hasta que volviese de su viaje. Y yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, dije que los enemigos janos y sus aliados habían quebrantado las paces juntando caballada en el pueblo de Cocóspera y en el real de Bacanuche. Que de haber dilación en salir a campaña se podrían seguir graves daños en deservicio de las dos majestades y bien común. Y por dos y tres veces hice testigos diciendo que lo fueran de todas estas razones por si acaso en algún tiempo resultara el hacernos algunos cargos por la detención, que yo estaba pronto con la gente de mi cargo a seguir la marcha sin perder día ninguno.

Y habiendo pasado todo lo referido, dicho general, don Domingo Terán, se quedó en dicho pueblo de la Magdalena con todos sus soldados y los del presidio de Sinaloa. Y yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, proseguí marchando con mi compañía y la de la provincia de Sonora del cargo del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. Y como a la una del día pasamos por el pueblo de San Ignacio donde me recibieron los indios con mucho amor. Y vimos que estaban limpiando la iglesia y casa del padre que habían quemado los enemigos, dicién-



donos que la querían techar. Y habiéndole dado los tlatoles que se requieren, nos despedimos de ellos prosiguiendo la marcha hasta la estancia del pueblo de Imuris, que por haber caminado más de diez leguas y ser como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde mandé parar el real para hacer noche en dicho paraje.

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En 16 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este arroyo que sale de la sierra de Chiricahua, como a hora de las siete de la mañana nos avisaron la centinela que teníamos puesta que había visto un humazo en medio de la sierra de Chiricahua. Y habiendo reconocido que era mucha la humareda que salía de la cañada que hace al nacimiento de este arroyo por entender que los treinta y seis soldados que habían salido la noche antes a cargo del teniente Antonio de Solís estarían peleando, por haberles dado por seña que hicieran humazos, mandamos arrimar las caballadas. Y ensillando a toda prisa echamos la gente indiana amiga del real. Y dimos orden que se quedaran treinta soldados con dicho general don Domingo Terán por estar enfermo y que se levantase el real con todas las cargas de bastimentos y caballadas de todas las compañías y que viniesen marchando para la sierra. Que de lo que viera o sucediera daríamos aviso con un soldado.

Y saliendo nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con las armas, soldados y con doscientos indios amigos a todo correr, a distancia de dos leguas, topamos un soldado llamado Bernardo de la Parra que nos dijo que el teniente Antonio de Solís lo despachaba para que nos dijese que yendo marchando con su escuadra al amanecer habían topado dos yeguas y un rastro de un indio de a pie muy fresco, el cual había venido siguiendo por dentro de la sierra y que de improviso habían dado con una ranchería acabada de despoblar. Y que conocieron que toda la gente iba de huida por los picachos de la sierra, que aunque en lengua suma les gritaron muchas veces, no quisieron pararse ni responder. Y en la ranchería habían dejado todos sus trastes de huacales, gamuzas y la carne de unos caballos que tenían recién muertos y que también había vivos algunos caballos y yeguas y un burro que por el hierro conocían eran dichas cabalgaduras del padre del partido de Cuquiarachic. Y que habían visto que había algunos ranchos de fábrica de apaches y otros de las demás naciones. Que no habían querido llegar a nada de la ranchería ni seguirlos por ser muy áspera tierra hasta que nosotros llegásemos. Que porque fuéramos breves habían dado los humazos. Y con esta razón mandamos marchar poco a poco para sobrellevar los caballos y no cansar la gente amiga. Y a dicho soldado Bernardo de la Parra le dijimos que pasara a dar esta razón a dicho general don Domingo Terán y que poco a poco viniese marchando con el real y que parase en un llano que hace en la boca de la cañada, que nosotros íbamos prosiguiendo a la sierra.

Y habiendo caminado como cuatro leguas, hallamos al teniente Antonio de Solís y demás soldados que con él habían ido encima de un cerro como dos tiros de arcabuz desviados de la ranchería. Y nos dijo todo lo referido. Y estando esperando a que llegase toda la gente amiga y que los caballos cogiesen algún resuello, vimos que por un cerro venía bajando un indio. Y entendiendo vendría a hablar con nosotros, nos arrimamos los dos dichos generales y el teniente Antonio de Solís y un soldado que sabe hablar la lengua suma. Y estando muy cercanos, le decíamos

por medio del intérprete que bajara, que no se le haría mal. Y viendo que no respondía, fuimos donde estaba y era un indio ciego y sordo, el cual dijo que era jano y que aquella ranchería era de jocomes y apaches que así que habían sentido a los españoles les habían dado a huír por la sierra que los janos, mansos y sumas con los chinarras y una ranchería de apaches estaban en el río de Gila. Y habiendo llamado a todos los soldados y gente amiga, nos dividimos en escuadras y entramos registrando muchos cerros y los bosques del arroyo sin dar con gente ninguna hasta que habíamos pasado más de dos leguas adelante de la ranchería. Que de un alto picacho, nos gritó un indio diciendo que querían ser amigos y compañeros de los españoles. Y habiendo llegado muy cerca donde estaba, le dijimos que porqué se habían huído de su ranchería dejando cuanto tenían, que si no nos habían dado las paces y estaban esperando como les habíamos dicho que habíamos de volver a verlos. A lo cual dijo que sí estaban de paz y esperándonos pero que cuando vieron ir los soldados tuvieron miedo y que por esto se habían huido toda la gente por la sierra.

Y habiéndole dicho que ya habíamos visto las bestias que habían hurtado que no tuvieran miedo que bajaran a hablar con nosotros que no les haríamos mal ninguno. A lo cual dijo que subieran algunos de los generales y capitanes de los indios amigos que hablarían con ellos. Y habiendo subido el capitán de los sobaipures y el de los pimas y el gobernador de los ópatas, hablaron con el indio gran rato estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, como un tiro de arcabuz de distancia. Y viendo que se dilataba para bajar donde yo estaba, mandé que fueran subiendo soldados y gente amiga. Y yendo ya muy cerca me dijeron los capitanes amigos que me desmontara y subiera un poco a pie que el indio les decía quería hablar conmigo. Y habiéndome desmontado, subí encima de un peñasco donde bajó el indio, a quien conocí ser jcome y hermano del que habíamos hecho gobernador en las paces pasadas y él me conoció muy bien.

Y habiendonos sentado, por medio de los intérpretes, le dije que porque habiendo dado la paz y quedado de ser amigos y no hacer robos ni daños en los poblados de los españoles e indios amigos no lo habían cumplido, que luego que nos apartamos de ellos habían ido a hurtar caballadas a Bacanuche y Teuricache. Que ya lo habíamos sabido y vimos en su ranchería las bestias. Que como no bajaban, su hermano siendo gobernador, que ellos no querían guardar ni cumplir lo que quedaban con nosotros. Que si querían guerra desde luego iríamos subiendo por los picachos en su seguimiento. A lo cual respondió que su hermano estaba en la ranchería de los janos, enfermo. Que era verdad que algunos mocetones, por tener hambre toda la gente, habían ido a hurtar algunas bestias y que los capitanes los habían reñido. Que ellos estaban todos en cumplir las paces que habían dado y bajarse a poblar en pueblos donde nosotros los pusiéramos. Que iría a llamar la gente y les hablaría para que algunos hombres bajasen con él a nuestro real. Que por haber ido de huida estarían muy desparramados por los bosques y picachos de la sierra. Que sería menester lo restante de todo el día para juntarlos. Que otro día bajarían a nuestro real a asentar de una vez la paz. Y que despacharía a avisar las demás naciones.

Y por reconocer en nosotros que, según la aspereza de la tierra y lo destronado de los caballos y huida que ellos llevaban y sería tarde, no era posible darles alcance ni hacer castigo condigno a sus muchas maldades. Y por ver que no se remediaba nada con sólo un indio y que todo se pudiera perder de apresarle, le dije

yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, que fuera y juntara la gente de la ranchería y que por la mañana bajara con algunos principales a vernos y hablar en el real, que ya estaba a la boca de la cañada donde él lo estaba mirando. Que no importaba que hubieran hurtado bestias. Que bien podían venir con todo seguro que no les haría ningún agravio como no se les había hecho en otras muchas ocasiones que habían bajado de paz. Que aunque la habían quebrantado muchas veces, atendiendo nosotros a los que nos mandaba el rey, nuestro señor, les perdonábamos una y muchas veces todos sus delitos. Porque la voluntad de su majestad, que Dios guarde y nuestra no era otra que el que se poblasen y viviesen quietos en sus tierras sustentándose con sembrar maíz, frijoles, calabazas y otras semillas, como lo hacen todas las naciones amigas de los españoles. Y que ellos conocen como son los conchos, ópatas, sobaipures, pimas y otros muchos. A lo cual respondió que todos estaban en hacerlo como se lo habían propuesto por tantas veces. Que ya estaban hartos de padecer trabajos y muertes.

Y habiéndole dado todos los tlatoles que en tales casos se requieren, al tiempo de despedirse, llegó donde yo estaba otro indio suma conocido, el cual dijo que venía a verme porque tenía que hablar conmigo. Y le dije que ya era tarde por estar yo con la calentura muy fuerte no podía hablarle allí, que bajara al real que allá hablaría cuanto tenía que decir. Y habiéndose ido el indio jcome, salimos marchando de la sierra con todos los soldados y gente amiga de nuestro cargo, habiendo traído con nosotros al suma. Y pasamos para la ranchería donde hallamos que mucha de la gente amiga que se había quedado atrás habían desaparecido cuantos trastes había en los ranchos y por todos aquellos contornos.

Y habiendo bajado a este real, le dijimos al suma que dijera lo que tenía que decir. Y habiendo respondido que su capitán y gobernador lo había despachado para ver si nos topaban por esta o la otra banda de la sierra con orden de que si nos viera llegara hablarnos y dijera que todos los sumas y janos estaban fijos en la paz que habían dado. Que porque los mocetones no hicieran robos se habían retirado a esperarnos al Río de Gila, donde se hallaban rancheados todos los sumas aparte de los janos con intención de irse luego que llegáramos a verlos con nosotros. Que para hacerlo habían sacado todos los sumas que estaban entre los janos y jcomes. Que también estaba una ranchería de apaches muy cercana a las de los sumas y janos. Que todos estaban esperándonos de paz. Que por esto había venido él a ver si parecíamos para darnos esta razón en nombre de su gobernador y capitán. Y que había dos días que había llegado a esta ranchería y había preguntado si nos habían visto y que le habían dicho que no. Y que les dijo que por qué habían ido a hurtar bestias y que dónde las habían traído. Que le respondieron que catorce mocetones habían ido a los pueblos de los ópatas y las habían hurtado.

Y habiéndole dicho que qué gente estaba en esta ranchería, dijo que todos eran jcomes y apaches. Que el gobernador jcome estaba enfermo en la ranchería de los janos. Que sólo el Tabobo, que es capitán, estaba con esta gente. Y habiéndole preguntado que si los dos jcomes y los tres sumas que nos habían dado para que fuesen con nosotros y que después se nos habían huido de diferentes parajes, que si habían venido a decir algunas mentiras de que les hubiéramos hecho mal tratamiento o que tuviéramos alguna mala intención y dijo que los dos jcomes habían llegado y dicho que se habían huido por estar enfermos. Y que los sumas habían dicho que se habían escondido y sin licencia nuestra se habían escondido en un bosque desde donde se habían huido. Que no habían dicho sino es que lo había-

mos hecho muy bien con ellos y que íbamos a tierra de los pimas enemigos. Que sabían que desde ella habíamos de volver a asentar las paces. Que esto habían dicho y que en esto estaban todos.

Y habiéndole dicho que se esperaba hasta otro día para ver si los jocomes bajaban de una vez o si se ponían a pelear, para que de lo que sucediera pudiera llevar razón a su gobernador y demás naciones. A lo cual dijo que sí se esperaba hasta ver en lo que paraba el ajuste de éstos.

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En 20 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente, don Domingo Jironza y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, en este arroyo de la punta de la sierra de Chiricahua a la parte del norte. Habiendo amanecido, por estar muy achacosos de enfermedad nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza, sin poder montar a caballo ni atender a cosa alguna por la gravedad del achaque, dijimos a dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente dispusiera en todo lo que le pareciera más conveniente al real servicio. Y yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, aunque me hallaba con la calentura, mandé traer ante mí la india que el día antes había bajado a nuestro real.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabía en qué parajes se hallaban los jocomes, janos, sumas, mansos y apaches, dijo que algunos mocetones que iban y venían de unas a otras rancherías le habían dicho que los apaches, sumas y chinarras estaban en el Río de Gila arrimados a los bosques. Que los janos estaban en la ciénega de la sierra de Santa Rosa a la parte del norte. Que los jocomes con algunos apaches estaban a la parte del poniente de la sierra de Santa Rosa. Y habiéndole dicho que si ella sabía el paraje donde se hallaban dichos jocomes, dijo que sí lo sabía. Y preguntándole que si eran muchos los jocomes y apaches que había en la ranchería donde estaba ella y su marido, dijo que había diecinueve hombres jocomes y muchos más apaches.

Y habiéndole preguntado que quiénes habían ido a juntar a Sonora la caballada, dijo que su marido y otros ocho jocomes y cuatro apaches mocetones habían sido los que habían salido de la ranchería y traído toda la caballada que habíamos visto muerta y sacado viva y mucha más que habían llevado los jocomes y apaches que habían ido huyendo por la sierra. Y habiéndole preguntado que dónde se irían a juntar, dijo que les había oído decir a los hombres que habían de ir por medio de la sierra a caer a la cañada donde nos dieron las paces y que desde allí habían de pasar a la sierra de San Bartolomé, por comer dátiles, que ésta está a la parte del oriente, muy cercana a las fronteras de Teuricachi.

Y habiéndole preguntado que qué tlatole había traído el indio suma que había bajado conmigo al real, dijo que había dos lunas que estaba en aquella ranchería, que no había traído tlatole ninguno de parte del gobernador suma ni de otro ninguno, que era mentira cuanto nos había dicho. Que antes él fue quien nos vio la noche que llegamos al arroyo y dio aviso a todos los demás que por eso se habían retirado a la sierra. Y habiéndole dicho que cómo estaban revueltos los apaches con los janos, jocomes, sumas y mansos, dijo que porque había mucho tiempo que eran amigos y siempre andaban juntos que ella no sabía si nos estaban esperando de paz o de guerra. Que sí sabía que también los janos habían juntado caballada después de las paces del valle de Bacanuchi, que sí había oído decir a los apaches

que ellos no querían paces con los españoles, que primero querían vengar las muertes y presas que les habían hecho los españoles, que esto era la verdad y lo que ella había visto y oído. Por cuyas razones di orden que luego, al instante, se previniesen sesenta y cuatro soldados de todas las compañías y se entresacaron de los que estaban buenos, y asimismo cien indios amigos, los más de nación ópata y conchos y algunos pimas, de los pocos que habían quedado de esta nación por haberse huido los más.

Y habiendo racionado para cuatro días a todos los referidos, di orden al teniente Antonio de Solís que cada soldado llevase a tres caballos cuando menos, y que con dicha gente de guerra y la india por guía fuesen a la parte donde decía se hallaba el gobernador de los jocomes, que hiciera por darle de albazo viendo si podía lograr el pasar a cuchillo todos los grandes y que de tener noticia de otra ranchería no perdiera la ocasión de lograr algún buen suceso. Que si daba con muchos enemigos en mala tierra donde pudieran necesitar socorro diera un humazo en señal de pedir socorro, y que iría yo en persona a dárselo aunque fuera con soldados enfermos. Y con esta orden salió dicho teniente Antonio de Solís de este real como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde. Y como a horas de las siete de la noche llegó un soldado llamado Esteban Varela, que lo es de la compañía de dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, el cual traía un indio amarrado por las manos. Y dicho soldado me dijo que dicho teniente Antonio de Solís lo había despachado que me dijese que yendo caminando habían visto dos rastros muy frescos y que yéndolos siguiendo, en un arroyo habían dado con dos indios escondidos a los cuales habían cercado y hecho que a fuerza rindiesen las armas. Que les habían preguntado que dónde iban y dónde estaba la ranchería. Que habían dicho mil mentiras, que el teniente llevaba un indio por guía y me remitía aquel para que le cogiera declaración porque allá se había emperado y no había querido hablar palabra.

Y habiendo llamado al intérprete, le pregunté de qué nación era. Y aunque le hablaban en su lengua, no quería responder sino haciendo mil visajes hasta que con cordeles le quise dar tormento diciéndole le había de quebrar las manos y los pies. Y luego lo había de arcabucear si no hablaba y decía la verdad de que supiera y le fuera preguntado. Al lo cual respondió que como no le hiciera mal, él diría lo que supiera. Y habiéndole preguntado de qué nación era y de dónde venía, dijo que era jcome y que él y otro habían salido cuatro días había de su ranchería que estaba en el Río de Gila, con las demás naciones referidas que venían a ver a los jocomes y apaches que estaban en la ranchería de la sierra de Chiricahua porque habían tenido noticia que tenían mucha caballada que habían traído junta, que venían a ver si era verdad y a llevarlos con la demás gente. Y habiéndoles reconvenido con lo que habían declarado, el indio y las dos indias apresadas, dijo que era verdad lo que habían dicho, pero que al presente estaban juntos los janos, jocomes, ovias, mansos, chinarras y muchos apaches en los bosques del Río de Gila.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si estaban de paz o de guerra, dijo que lo que él sabía era que nos estaban esperando todas las naciones, que no sabía que intención tenían los capitanes. Y habiéndole dicho que si sabían que nosotros estábamos en aquel paraje, dijo que no lo habían sabido en las rancherías que si lo supieran no vinieran tan descuidados él y su compañero. Y habiéndole dicho que por qué habían huido cuando vieron los españoles, dijo que porque habían tenido miedo de ver tanta gente se habían escondido, que él nos llevaría donde estaban

todas las naciones. Y habiéndole echado el par de grillos, lo mandé entregar a la guardia e hice traer la india apresada y le pregunté que si lo conocía a aquel indio. Y dijo que sí lo conocía, que era jcome y capitán de la guerra, que aquel estaba en la ranchería del gobernador jcome. Y por ser ya a dos horas de la noche, no pasé a hacerles más preguntas de las referidas. Y por ver que unos y otros de los apresados no concordaban en sus dichos, determiné el esperar al teniente Antonio de Solís y demás gente de guerra para que según lo que resultase de su recorrida de tierra determinar lo que más conviniese al servicio de las dos majestades.

En 21 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este arroyo de la sierra de Chiricahua por estar enfermos dichos generales, don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza, y otros muchos soldados y gente amiga, nos estuvimos sin hacer diligencia alguna sólo esperando al teniente Antonio de Solís, alguna razón de lo que pudiera haberle sucedido y por ver si el indio que me había remitido dicho teniente estaba firme en lo que me había dicho. Le volví de nuevo a reconvenir con lo que habían dicho el indio y las dos indias sobre los parajes donde se hallaban rancheadas las naciones enemigas y de nuevo volvió a decir, que todos estaban en los bosques del Río de Gila como lo veríamos, que él decía la verdad y no otra cosa.

En 22 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este arroyo de la punta de la sierra de Chiricahua por ser ya más de las diez de la noche y no haber tenido noticias del teniente Antonio de Solís, nos ha tenido con bastante cuidado su dilación y el no saber el rumbo que llevaba con el campo que iba a su cargo, que aunque se le dio por orden no pasase al Río de Gila por estar muy lejos, sino es que por esta parte de las sierras de las Animas y la de Santa Rosa las reconociese y de donde decía la india se hallaban los jcomes, que de no estar a la parte del poniente alguna ranchería, se volviese con todo el campo para seguir su razón, obrar lo que conviniera al real servicio. Pero deseante de esta orden puede haber sucedido, según su dilación, que el indio que apresó en el camino los traiga engañados de sierra en sierra, como suelen hacer los más, por no enseñar su ranchería y entregar su gente. Y por si se descubría algún humazo o polvadera del campo teníamos de día y de noche centinelas en diferentes cerros para que nos diesen aviso.

En 23 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, en este paraje y arroyo de la sierra de Chiricahua como a hora de las doce del día llegaron ante nosotros los gobernadores don Pablo Quigue de nación ópata y Juan Corma de nación conchos, los cuales habían ido con la gente de su cargo en compañía del teniente Antonio de Solís y nos dijeron que dicho teniente, soldados y gente amiga habían peleado con una ranchería de jcomes que habían muerto algunos indios y apresado muchas mujeres y muchachos sin que hubiera peligrado ningún soldado español ni indio amigo, que sólo habían herido algunos caballos de los soldados. Y habiéndole preguntado que donde dejaban el campo, dijeron que por esto llegan ya por que venían caminando poco a poco por el estorbo de la presa, que ellos se habían adelantado por darnos razón de la victoria. Y habiéndoles mandado dar de comer y que descansaran como a horas de las dos de la tarde fue llegando a este real dicho teniente Antonio de Solís,

quien entró marchando en forma de campo, hechas dos filas a la larga y en medio la chusma y por los costados toda la gente amiga, quienes traían algunas cabelle-  
 ras de los indios que habían muerto, que es la seña de su victoria y entraron dando  
 muchos alaridos y los soldados haciendo la salva con los arcabuces. Y habiéndole  
 correspondido en la misma forma con los arcabuces y alaridos de la gente amiga  
 que se hallaba en el real, fueron entrando tras emparejarse con nosotros donde se  
 apeó dicho teniente y demás oficiales que con él habían ido, a quienes se les dio el  
 parabién del buen suceso. Y dicho teniente nos entregó cuarenta y cuatro piezas  
 de mujeres y muchachos de todas edades y un indio viejo muy conocido, medio  
 jcome y medio ópata y nos dijo que en la ranchería había arcabuceado al indio  
 que había apresado en el camino porque lo había engañado trayendo todo el campo  
 de cerro en cerro, que a no haber visto el cabo de escuadra Silvestre Pacheco dos  
 indios muy a lo largo no hubieran dado con la ranchería. Que habiéndolos descu-  
 bierto como a las diez del día por irlos siguiendo a todo correr, de improviso se  
 hallaron sobre la ranchería que aunque estaba plantada en buena tierra, ya cuando  
 llegaron toda la gente iba ganando un áspero arroyo por las faldas de una sierra  
 corta que cae hacia tierra de sobaipures, como ocho leguas de distancia de la de  
 Santa Rosa a la parte del poniente, muy cercana a las rancherías de los sobaipures  
 que tienen abajo del valle de Quibure. Que aunque iban de huida, divididos en  
 escuadras los soldados y gente amiga los fueron atajando y diciéndoles que no pe-  
 learan, que si rendían las armas no les haría mal ninguno.

Y los enemigos, llevando la chusma por delante no quisieron rendirse antes, sí  
 empezaron a flechar a los soldados y gente amiga, de suerte que viendo su rebeldía  
 cerraron con ellos hasta que les mataron doce indios y entre ellos al gobernador y  
 los demás por la sierra se pusieron en huidas sin poderles dar alcance por lo can-  
 sado de los caballos y lo áspero de la tierra. Que la más de la chusma era la que  
 traían, que a dos viejos jcomes había mandado arcabucear porque no podían and-  
 ar y a otros dos viejos sumas los había despachado con el tlatole que les dio para  
 que fuesen a decirle a los janos y sumas que el haber muerto aquellos indios y  
 apresado sus mujeres había sido porque se habían puesto a pelear y no querido  
 rendir las armas, que les dijese a los gobernadores y capitanes que si querían  
 nuestra amistad y asentar una fija paz bajasen a vernos al aguaje de San Simón,  
 que de no bajar los iríamos a buscar y a hacer la guerra como a rebeldes, que con  
 este tlatole les despachó el día 22, después de haber acabado la pelea y hecho la  
 presa. Y habiéndole dicho que en todo y por todo había obrado como buen soldado,  
 que se fuera a descansar con todos los demás. Y habiendo puesto guardias a la  
 presa hicimos traer ante nosotros al indio viejo apresado, al cual le preguntamos  
 que si tenía amistad con los sobaipures. Dijo que con las rancherías del norte  
 tenían amistad y entraban y salían en sus rancherías, que había poco tiempo que  
 él había estado en las rancherías del Coro y en el Valle de Todos los Santos y la del  
 indio Taravilla porque había ido a decirles que ya eran amigos de todos los es-  
 pañoles y que nosotros les habíamos dicho que también habían de ser amigos de  
 los sobaipures, pimas, ópatas, conchos y todas las naciones que eran amigas de los  
 españoles. Y que todos lo habían recibido muy bien y dándole muchas flechas y  
 maíz que ahora se iban arrimando a dichas rancherías por asentar la paz y comer  
 maíz. Y habiéndole dicho que si estaban de paz, cómo juntaban caballadas y se  
 ponían a pelear con los españoles, dijo que los mocetones eran los que iban a jun-  
 tar. Que aunque los reñían los gobernadores y capitanes no lo podían remediar,

que por ver que éstos habían hecho juntos de caballada se iban ellos retirando por no vernos a nosotros respecto a que habían tenido aviso por un jcome que había ido a decir que los españoles habían muerto toda la gente que estaba en la sierra de Chiricahua y que él sólo se había escapado, que por ver si era verdad habían despachado a los dos indios que en el camino apresó dicho teniente Antonio de Solís y porque viesan si los españoles se habían retirado o estaban en algún aguaje, que estándolos esperando un indio que tenían de espía los avisó de que iban los españoles que por esto se habían puesto en huida y no querido rendir las armas.

Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabía cuántos indios habían muerto, dijo que los que él y las indias habían visto, habían sido diez y entre ellos un apache y el gobernador de los jcomes y otro que llamamos "El Tabobo", que entre ellos quiere decir, gran capitán. Que muchos hombres, mujeres y muchachos se escaparon por entre las peñas y entre los apresados parecía ser un muchacho de hasta doce años cautivo, de nación ópata, natural del pueblo de Bacoachi, que aunque se le hablaba en ópata no entendía porque lo cautivaron muy chiquillo.

Y habiéndole preguntado al viejo que dónde se hallaban rancheadas las demás naciones, dijo que los janos, sumas, chinarras, mansos y muchos apaches estaban rancheados en los bosques del Río de Gila y en las faldas de la sierra de Santa Rosa. Que todos los jcomes y algunos apaches se habían apartado desde luego que nos dieron las paces porque habían reñido con los janos sobre unos caballos. Y habiéndole preguntado que si sabía la intención que tenían las naciones referidas si de pelear o de dar la paz, dijo que lo que sabía, que había oído decir, era que los apaches no querían paz y que todos estaban revueltos y junta mucha gente, que no sabía si estaban para pelear o dar la paz. Y habiéndole preguntado otras muchas cosas sobre estas naciones referidas, dijo que él no sabía más de lo que tenía dicho, que a saberlo lo dijera. Y habiéndole mandado echar un par de grillos, lo entregamos al cabo de escuadra de la guardia, a quien se dio orden que con doce soldados y algunos indios amigos se velase de noche y de día toda la presa en medio del real y que si quisieran hacer fuga a todo lo grande lo fuesen pasando a cuchillo.

En 24 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, en este paraje y arroyo de la sierra de Chiricahua por ver que en todo lo que toca a esta parte del poniente de la sierra de Chiricahua, la de las Animas y Santa Rosa y otras sierras y cerros de sus contornos, las tenemos reconocidas y registrado los parajes que suelen habitar los enemigos y en todo lo que se ha visto, no se ha hallado sino es las dos rancherías compuestas de jcomes y apaches como consta en estos autos. Y para proseguir en busca de los janos, sumas, mansos, chinarras y apaches, que según consta de las declaraciones de los indios e indias apresadas se hallan dichas naciones en los bosques del Río de Gila y en la ciénaga y arroyos que nacen de la sierra de Santa Rosa a la parte del norte, tierra y habitación de la nación apache. Y para reconocer dichos parajes determinamos que este día se catequizaran e instruyesen en los misterios de nuestra santa fe a los tres indios jcomes apresados y a dos indias viejas, la una por ser conocida tlatolera, para que todos cinco muriesen arcabuceados. Y habiéndolos instruido y bautizado nuestro padre capellán, Agustín de Campos, como a horas de las ocho de la mañana a vista de todo el campo, se arcabucearon los tres indios jcomes y las dos indias referidas y en una horca de tres palos quedaron colgados todos cinco para castigo de ellos y temor para los que los viesan. Y aunque se ha-



llaban muy enfermos dichos generales don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza y otros muchos soldados españoles y gente amiga, sin embargo determinamos salir marchando de este paraje para lo cual mandamos arrimar las caballadas a el real. Y por no poder andar a caballo dicho general don Domingo Terán, por ser mucho su achaque, le mandamos hacer un tapeste a modo de andar para que en hombros de los indios amigos pudiese ir con algún descanso. Y habiendo cargado todas las cargas de bastimento y montados a caballo todos los soldados, despachamos por delante al teniente Antonio de Solís para que con veinte soldados fuese reconociendo las cañadas y arroyos de dicha sierra de Chiricahua hasta llegar al puerto que está entre dicha sierra y la de las Animas, que de dar con algún aguaje nos avisase siendo suficiente para la gente y caballada de este campo. Y que fuese con cuidado por si se topaba de improviso con algunos enemigos. Que procurase cogerlos vivos o muertos y que de tener muchos, nos diese aviso haciendo un humazo. Y que de no haber dado con agua ni con indios hasta haber llegado a dicho puerto, dejase allí un soldado y que prosiguiese con toda la referida escuadra de soldados hasta ver si en los arroyos de dicho puerto, que caen a la parte del oriente, hallaban agua, que de todo nos avisase. Y con esta orden salió marchando dicho teniente y nosotros pusimos en la manguardia a dicho general don Domingo Terán acostado en este tapeste. Y en el batallón a la escuadra de guardia, entregamos toda la chusma para que la llevasen con todo cuidado y las recuas y caballadas ajiladas unas tras de otras en medio de la manguardia y retaguardia. Y en esta forma caminamos hasta el referido puerto donde hallamos un soldado llamado Cristóbal Granillo de los que habían ido con dicho teniente Antonio de Solís y nos dijo que no habían hallado agua ninguna en toda la parte del poniente, que al salir del puerto a la parte del oriente, había entre unas peñas agua para sólo la gente, que para la caballada no la había. Y prosiguiendo con la marcha caímos al valle que llamamos de San Simón. Y como a puestas del sol llegamos donde estaba dicho teniente y nos dijo que como a dos tiros de arcabuz donde estaba, entre unas peñas, había una poca de agua, que le parecía sería bastante para toda la gente del campo. Y por no haber otro aguaje en más de doce leguas por parte alguna y haber caminado más de seis leguas al norte de tierra llana y como tres leguas de atravesía de sierra a la parte del oriente y venir los enfermos muy descaesidos y muchos haberse tirado en el camino por no poder marchar con los fríos y calenturas, por lo cual dimos orden para que el real parase en forma para hacer noche en dicho paraje.

En 25 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, en este arroyo del puerto que hace entre la sierra de Chiricahua y la de las Animas que desde hoy le ponemos por nombre y para que sea conocido en adelante, el Puerto de San Felipe. Y como a horas de las seis de la mañana mandamos arrimar las caballadas a este real y echamos por delante la manguardia para que fuese marchando poco a poco con dicho general, don Domingo Terán, quien iba en el tapeste en hombros de indios amigos. Y habiendo cargado todas las cargas de bastimento y montados a caballo todos los soldados, salimos marchando en forma con intención de ir a hacer noche en unos ojos de agua que están al pie de un cerro, entre las sierras de las Animas y la de Santa Rosa que también hace puerto entre dichas dos sierras para desde allí adelantar espías al río de Gila y a la ciénaga y arroyos de Santa Rosa. Y habiendo marchado como cinco

leguas y propasado la sierra de las Animas, no hallamos agua en los ojos referidos que en otras ocasiones teníanla bastante y nos habían parecido muy permanentes. Y andando yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con una escuadra de soldados buscando agua dos leguas adelante de todo el real, llegaron ante mí unos soldados y me dijeron que los dos referidos generales, don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza, venían muy achacosos. De suerte que dicho general don Domingo Terán, no podía proseguir marchando porque ya le daban parasismos y que ya estaba el padre capellán ayudándolo a bien morir, que me llamaban a toda prisa para ver lo que se había de determinar. Y habiendo vuelto a todo correr, di orden que todo el real se fuese recogiendo a una rinconada que hace un arroyo que nace de la sierra de las Animas. Y habiendo llegado donde estaban dichos generales, don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza, reconocí no podían proseguir por lo muy fatigado que estaban de sus achaques y asimismo otros muchos soldados españoles, indios amigos, por lo cual di orden que todo el real parase en forma en dicha rinconada. Y habiendo acabado de parar todo el campo, como a horas de la una de la tarde, hizo un poder y memoria el general don Domingo Terán y después se confesó y recibió los santos sacramentos estando muy apretado de sus achaques y asimismo se confesaron otros muchos enfermos que también se hallaban muy apretados y aunque con mucho trabajo se dio agua a toda la caballada en unas tinajas que hallamos en unas peñas en lo alto de la sierra de las Animas.

En 26 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en la rinconada que hace la sierra de las Animas adelante del Puerto de San Felipe a la parte del norte, como cuatro leguas, por haber amanecido muchos enfermos y estar muy apretados de sus achaques y en particular nosotros, los dichos generales don Domingo Terán y don Domingo Jironza, que viendo el imposible de poder proseguir al río de Gila y a la sierra de Santa Rosa, así por nuestros achaques como por ver los muchos soldados e indios amigos que están enfermos y que cada día van enfermado muchos más. De suerte que ya se experimenta el no haber soldados para la guardia y velar de la caballada, por lo cual determinamos que este día por no haber agua, saliese el campo marchando para los ojos de agua de San Simón, que distan de este paraje como dos leguas a la parte del oriente, enfrente de la cañada donde nos dieron las paces los enemigos, por el mes de junio pasado, en la sierra de Chiricahua para en dicho aguaje hacer mansión por algunos días y reconocer si los enfermos mejoran de sus achaques o prosiguen las enfermedades, para según lo que resultare obrar lo que más convenga al real servicio. Y habiendo conferido y determinado lo referido, pareciéndonos a todos muy acertado por ser dicho aguaje de San Simón muy abundante de agua y pastos y a propósito para estar en él algunos días, así para la convalecencia de los enfermos como para que las caballadas se refuercen respecto a estar muy maltratadas. Por todo lo cual referido y consultado, dimos orden que se arrimasen las caballadas. Y habiéndolo hecho, por ser larga jornada, echamos por delante la manguardía y con ella todos los enfermos y en particular los dos dichos generales don Domingo Jironza y don Domingo Terán, quien iba muy enfermo en el tapeste en hombros de los indios amigos, que por haber mucho monte marchaban con mucho trabajo. Y habiendo cargado todas las cargas de bastimento y montados a caballo todos los soldados e indios enfermos, salimos marchando en forma de campo con manguardía, batallón y retaguardia, llevando siempre guarnecida la

presa. Y habiendo marchado como seis leguas por las faldas de la sierra de las Animas, dejando atrás el puerto de San Felipe, llegamos como a las doce del día a unos ojitos de agua que están en un cerro en la punta de la sierra de Chiricahua a la parte del norte. Y allí bebió toda la gente agua. Y proseguimos marchando sin parar hasta los ojos de agua de San Simón, donde llegamos con las recuas y caballadas a puestas del sol. Y el general don Domingo Terán llegó como a las nueve de la noche a este real. Y muchos de los indios enfermos se quedaron en el camino por no poder marchar respecto a haber sido la jornada de más de doce leguas.

En 27 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, en este aguaje de los ojos de San Simón, donde por estar muy a lo último dicho general don Domingo Terán y dicho general don Domingo Jironza, molestado de sus achaques como asimismo otros muchos enfermos soldados e indios amigos, determinamos y conferimos no levantar el real de este paraje hasta reconocer algún alivio en los enfermos. Y por estar en medio de las sierras de Chiricahua, la de San Bartolomé y los peñoles de Alonso Peres, donde de continuo viven los apaches y demás naciones rebeldes y por reconocer si en dichas sierras hay algunos ranchos de enemigos dimos orden al cabo de escuadra Diego Ortiz para que con dieciocho soldados fuesen a registrar todos los aguajes, entradas y cañadas que tiene la sierra de Chiricahua hasta llegar a Los Ojos de las Lágrimas de San Pedro, que distarán de este paraje a la parte del sur como doce leguas y que de allí cruzasen el llano hasta llegar a la sierra de San Bartolomé y la viniesen registrando. Y que de dar con algunos indios, procurasen matarlos o cogerlos vivos y que de ser muchos los enemigos y estar en mala tierra nos dieran un humazo en señal de que estaban peleando y pedían socorro. Y que de ver algunos rastros frescos los siguiesen hasta conseguir alcanzarlos o ver la derecha que llevaban. Y con esta orden despachamos otra escuadra de ocho soldados a cargo del cabo de escuadra Sebastián de Hinojosa para que fueren a reconocer el cerro que llamamos de la mina y los peñoles de Alonso Peres, que están como siete leguas de este paraje a la parte del norte. Y dichas escuadras salieron de este real como a horas de las siete de la mañana de este dicho día. Y como a horas de las once del día se enterró en este paraje un indio amigo de nación ópata que murió la noche antes de muerte natural.

En 28 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza, don Domingo Terán y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este paraje y aguaje de los ojos de San Simón, como a horas de las diez del día, llegaron ante nosotros dichos generales, los cabos de escuadra Diego Ortiz de Anda y Sebastián de Hinojosa y todos los soldados que con ellos fueron el día antes a recorrer las sierras de Chiricahua y San Bartolomé y los peñoles de Alonso Peres. Y los referidos cabos nos dijeron que habían registrado todos los aguajes, bocas y cañadas de unas y otras sierras, sin dejar cosa alguna por ver y que en la cañada donde nos dieron las paces los enemigos por el mes de julio pasado habían visto todas las cruces que dejamos puestas en señal de que había de ser muy firme la paz, pero que en cuanto habían andado de noche y de día no habían visto indios, lumbres ni rastros frescos. Que les parecía que luego que salimos de la sierra de Chiricahua para tierra de pimas se habían despoblado los enemigos. Y según las rancherías y jacales que vimos en la rinconada de la sierra de las Animas y en otros parajes se reconoció haberse salido luego dichos enemigos para el Río de

Gila como consta también de las declaraciones de los indios e indias apresadas y según la liga y unión que tienen con los apaches las naciones coligadas y los robos de caballadas que han hecho en diferentes partes de la provincia de Sonora después de haber asentado la paz con que se deja entender que el habernos dado la paz fue por hallarse oprimidos de las armas y del hambre. Y luego que pasamos a hacer la guerra a los pimas rebeldes, volvieron a hacer los robos que son públicos como lo han hecho muchas veces que han dado la paz, no guardándola más tiempo que el que tienen presentes las armas, por lo cual sentimos son dignos de hacerle la guerra a fuego y sangre como ellos la hacen y han hecho por tiempo de catorce años. Pues habiendo quedado nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Terán, de volver a verlos dentro de dos meses para ponerlos en pueblos y ellos quedaron de esperarnos y hacerlo así. Habiendo vuelto, los hallamos de guerra y muchas de las naciones metidas en tierra de apaches sin que hasta hoy hayamos podido seguirlos como quisieramos haberlo hecho. Y nos lo ha estorbado las muchas enfermedades que de veinte días a esta parte ha habido y hay en la gente española e indiana de este campo, pues se experimenta cada el día ir enfermando muchos soldados e indios y haber muerto algunos y otros estar muy a lo último. De suerte que nos hallamos sin poder poner campo suficiente para ir en busca de los enemigos y dejar guarnición en las caballadas y este real. Y estar de distancia, de este paraje el Río de Gila y la sierra de Santa Rosa donde consta estar los enemigos como treinta leguas. Y aunque el teniente Antonio de Solís dé la presa que hizo el día 22 del corriente, despachó dos indios para que dijese a los janos, sumas, mansos y chinarras que si querían la paz y hablar con nosotros, dentro de seis días bajasen a este paraje. Y habiendo pasado siete días, no ha bajado a vernos indio ni india de ninguna de las naciones referidas con que se conoce estar rebeldes en su reducción.

En 29 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza, don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este aguaje de los ojos de San Simón, reconociendo que las enfermedades prosiguen así en el general don Domingo Terán como en los soldados españoles e indios amigos, pues de los que han quedado en este campo los más están enfermos y muchos muy a lo último y hallarnos al presente más de treinta leguas del Río de Gila y la sierra de Santa Rosa parajes donde, por las declaraciones de los indios e indias apresados, consta está la junta de las naciones janos, jocomes, mansos, sumas, chinarras y apaches quienes sobre lo ejecutado en las dos rancherías de los jocomes y apaches habrán tenido aviso y se hallarán en parajes ásperos o en donde no se les pueda ofender con las armas españolas. Y por parecernos conveniente que en junta de guerra en que concurren todos los oficiales mayores y menores de todas las compañías que hay en este campo, para que libremente cada uno de por si o todos juntos digan lo que sienten, se debe hacer para el mayor servicio de las dos majestades y bien común. Que el hacer dicha junta es por hallarse dicho general don Domingo Terán muy a los últimos de su vida y tan privado que por si no puede dar su parecer aunque en lo poco que habla y se le entiende dice que respecto a hallarse muy fatigado y tener toda la gente de su cargo muy enfermos conviene el que se retiren las armas. Esto se le ha entendido y aunque dice lo firmará, no puede según se halla. Por todo lo cual nosotros dichos generales don Domingo Jironza y Juan Fernández de la Fuente para según lo que resultare de los pareceres obras lo que más convenga.

En dicho día 29 de septiembre de 1695 años, nosotros, los generales don Domingo Terán de los Ríos, don Domingo Jironza y Juan Fernández de la Fuente estando en este paraje de los ojos de San Simón, como a horas de las cuatro de la tarde, nos juntamos en la tienda de dicho general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y le hicimos notorio el auto de arriba al alférez Pedro de Villegas, que lo es actual de la compañía del cargo del general don Domingo Terán. Y asimismo se le hizo notorio al capitán Nicolás de la Higuera, cabo y caudillo del presidio de Sinaloa y al teniente Antonio de Solís y al alférez Francisco de Acuña y a los sargentos Diego López y Cristóbal de Vargas y otros muchos oficiales de experiencia en las materias de esta guerra. Y habiéndoles dicho que respecto a lo que habían visto y estaba sucediendo cada uno de por si o todos juntos dijeran libremente lo que les pareciese convenir, para que según veían el campo de soldados enfermos y gente indiana amiga y prevención de bastimentos, si se podía persistir en buscar los enemigos o no. Y habiéndoles propuesto todo lo referido y conferido entre todos la materia, el primero que dio su parecer en lugar de dicho general don Domingo Terán y suyo fue el alférez Pedro de Villegas. Y dijo que respecto a haber cinco meses que estaban fuera de sus presidios se hallaban muy faltos de todo mantenimiento y que al presente se hallara dicho su general don Domingo Terán muy a los últimos de su vida y dicho alférez y otros veinticinco soldados de su compañía muy enfermos sin tener quien les hiciese de comer porque de nueve soldados que tenía buenos, se hallaban en guardia de la caballada que según el estado en que se hallaba toda la compañía del cargo de dicho general don Domingo Terán, no podía en lo de adelante persistir en compañía ni servir de alivio y esto ha dicho en razones muchas veces dicho general don Domingo Terán. Y el cabo y caudillo Nicolás de la Higuera dijo que veinte soldados que tiene de su cargo de la compañía del general Manuel de Agramont y Arce se hallaba al presente con siete de dichos soldados muy enfermos que tiene por imposible proseguir en busca de los enemigos respecto a haberse retirado al centro y habitación de la nación apache donde no se podrá conseguir dar con ellos y no es en parajes donde no se les podría hacer daño aunque el campo se hallara para poder seguirlos, que a su entender tiene por imposible, que según la muchedumbre de enfermos que hay y lo riesgoso que están muchos se pueda persistir. Que siente en su conciencia y por la experiencia que le asiste, que se deben retirar las armas hasta tiempo más oportuno de poder hacer la guerra. Y el teniente Antonio de Solís dijo que según reconocía los muchos enfermos que hay al presente en todas las compañías de este campo y los indios enfermos que se hallan son muchos y pocos los buenos. Y que todos los gobernadores y capitanes así conchos como ópatas y pimas están aclamando por irse a sus tierras y que de querer persistir en campaña se huirían como lo han hecho más de ciento y setenta indios de la nación pima y ópatas. Y que según lo retirado, que consta están los enemigos allá por imposible se puedan seguir con los pocos soldados que hay buenos, respecto a que para entrar a la tierra de apaches y donde consta estar las naciones rebeldes, era menester que todo el campo se hallase en forma de poderlo hacer para persistir algún tiempo en tierra tan dilatada y de tanto número de enemigos que se hallarán juntos y en parajes donde no se les pueda ofender sino es con mucho número de soldados españoles y gente amiga. Que según la experiencia que le asiste siente que este campo, según está de enfermos y que cada el día van a peor y cayendo y recayendo los que están buenos, no se puede levantar para entrar a hacer la guerra a tierra tan

dilatada, que esto es lo que siente en Dios y en su conciencia y por la experiencia que le asiste y que este es su parecer y lo mismo que tienen dicho los tres referidos cabos dicen que sienten. Y el alférez Francisco de Acuña, los sargentos Diego López Zambrano, Cristóbal de Vargas y otros muchos oficiales dijeron a una que lo que sentían y tenían que decir era hacer y estar a todo lo dicho por los tres referidos cabos y que esto es lo que sienten según la experiencia que les asiste.

En dicho día 29 de septiembre de 1695 años, habiendo visto nosotros, los generales don Domingo Jironza, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, los pareceres del auto de arriba y ser cierto todo lo que de ellos consta haber referido todos los cabos que se hallan en este campo, somos de sentir el conformarnos con dichos pareceres respecto a que en todo cuanto dicen no hay ni sentimos cosa contraria alguna, sino es el que respecto a hallarse el general don Domingo Terán más tiempo de un mes muy enfermo y al presente muy a los últimos de su vida, pues sólo en tapeste y en hombros de indios se puede con mucho trabajo llevar a muy cortas jornadas. Y asimismo de treinta y seis soldados que están al cargo de dicho general don Domingo Terán se hallan al presente el alférez Pedro Peres de Villegas y veinticinco de dichos soldados muy enfermos, como asimismo de veinte soldados que tiene a su cargo el cabo Nicolás de la Higuera, que son del presidio de Sinaloa, se hallan siete muy enfermos. Y de las compañías de nuestro cargo se hallan muchos soldados de calidad y tan enfermos de fríos y calenturas que reconocemos no ser posible persistir en este paraje respecto a que de los indios amigos se han huído más de ciento y setenta y los pocos que hay al presente los más se hallan muy enfermos y muchos muy a lo último de su vida. Que según lo que estamos experimentando en las enfermedades no es posible proseguir a buscar los enemigos a tierras tan dilatadas y de tanto gentío enemigo como en ella se puede mantener por la aspereza de sus bosques y sierras donde para conseguir el hacerles castigo es menester mucho número de gente española e indios amigos y bastimentos para poder persistir algún tiempo.

Y viendo que todo esto falta al presente y que por haber tiempo de cuatro meses que se está entendiendo en hacer la guerra a estas naciones: janos, jocomes, mansos, sumas, chinarras, apaches y a los pimas rebeldes, se halla, con el continuo trabajo, toda la gente española e indiana tan rendida y molida que de esto han resultado todas las enfermedades en nosotros, dichos generales, los soldados y gente amiga, por cuyas razones y por no esperar una total ruina nos ha parecido desunir las armas y que cada uno de nosotros y los cabos de los presidios del Parral y Sinaloa se retiren a sus presidios. Que aunque sentimos que la guerra de estas partes queda más rigurosa y que según los castigos que se han hecho procuraron coger venganza muy en breve haciendo para ello las gruesas juntas de diversas naciones que acostumbran hacer, luego que de sus tierras se retiran las armas españolas, pues tenemos por experiencia que todos los inviernos como sienten las flaquezas de las caballadas se ponen sobre las fronteras de Sonora y Casas Grandes logrando que cuanto intentan por no poderles, por el rigor del tiempo y por las ásperas sierras que ganan, hacerles en forma la guerra.

Y aunque conocemos que el mes de octubre y parte de noviembre era el tiempo más oportuno para conseguir algunos buenos sucesos, nos lo estorba todo lo referido. Y así determinamos y conferimos unánimes y conformes nosotros, dichos generales, que por mañana, que se contaran 30 del corriente mes de septiembre, se repartan por iguales partes la presa de indios y muchachos de nación jcome que

se compone de cuarenta y tres piezas chico y grande y que a la hora de mediodía, a un mismo tiempo, salgamos de este paraje, yo, el general don Domingo Jironza, con la gente de mi cargo y los soldados de Sinaloa a las fronteras de Sonora y yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con los soldados de mi cargo y el general don Domingo Terán y sus soldados para el presidio de Janos que dista de este paraje como cincuenta leguas.

En 30 días del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando nosotros, los generales Juan Fernández de la Fuente y don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, en este aguaje de San Simón, como a horas de las doce de la noche pasada, llegó un soldado de los del cargo del general don Domingo Terán, el cual nos dijo que dicho general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos había muerto a dicha hora con cuya razón yo dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente fui a la tienda de dicho general don Domingo Terán. Y estando el alférez Pedro de Villegas, el sargento Domingo Grajeda y otros muchos soldados en dicha tienda, me dijeron que estando hablando con su general con los referidos le había dado un parasismo con el cual sin hacer otras demostraciones se había quedado muerto. Y entrando yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en la tienda, vi en su cama muerto, de muerte natural y de larga enfermedad que había padecido, a dicho general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos a quien luego mandé vestir de pies a cabeza y bien fajado dispuse por no enterrarlo en este campo, que siete soldados de los del cargo de dicho general y del mío saliesen con dicho cuerpo a toda diligencia con orden que les di que sin parar, remudando en mulas y caballos, lo pusiesen en el presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos. Y escribí al cura de dicho presidio que como a persona de tantas obligaciones se le hiciera el entierro y se sepultara en sepultura arrimada al altar mayor. Y dicho cuerpo y soldados salieron de este real como a la una de la noche con orden de que a la misma hora de la noche siguiente, habiendo estar con el cuerpo en dicho presidio de Janos. Y por lo proveído en el auto de arriba sobre lo que resultó de la junta de guerra, como a las once del día, repartimos por iguales partes toda la presa de las cuarenta y tres mujeres y muchachos apresados, apartando primero una muchacha y un muchacho para el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino, don Gabriel del Castillo, y otra para el general don Manuel de Agramonte, capitán del presidio de Sinaloa y lo demás se repartió entre todas las compañías y entre nosotros dichos generales por iguales partes quedando todos muy gustosos. Y por los muchos enfermos que hay en unas y otras compañías y en la gente indiana amiga, determinamos salir de este paraje marchando como a horas de las dos de la tarde prosiguiendo cada uno de nosotros, dichos generales con la gente de nuestro cargo a nuestros presidios.

En dicho día 30 del mes de septiembre de 1695 años, estando en el aguaje de San Simón, como a horas de las dos de la tarde, después de haber cargado todas las cargas de bastimentos y montados a caballo todos los soldados, yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, me despedí del general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate y su merced salió marchando con los soldados de su cargo y en su compañía los del presidio de Sinaloa llevando la marcha para las fronteras de Sonora. Y yo, dicho general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, salí marchando con los soldados de mi compañía y con los de los presidios de la Vizcaya que venían del cargo del general don Domingo Terán, que Dios lo tenga en su gloria. Y por no haber aguaje sino es el de Santo Domingo, caminamos hasta horas de las dos de la noche habiendo marchado como doce leguas hasta dicha hora que llegamos a los ojos de agua de

Santo Domingo donde mandé parar el real para estar lo restante de la noche y porque viniese la caballada.

En 1 día del mes de octubre de 1695 años, estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en el aguaje de Santo Domingo, como a horas de las cinco de la mañana, mandé arrimar la caballada a el real y di orden que a todos los indios enfermos los montasen a caballo para que saliesen por delante con los demás soldados enfermos. Y la escuadra que venía de manguardía con la presa, marchase poco a poco por delante en el ínterin se aparejaba y cargaban las cargas de bastimento. Y habiéndolo hecho y estando montados a caballo todos los soldados, salimos marchando y como a horas de medio día llegamos a los ojos de agua que llamamos del Alemán y por no haberla bastante para la caballada, proseguimos la marcha hasta el aguaje del Alamo Hueco, donde llegamos con todo el real como a horas de las seis de la tarde. Y por haber caminado más de doce leguas, di orden que todo el real parase en forma para hacer noche en dicho paraje.

En 2 días del mes de octubre de 1695 años, estando yo, el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, con la gente de mi cargo como a horas de las cuatro de la mañana por ser larga la jornada y no haber agua hasta La Palotada, mandé arrimar la caballada y que a toda prisa ensillasen y cargasen las cargas de bastimentos y que los enfermos así soldados como indios amigos y la presa saliese marchando por delante de todo el real. Y como a horas de las cinco de la mañana salimos marchando en forma. Y habiendo caminado como doce leguas a hora de las seis de la tarde, llegamos al aguaje de La Palotada, donde para hacer noche mandé parar el real. Y para que en todo tiempo conste lo puse por diligencia, mandé y firmé por ante mi secretario de guerra y dos testigos de que doy fe: Juan Fernández de la Fuente, Miguel Bravo de Cáceres, Nicolás Muñoz. Pasó ante mí, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, secretario de guerra nombrado.

En 3 días del mes de octubre de 1695 años, estando yo el general Juan Fernández de la Fuente, en este aguaje de La Palotada como a horas de las seis de la mañana, mandé arrimar la caballada a este real. Y habiendo cargado todas las cargas de bastimentos y montados a caballo todos los soldados, salimos marchando en forma de campo. Y como a horas de las diez de la mañana, llegamos a este real presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos donde supe de mi alférez Juan de Cantos del Castillo y del licenciado don Pedro Salgero de la Fuente, cura y vicario de este dicho presidio, que habían llegado los siete soldados con el cuerpo muerto del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos y que él le había dado sepultura y hecho el entierro con toda solemnidad el día 1 del corriente mes de octubre. Y habiendo preguntado a dicho alférez Juan de Cantos del Castillo que si había habido alguna invasión de los enemigos en este presidio o en las fronteras de Casas Grandes en el tiempo que yo, dicho capitán, había estado en campaña y me dijo que no había habido en este presidio ni en dichas fronteras de Casas Grandes ningunos robos, muertes ni noticias de los enemigos en todo el tiempo de tres meses y medio que estábamos en campaña.

En el real presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos en 6 días del mes de octubre de 1695 años, yo, el capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, actual de dicho real presidio, teniente de gobernador y capitán general y alcalde mayor de San Antonio de Casas Grandes y su jurisdicción por su majestad, certifico en cuanto puedo y debo como aunque consta de estos autos estar y haber concurrido en ellos el general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos hasta el día 29 del mes pasado de septiembre, y



aunque en treinta de dichos autos concurrió presente, no pudo firmarlos de su mano por la gravedad de su enfermedad. Y para que tengan la validación que deben tenerlo certificado en la forma referida y en atención a que es preciso dar cuenta de todo lo obrado en esta campaña al señor general don Gabriel del Castillo, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya, para que su señoría se halle enterado de lo que en su virtud y por su orden se ha obrado. Mandé se saque testimonio de dichos autos y fecho se remitan a dicho señor gobernador como lo pide su señoría respecto a quedar en el archivo que es de mi cargo los originales para los efectos que convengan.

Y para que conste, lo firmé por ante mi secretario de guerra y testigos. Doy fe: Juan Fernández de la Fuente, testigo, Antonio Becerra Nieto, Joseph de Insaurriaga. Pasó ante mí, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, secretario de guerra nombrado.

Concuerta este traslado con su original de donde yo, el capitán Juan Fernández de la Fuente, actual de este real presidio de San Felipe y Santiago de Janos, teniente de gobernador y capitán general y alcalde mayor de San Antonio de Casas Grandes por su majestad, lo hice sacar y saqué a la letra para con él dar cuenta al señor general don Gabriel del Castillo, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya. Va cierto y legalmente sacado de dichos autos, hallándose presentes a lo ver sacar y por testigos de asistencia, Antonio Becerra Nieto y Joseph de Insaurriaga. Y va en doscientas y tres fojas de papel común escritas en todo y parte y en tres blancas, todas de dicho papel por no haberle del sello que le corresponde y por estar habilitado con la justicia ordinaria de esta jurisdicción. Porque no pare el comercio, doy fe: testigo, Antonio Becerra Nieto, testigo, Joseph de Insaurriaga. En testimonio de verdad hago mi firma acostumbrada, Juan Fernández de la Fuente. Pasó ante mí, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, secretario de guerra nombrado.

## Reference Material



*An Archbishop*





## Glossary

*adelantado*. The individual responsible for the conquest or opening up of a new area—normally at his own expense. In return he would usually continue as the crown's governor with specified privileges.

*aguaje*. A watering area. Often a pond or marshy spring.

*aguardiente*. Technically refers to fermented cane juice but often included any of several alcoholic beverages favored by the lower classes.

*alcalde mayor*. Chief executive officer in a town or a district composed of several towns. He had political authority and could be the judge of appeal in cases heard by the *alcaldes ordinarios* of the *cabildo*. In rank he stood equal to the *corregidor*, and just below the governor, although the duties of all three were nearly identical in their respective jurisdictions. Because of distance from superiors or sources of appeal, his power might approach dictatorial levels.

*alcalde ordinario*. A member of the *cabildo*. In small municipalities there were generally two; they were the local court of first instance. Cases appealed might go to the *alcalde mayor* or to the governor or to the respective *audiencia*. The *alcaldes ordinarios* were chosen by the *regidores* of the *cabildos*.

*alférez*. First or second lieutenant in the army; ensign; the lowest-ranking commissioned officer. Often referred to as a *teniente*. Also, a municipal official, attached to the *cabildo* as a herald or standard bearer who ranked as a superior *regidor* and who could replace an absent *alcalde ordinario*.

*alguacil (mayor)*. Chief constable, usually on a municipal level.

*arcabucero*. Soldier or person armed with an arquebus.

*armada*. The escorted fleet of armed ships that sailed between Spain and her American colonies.

*arroba*. Common unit of weight equal to 25 libras (pounds).

*audiencia*. A judicial and legislative council administering 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.

*ayudante*. In common terms, any kind of helper. In the militia it loosely translates as "aide" but did not carry the authority of the higher rank.

## Glossary

*ayuntamiento*. Municipal council; same as a *cabildo*.

*azoguero*. A quicksilver worker.

*bacanora*. A liquor made from the juice of agave plants. Today the term refers almost exclusively to the distillate made from *Agave pacifica* in the northeastern foothills of Sonora.

*barrio*. A settlement subordinate to a town, usually a lesser division within or contiguous to the main settlement.

*cabecera*. Administrative head or central town of a region or mission district.

*cabildo*. The municipal corporation or town council charged with local municipal government. See *ayuntamiento*.

*cabo*. Corporal, squad leader.

*cacique*. Native ruler or chief.

*camino real*. A route or road linking places where the crown had operations.

*capitán de guerra*. Head of military operations in an area smaller than a province.

*capitán vitalicio*. Captain for life. Usually associated with the presidio of Sinaloa during the period 1660–1734, when the captain also held civil authority as *alcalde mayor* of that region within Nueva Vizcaya.

*caporal*. Chief, ringleader; chief cowherd, corporal.

*caudillo*. Leader or commander; military rank can vary.

*ciénaga*. A marshy pond or spring.

*compañía volante*. Military unit on detached or roving duty; a “flying company.”

*corregidor*. Local political official. In most cases, the same as an *alcalde mayor*.

*cura*. Priest in charge of a secular church.

*cura beneficiado*. A secular priest who is supported by a benefice.

*diputado*. A representative or delegate; deputy.

*doctrina*. An ecclesiastical district served by a missionary, generally a regular cleric. A group or pueblo of Indians not yet advanced to the status of a parish; also, catechism.

*encomienda*. A grant made to a colonist to specified land and Indian labor; in return the grantee, an *encomendero*, agreed to provide for their 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.

*estancia*. Farm; hacienda.

*fanega*. Common unit of dry weight which varies according to the produce being measured.

*fiscal*. Attorney; official of lower rank in a native settlement.

*flota*. The Spanish fleet that sailed between Sevilla/Cádiz and the Americas.

*gandul*. Pejorative term often applied to Indians; loafer, vagabond, vagrant. Common member of a band or group.

*hechicero*. A native sorcerer or shaman.

*jacal*. Hut; rude dwelling, often constructed of branches.

## Glossary

*juez de residencia*. The person charged with carrying out a *residencia*. He asked the questions, determined the facts, and passed judgment or sentence.

*juez receptor*. A judge in charge of collecting evidence or proof of payments.

*justicia mayor*. Judge; member of a *cabildo* who acts as the governor's deputy.

*ladino*. A Spanish-speaking Indian.

*libra*. Common unit of weight equal to slightly less than the modern pound.

*mitote*. A native dance named after that done by the Aztecs; usually connotes a near riotous performance accompanied by much noise and drinking.

*oidor*. Member of an *audiencia* who served as a judge. An *oidor* often performed other duties, the most important being the administration of *residencias*.

*penas de camera*. Monetary judgment imposed by judges or courts for actions involving royal chambers or treasury.

*peñol*. Rocky peak or outcropping.

*pinole*. Ground cornmeal or parched wheat. Carried dry to be consumed after mixing with water or other liquid.

*procurador*. Attorney. Generally, the city or municipal attorney. In religious and military matters, the person charged with financial and temporal care.

*proveedor*. Purveyor; contractor.

*quinto*. The royal tax levied by the Spanish treasury on mining production.

*ranchería*. An Indian settlement in which dwellings are not permanent and are scattered some distance from each other. A native encampment.

*real*. An official military force or any place it might be encamped or stationed (as distinct from a *real de minas*).

*real acuerdo*. Royal agreement, accord; members of a tribunal assembled in the form of a court.

*real de minas*. Town specialized in mining; a mining district. Sometimes referred to as a *real*.

*reducción*. An area into which Indians were collected for intensive missionary effort.

*regidor*. Member of a *cabildo*.

*regidor de primer voto*. Municipal officer of highest rank in reaching decisions.

*regidor-procurador*. Municipal council member in charge of financial affairs.

*remuda*. A herd of available horses.

*requerimiento*. Formal decree claiming title and control over newly claimed or conquered lands; occasionally used by citizenry as a form of ultimatum.

*repasadero*. Worker who crushes and mixes silver ore with mercury.

*residencia*. An official review held at the time an office-holder came to the end of his term.

*sargento mayor*. Strictly speaking, a major, the third in command of a regiment. In frontier areas, often filled by a non-professional and often in command of local forces under the lieutenant captain-general.

## Glossary

*teniente*. Literally, a lieutenant. A soldier authorized to exercise the powers of a ranking person in whose place he served.

*tlatole*. (Nahuatl) Conference, discussion; message stick.

*topile*. Minor judicial official, often an Indian. Constable, jailer.

*vara*. Common unit of linear measure of approximately 33 inches.

*visita*. (1) An official visit or inspection trip made for the purpose of gathering information.

(2) A visiting station, church, or settlement on the circuit of a missionary or secular priest.

*visitador*. The person making a *visita*; visitor.



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