Empire of Sand

The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645–1803

Thomas E. Sheridan

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Compiled and edited by

Thomas E. Sheridan

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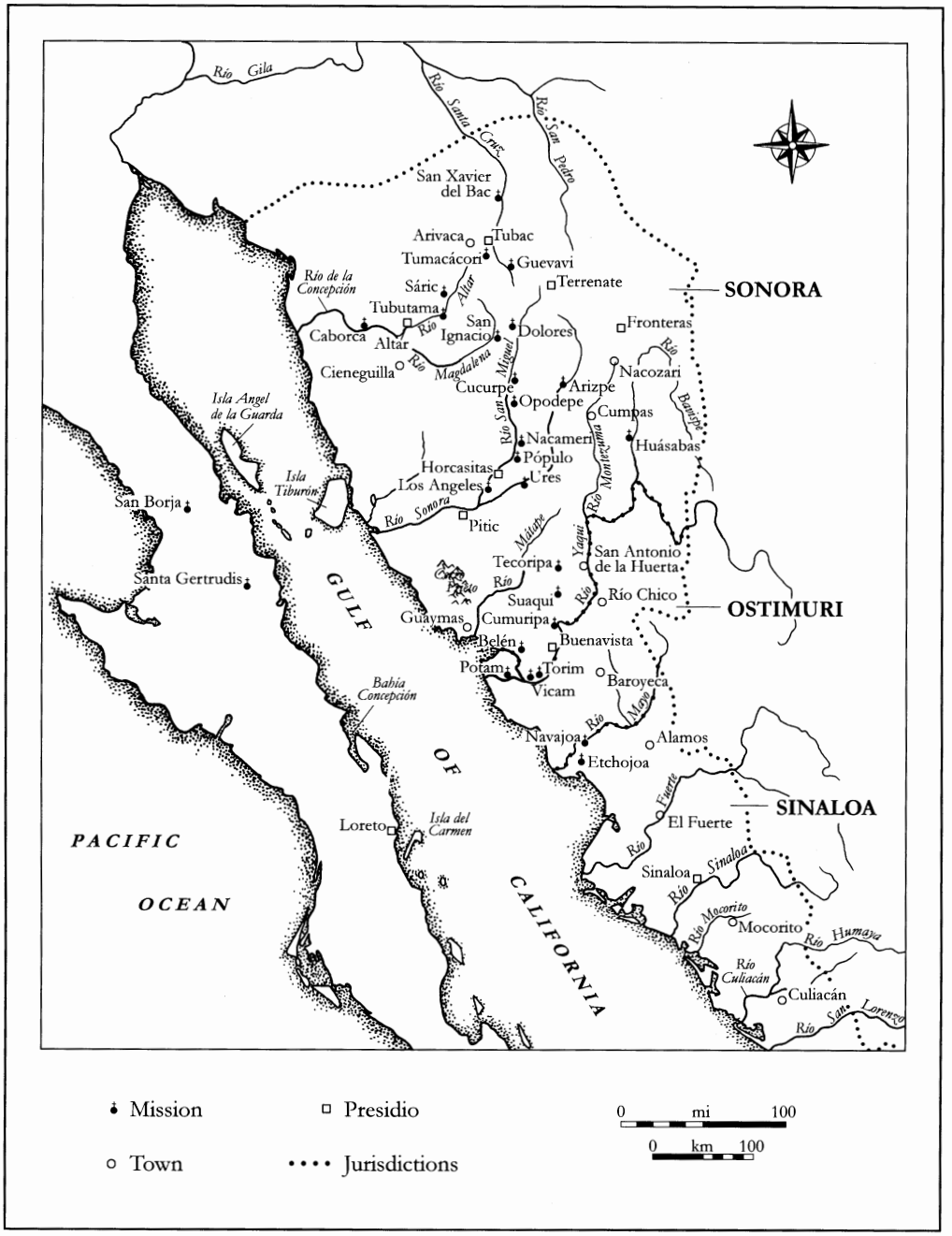

Spanish Sonora and Ostimuri

Introduction to This Volume

It is a truism in the social sciences that cultural misunderstanding breeds hostility. But the following documents suggest that the Spaniards and the Seri Indians of Tiburón Island and the central coast of Sonora—the *Comcáac*—understood each other all too well. They may not have comprehended the intricacies of each other's kinship patterns, political arrangements, or religious beliefs, but they did realize they were profoundly, radically different. This fundamental recognition was the reason why Seri-Spanish relations so often followed the bloody trajectory that they did. It is also the reason why, with the exception of the Apaches, the Seris were the greatest threat to the security of Spanish Sonora during the mid-eighteenth century. Bourbon reformers from José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo to José de Gálvez could not carry out their reorganization of the northern frontier of New Spain, or take effective action against the Apaches, until the Seris were pacified. That pacification, albeit imperfect and transitory, required the greatest military mobilization in the history of colonial Sonora.

Before those forces were gathered together, however, Jesuit missionaries struggled for seven decades to transform Seri society and culture. Their efforts failed. In retrospect, the missionization of the Seris may have been doomed to failure from the very beginning, because it is difficult to imagine two peoples as dissimilar as the Seris and the Spaniards. The "Spaniards"—an overarching term for Castilians, Andalusians, Basques, Catalans, and others from the Iberian Peninsula, and for their *criollo* descendants in the New World—paid homage to *Ambas Majestades* (Both Majesties), God and king. They lived their lives and structured their societies within nested political and ecclesiastical hierarchies whose authorities, at the highest levels, were absolute. Moreover, the Spaniards—and most of the non-Spanish Jesuits under the patronage of the Spanish crown—were heirs to a Mediterranean and Roman tradition of urbanism. They believed that a civil, and civilized, society was one whose members lived in cities and towns and subdued the earth through agriculture and metallurgy. They did not wander across it like wild beasts.

The Seris exhibited none of these characteristics. They had no political authorities other than war leaders (Griffen 1959). There were no elected or hereditary officials, and no hierarchical classes. Decisions were made through consensus, not coercion. Seri interpersonal relations were complex and revolved around

the extended family. As Jesuit missionary Adam Gilg observed in 1692, "There is no people to be found under the sun which distinguishes the degrees of friendship and relationship with more names than just my Seris; as the son has a different name for his father than the daughter has, and the elder brother calls the younger differently than the younger calls the elder, and the same with other members of the family tree, it is very difficult for a foreigner to have to remember so many different names for relatives" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:49). Individual family members had to share either food or material items with other specified family members, who then had to share the opposite class of goods with them (Felger and Moser 1985). Certain relatives also could not directly address one another. "No father-in-law may talk with his son-in-law," Gilg noted, "nor the latter with the former, nor may the one come near the other" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:52). Various families also stood in special relationships to other families, who may or may not have been related, known as their *hamác.* One hamác sponsored the puberty fiesta of a family's children; another arranged for the burial of a family's dead (Felger and Moser 1985; Griffen 1959). All of these customs linked individuals and families, usually through the metaphor of kinship. Kinship was the symbol and the reality that glued Seri society together.

Seri religion was non-hierarchical as well. The world was filled with different kinds of supernatural power accessible to Seri shamans. To become shamans, both men and women embarked on four-day vision quests by fasting in isolated locations. If a Seri wanted to acquire supernatural power from a sea animal, he or she might build a brush hut on the beach. If a would-be shaman wished for the power to hunt deer or other desert game, he or she might fast in a cave or a vision circle on the peak of a mountain. When the quest was successful, animals appeared to the person and taught him or her songs with supernatural power. According to anthropologist William Griffen (1959:16), "Songs learned from the several kinds of animals possess powers useful for different purposes: those of sharks afford bravery; those of whales give capacity for heavy work; those of turtles, good luck in turtle hunting; those of pelicans, keen eyesight; those of fish, good luck in fishing; and those of sea gulls, ability to locate various sea animals." Certain plants, particularly barrel cactus, boojum trees, and *senita* (*Lophocereus schottii*) also possessed invisible power called *Icor* (Felger and Moser 1985). But power acquired by shamans could not be transferred to others. There were no priesthoods, hereditary or otherwise, in Seri society.

Finally, the Seris practiced no agriculture. Instead, they moved from camp to camp to harvest the bounty of the desert and sea, particularly from the rich littoral and intertidal zones lying between them. Ethnohistoric information on Seri subsistence is relatively scarce and scattered like grains of placer gold throughout the documents, but documentary sources confirm that subsistence patterns recorded by scientists in the twentieth century were followed during the colonial period as well. According to ethnobotanist Richard Felger and linguist Mary Beck Moser (1985), seventy-five species of plants were utilized as food, including columnar cacti such as *cardón* (*Pachycereus pringlei; xaasj* in Seri) and *pitahaya* (*Stenocereus thurberi; ool;* organ pipe); leguminous trees like mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa; haas*); various species of agave; spring and summer ephemerals like amaranth (*Amaranthus* sp.) and goosefoot (*Chenopodium murale*); the roots of *saiya* (*Amoreuxia palmatifida; xoját*), and eelgrass (*Zostera marina; hatáam*), a wild grain growing in shallow coastal waters. All of those major wild plant foods

are mentioned in the documents that follow or in other documents that could not be included. Father Francisco Antonio Pimentel, who wrote an account of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla's expedition to Tiburón Island in 1750, noted that the Seris along the Sonoran coast commonly subsisted on "organ-pipe, mesquite pods, mesquite, and ironwood beans" (see chapter 3). In 1718, Father Miguel Xavier de Almanza stated that the Seris "content themselves with only the wild fruits which the wilderness gives them, like organ pipe, tunas [prickly pear cactus fruit], *bledo* [amaranth and other wild greens], agave, mesquite, saiya."[1] Both Jesuit missionaries Andrés Pérez de Ribas and Father Nicolás Perera described Seri utilization of eelgrass—the only recorded use of a sea grain as a food staple anywhere in the world (Sheridan and Felger 1977; see chapters 1 and 2).

Numerous documentary sources also reveal that Seri hunting and fishing practices were similar to those described by twentieth-century Seris. The Comcáac hunted both large and small mammals such as mule deer, javelina, desert bighorn, black-tailed jackrabbits, cottontails, various species of rodents, and reptiles like iguanas and chuckwallas. Ethnobiologist Gary Nabhan (n.d.) argues convincingly that the Comcáac introduced at least five land reptiles from the Sonoran mainland to the islands of the Gulf of California—or from one island to other islands—as "survival foods" for Seri fishermen or wayfarers. Seris also used dogs to sniff out the *iime,* or lairs, of hibernating desert tortoises.

Seris also trapped or poisoned fish like mullet in the mangrove-rimmed estuaries lining the Seri coast, and speared sea lions, large fish, and especially sea turtles with detachable harpoons from their reed *balsas,* or canoes. Sea turtles were the most important food source in the Seri diet. Seris knew and exploited all five sea turtle species found on the Pacific coast of the Americas, particularly green sea turtles (*Chelonia mydas*), of which they distinguished eight different types (Felger and Moser 1985). The Comcáac recognized the exact locations of numerous *moosni iime,* or turtle resting places, including places where green sea turtles half-buried themselves on the floor of the gulf and spent the winter in a dormant state (Nabhan n.d.).

Shell middens along the coast of Sonora attest to the importance of mollusks in the Seri diet (Bowen 1976). Seri territory has no permanently flowing surface water copious enough to support irrigation except for a stretch of the Río Bacoachi, however, so the Comcáac planted no corn, beans, squash, or other cultivars. They were hunters, gatherers, and fisherfolk, not farmers.

Because the Seris moved across the desert and sea in search of food, the Spaniards, in the words of Pérez de Ribas, considered them "excessively wild, without pueblos, houses, or fields." According to German Jesuit Adam Gilg, who wrote the most detailed colonial description of the Comcáac in 1692, "they roam like gypsies from one place to another (without staying anywhere long), so that they can gather the vegetation, fruit, herbs and seeds which nature produces by herself without work; and for this purpose they prefer to visit those regions in which they find better food of that sort, according to the season of the year. Anyway, they live like cattle, without God, without law, without faith, without Princes, and without houses" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:43).

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1. Father Miguel Xavier de Almanza to Father Visitor Fernando de Bayerca, Pópulo, February 20, 1718. Archivo Hidalgo del Parral (AHP), 1718a, frames 174–92.

In other words, the Seris were clearly beyond the pale of civilization. But Gilg qualified his statement, adding, "Just as they have no religious worship, so, too, one finds not even the shadow of any idolatry among them, as they have never known or adored either a true or a false deity" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:43). Unlike Indian groups with more elaborate religions, the Comcáac were not idolaters who worshiped the devil. Later in his letter, Gilg states, "Now, just as my Seris, as aforementioned on the one hand, are not serious, have no diligence or stability, no miracles nor capacity to comprehend the Christian mysteries; on the other hand they have none of those coarse vices which elsewhere have the upper hand among almost all heathen and mightily deter them from Christianity. Furthermore, neither idolatry nor magic, nor drunkenness nor avarice, nor the abuse of having a number of wives at the same time, nor lewdness are in vogue among them. The whole time that I have been living among these otherwise half bestial people, I have not heard that an unmarried woman has been seduced, although the silly thing, as almost everyone goes naked, must mightily incite them to do it" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:45). In the eyes of early Jesuits like Gilg, the Seris were somewhat of a blank slate.

Rarely in the documents do you find the Seris being demonized. The Spaniards and missionaries recognized the vast cultural chasm between them and the Seris, and obviously considered their own religion and way of life infinitely superior. But they did not endow the Comcáac with invented traits to make them appear subhuman. Even the acerbic German Jesuit Ignaz Pfefferkorn, who called the Seris "bloodthirsty" and described, erroneously but with great relish, the way they prepared their arrow poison,[2] argued that the Seris would not have revolted in the late 1740s "had they not been provoked by the deeds of violence and the oppressive actions of the soldiers and other Spaniards in the vicinity" (Pfefferkorn 1989:151). Nowhere in the Spanish colonial record, for example, are the Seris referred to as cannibals—a vicious myth that apparently appeared for the first time in the U.S. press in the late nineteenth century and that still surfaces in popular portrayals of the Seris today. Nor did any Spanish description match the pseudo-evolutionary nonsense of ethnologist W. J. McGee ([1898] 1971:156), who wrote, "Certain characteristics of the tribe strongly suggest lowly condition, i.e., a condition approaching that of lower animals, especially of carnivorous type: among these are the specific color, the centripetally developed body, the tardy adolescence, the defective tool-sense, the distinctive food habits (especially the consumption of raw offal and carrion), the independence of fixed habitations, and the extreme alterna-

2. According to Pfefferkorn (1989:156–57), "First they collect most painstakingly a large quantity of the poisonous juices from all kinds of the most malignant snakes, toads, scorpions, spiders, centipedes, and similar poisonous insects. To this are added some of the poisonous herbs known to the barbarians. Then, after all these horrible things are gathered in a large earthen vessel, the container is well covered and the cover carefully sealed all around with glue so that none of the strength of the inclosed poison may evaporate. The pot, thus cautiously made ready, is placed on a fire under the open sky and the materials are cooked until it is thought that they have the strength necessary for use. Care of this murderous concoction devolves upon the oldest woman. Chosen for this purpose, she must sit by the fire, tending it diligently, and finally, when the salve is supposed to be sufficiently cooked, she must remove the pot from the fire and uncover it. The unfortunate old one who has surrendered herself cheerfully to her fate hereupon becomes a sacrifice to her countrymen, for, when the dish is uncovered, the poisonous vapor which rises invariably kills her."

tions between the rage of chase and war and the quiescence of sluggish repose." Ironically, the Spaniards and missionaries portrayed the Comcáac more humanely, and with less distortion, than writers and even scientists two centuries or more later.

They had very few guides by which to do so. The Seris were different not only from the Spaniards but from their Sonoran neighbors as well. All the Indians of Sonora except for the Seris practiced some agriculture. Most of them also spoke languages in the Uto-Aztecan family. The Comcáac, in contrast, speak a language most linguists classify as a member of the Hokan stock, which includes Yuman languages spoken by the Quechans (Yumas), Cocopas, Mojaves, Maricopas, Yavapais, Hualapais, Diegueños, Cochimís, and Kiliwas. But Seri is not closely related to Yuman or any other known Hokan language, so its cultural and historical relationships to any of these other groups, if any, are extremely distant (Crawford 1976). Knowledge of Pima, Opata, or Yaqui did not help missionaries such as Gilg, Juan Fernández, or Nicolás Perera in their struggle to learn Seri, which Fernández claimed was "notoriously difficult" yet Gilg thought was similar to his native German.

Of all the native peoples in northwestern New Spain, the group the Seris most resembled were the Cochimís of Baja California's central desert. Both inhabited terrain of extreme aridity where irrigated agriculture was not possible. Both lived in small groups to forage for wild plants and animals. And both constructed balsas made of three bundles of native reeds to spear sea animals and to navigate the Gulf of California. The Cochimís, who died out in the nineteenth century, also spoke a Hokan language, although the linguistic relationships between Cochimí and Seri are not well understood (Mixco 1978).

As the two short documents at the end of chapter 5 indicate, the Seris occasionally crossed over to Baja in their balsas, most likely by island-hopping from Tiburón to San Esteban to San Lorenzo Islands. Felger and Moser (1985:9) note, "On clear days mountains in Baja California are visible from the central coast of Sonora, and the greatest open-water distance, from San Lorenzo Island to Baja California, is only 19 km. The Seri regularly crossed the 10-km channel between San Esteban and Tiburón islands."

Seri mythology also reinforces this Baja connection. According to Comcáac songs and legends, a race of giants occupied both Baja and coastal Sonora when the Seris arrived. Contemporary Seris do not believe they are descended from these giants, but they associate the giants with all that has become obsolete in Seri culture. Giants shaped the characteristic Seri thin-walled "eggshell" pottery and wore stones and shells in their noses and ears, which modern Seris no longer do. Gilg observed this adornment in the colonial period, however: "in the center nasal cartilage hangs a blue stone or a skewer and in the ear lobes either shells or ribbons of different colors" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:53). Moreover, the fragments of "giant talk" that have survived are simply archaic forms of the Seri language. It is possible, then, that ancestors of the Seris migrated from Baja to Tiburón Island and the Sonoran mainland at some time in the distant past (Bowen 1976; Felger and Moser 1985; Sheridan and Parezo 1996). Culturally, they may have shared more with the people of Baja than with their Sonoran neighbors, the Yaquis, Opatas, Eudeves, and O'odham (Upper and Lower Pimas).

Nonetheless, even those Baja origins would have been remote. Archaeologist Thomas Bowen (1983:232) notes that most of the archaeological sites in Seri territory contain "thin and superbly made pottery, Tiburón Plain." He goes on to say,

"The close resemblance of these sites and recently abandoned Seri camps, plus factors of ceramic continuity and correspondence between site distribution and historic Seri territory, all indicate that the Seri have occupied the central coast since the beginning of ceramic times, which a single radiocarbon assay places no later than A.D. 220 +/- 130."

The Seris' cultural isolation from the rest of Sonora was reinforced by the land itself. Most of Seri territory is located in what botanists Forrest Shreve and Ira Wiggins (1964) defined as the Central Gulf Coast division of the Sonoran Desert. There are no perennial rivers or streams except for a stretch of the Río Bacoachi, and the climate is hot and extremely arid. The entire historic Seri range receives less than ten inches of rain a year; much of it, especially Tiburón Island and the Sonoran coast north of Bahía de Kino, receives less than five inches. Just as important, the amount of seasonal and annual precipitation varies considerably, and no rain may fall at all over portions of Seri territory for a twelve-month period or longer. When it does, most of it comes as violent and often localized thunderstorms during the summer months of July and August, when evapotranspiration rates are highest.

Most of the Spaniards and *gente de razón* (people of reason, i.e., non-Indians) in Sonora were seasoned desert dwellers—heirs to the northward expansion of New Spain, which began in the sixteenth century not long after the fall of Tenochtitlán. But the relentless aridity of Seri territory intimidated even them. There were no riverine oases where they could build their pueblos and irrigate their fields. Permanent springs were few and far between, their locations often known only to the Comcáac. On Tiburón Island, for example, modern Seris had names for forty-three water sources, but only twelve or thirteen yielded water throughout the year. The Sonoran coast was even drier; the two hundred kilometers of desert between Bahía de Kino and Puerto Libertad offered only five permanent springs (Felger and Moser 1985).

Because of the mobile nature of Seri society, the Comcáac were able to take advantage of seasonal water sources—*playas* (dry lakebeds) that filled with water after heavy rains, or *tinajas* (bedrock pools) that collected runoff. But many of those temporary water sources contained less than 1,000 liters (Felger and Moser 1985). Spanish soldiers on campaign needed water for their horse herds as well as for themselves. That was why Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla had to postpone his expedition to Tiburón Island until late August and September, after the summer monsoons had replenished tinajas and springs (see chapter 3). No wonder his men nearly mutinied. Imagine campaigning against an elusive enemy in hundred-degree heat, wearing heavy leather armor. The logistics of warfare against the Seris depended upon the availability of water, which limited when and where the Spaniards could pursue their foes. As the following documents attest, thirst was one of the Comcáac's greatest allies.

Given the variety and abundance of marine and desert resources exploited by the Seris, food supply was probably not a limiting factor on the size of the Seri population even during dry years when ephemeral plants may have failed and perennial production would have decreased (Felger and Moser 1985). Nonetheless, the seasonality and distribution of these resources prevented the Seris from living in large or permanent settlements. Those limitations were reinforced by the scarcity of water, which imposed iron constraints on both the size and distribution of Seri settlements. Colonial estimates of Seri population were educated

guesses at best. The Comcáac lived in small, shifting, dispersed groups, and the Spaniards never were able to take comprehensive censuses of their numbers. They recorded populations at Seri missions and noted the size of groups they encountered during military campaigns or reconnaissances, but the transitory nature of Seri settlement patterns and the rugged nature of their terrain conspired against systematic enumeration.

In 1692, Gilg stated that "all hitherto-known Seri tribes do not amount to over three thousand souls" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:42). In 1749, Father Tomás Miranda estimated that there were six hundred families of Seri "islanders and inhabitants of estuaries along the coast" in addition to eighty families living in the missions (see chapter 3). Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn wrote his *Description of the Province of Sonora* in German after he and his fellow Jesuits had been expelled from northwestern New Spain; in it he stated, "Concerning the apostate Seris, Father Nicolás Perera, who, with three other missionaries, had administered to the spiritual care of this people and who in my time still lived in the mission of Aconzi [Aconchi], reckoned the number of this nation before their revolt at from nine to ten thousand souls. This number had shrunk to eight or nine hundred at the time of our banishment, however, according to trustworthy reports" (Pfefferkorn 1989:264). Population figures for the Seris in the nineteenth century prior to the devastating Encinas War ranged from more than a thousand to "four thousand at the utmost" (McGee [1898] 1971:135).

Perera probably overestimated Seri numbers in his zeal to missionize them. Most likely, Seri population decreased from about 3,000 to 1,000 during the colonial period. At least one recorded epidemic devastated recently reduced Seris at the mission of Pópulo in 1683 (Decorme 1941; DiPeso and Matson 1965). Of the eighty births at the Seri mission of Los Angeles on the Río San Miguel between 1716 and 1720, thirty infants died, giving Los Angeles an infant mortality rate of 38 percent (Reff 1991:239). But Old World diseases apparently did not exact as high a toll on the dispersed Seri groups as they did on more settled Indian farmers in northwestern New Spain. The major factors in the decline of the Comcáac during the eighteenth century were the gradual contraction of Seri territory and the brutal guerrilla warfare that raged from the late 1740s to 1771 (see chapter 4).

Except for transitory pearl fishing camps on the Sonoran coast in the 1720s and 1730s and Father Juan Crisóstomo Gil's disastrous attempt to found a Franciscan mission at Carrizal in 1772–73, the Spaniards never attempted to colonize Seri territory. No rivers beckoned, no gold was discovered. Pearls were the only lure, and they seemed more of an illusion than a reality. Instead, the Jesuits spent seventy years trying to wean the Comcáac away from their dry, rugged land.

Nonetheless, the Spanish colonization of Sonora had a profound effect upon Seri settlement patterns and social organization. As the introduction to chapter 1 makes clear, the Spaniards recognized a number of subdivisions among the Comcáac in the late 1600s and early 1700s. The Tepocas occupied the Sonoran coast north of Tiburón Island as far inland as the Bacoachi drainage. The Salineros ranged from modern Bahía de Kino and the Canal de Infiernillo to the arroyos west of the Río San Miguel. The Tiburones inhabited Tiburón Island. The Guaymas and Upanguaymas were Seri speakers—or at least Seris intermingled with Lower Pimas and perhaps even Yaquis—who lived south of Bahía de Kino to Guaymas. Other designations such as Tastioteños, Carrizos, and Bacoachis were used less frequently and seem to have referred to Seris living in certain areas when the

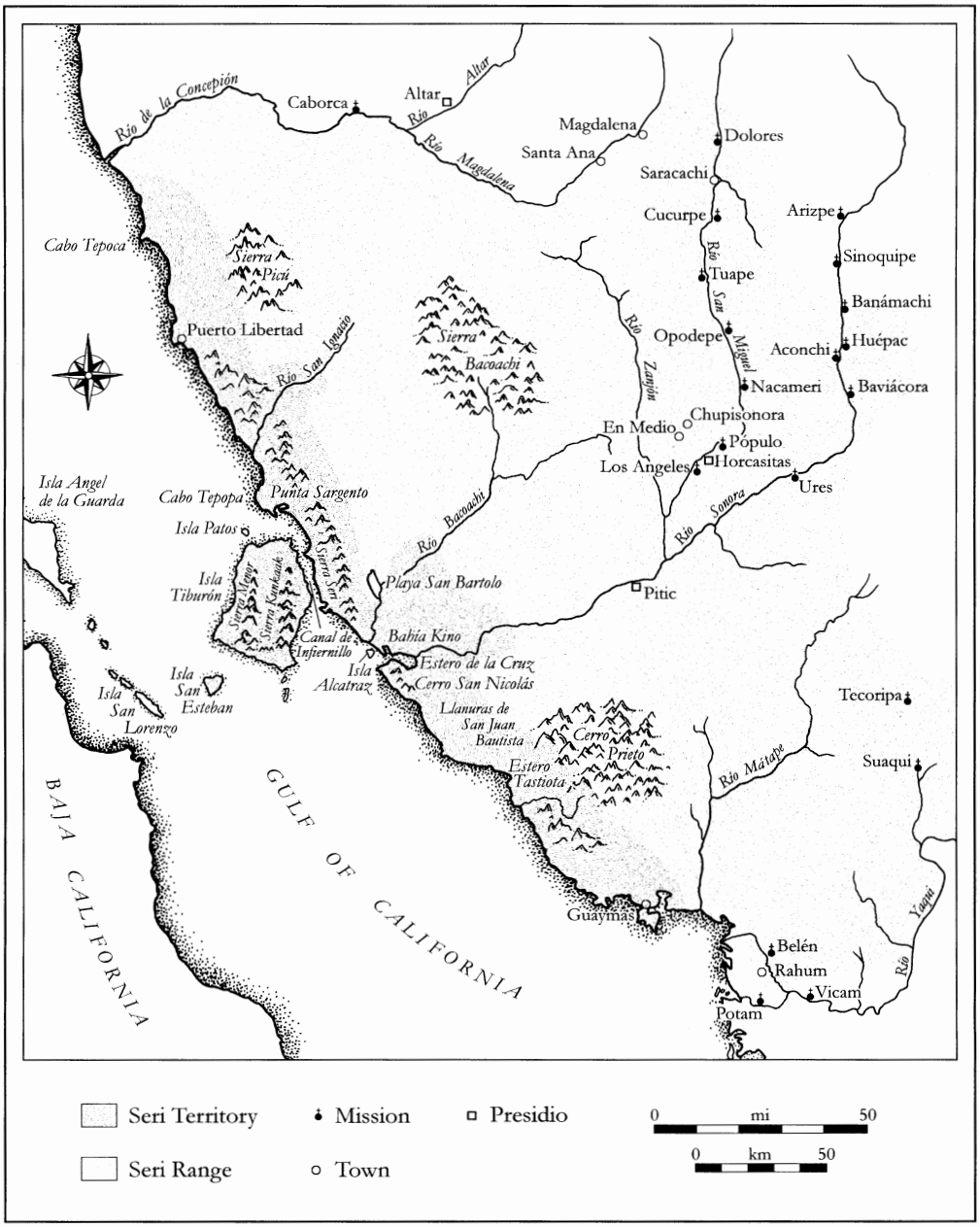
Spaniards encountered them. No mention of Seris on San Esteban has yet been found in the Spanish documentary record, but it is possible that the "ranchería on the west side" of Tiburón Island mentioned by Father Nicolás Perera in 1729 may have been the band that moved back and forth between San Esteban and Tiburón (see chapter 2).

It is difficult if not impossible to determine the nature of these subdivisions. They certainly were too broad to refer to Seri residence groups, yet they do seem to have reflected actual subdivisions among the Comcáac themselves. When Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante reconnoitered Seri territory in 1700, he consistently referred to Tepocas and Salineros and was told they were hostile to one another because of "ancient passions and wars" (see chapter 1). During the investigation of the attack on the home of Salvador de la Huerta in Opodepe in 1725, Seri assailants were identified by their arrows and by informers as either Tepocas or Salineros. Early Jesuit missionaries also made some attempt to settle Tepocas and Salineros at different missions (DiPeso and Matson 1965; see chapter 1).

During the 1950s, linguist Edward Moser (1963), who lived and worked among the Seris for several decades, reported that twentieth-century Seris recalled six distinct Seri bands: (1) the *Xica Hai Ic Coii* ('they who live toward the true wind'), who ranged from Cerro Tepopa northward to Puerto Lobos; (2) the *Xica Xnai Ic Coii* ('they who live toward the south wind'), who occupied the Sonoran coast from Bahía de Kino south to Guaymas; (3) the *Tahéöjc Comcáac* ('Tiburón Island people'), who inhabited the north, east, and west coasts of Tiburón and the mainland opposite the island; (4) the *Heno Comcáac* ('desert people'), who lived in the interior of Tiburón Island; (5) the *Xnaa Motat* ('they who came from the direction of the south wind'), who surrounded the rich mangrove estuaries near Punta Sargento and were said to have come from around Guaymas; and (6) the *Xica Hast Ano Coii* ('they who live in the mountains'), who went back and forth between San Esteban Island and the south coast of Tiburón. According to Moser's consultants, the San Esteban and Sargento bands had died out during the nineteenth century, and the modern Seri language was an amalgamation of the dialects of the surviving bands (Felger and Moser 1985).

Moser's Seri consultants also told him that three of the bands were subdivided into smaller units called *ihizitim*, which Moser claimed were patrilineal clans according to the anthropological model of hunter-gatherer society that prevailed while Moser was doing his research. This model, developed by Julian Steward (1938, 1955) and refined by Elman Service (1962), contended that most hunter-gatherers across the world were organized into patrilocal, patrilineal bands that controlled access to resources of a common territory and exchanged women with other such bands. Anthropological research in the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand, developed another model of hunter-gatherer society—one that tended to be "open, bilateral, nonterritorial, and flexible in composition" (Lee 1972). The Comcáac themselves reckon descent bilaterally (from both the mother and the father), and there is no evidence, ethnographic or ethnohistorical, that they have ever been patrilineal or organized into clans (Sheridan 1982).

The reconstruction of Seri society proposed by Moser therefore seems to be an incomplete yet fascinating glimpse into the Seri past. Geographer Conrad Bahre (1967, 1980) has argued convincingly that several of Moser's band territories were too small and had too little water to support large numbers of Seris year-round. Sheridan (1982) pointed out that given the nature of the Seri environment with its



Seri territory and range in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

scarce and undependable water resources and its seasonally fluctuating food supplies, the territories of Seri bands must have been permeable and band membership itself must have been flexible and fluid. Patrilineal clans that functioned as exclusive, corporate landholding entities contradicted the evidence from hunting-and-gathering societies in other arid areas of the world and would not have been adaptive among the Seri, for ecological as well as historical reasons (Sheridan 1982).

Nonetheless, there may be much to learn from Moser's model, especially when it is evaluated in the light of Seri ethnohistory. Band 1—the Xica Hai Ic Coii—may have been the group the Spaniards called the Tepocas. Band 2—the Xica Xnai Ic Coii—may have been the Guaymas and Upanguaymas. Band 3—the Tahéöjc Comcáac—may have been the Salineros; their presence on Tiburón Island may have reflected long-standing relationships between groups the Spaniards called Salineros and Tiburones, or it may reflect changes in Seri residence brought about by warfare during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Band 4—the Heno Comcáac—may have been the Tiburones, although it is doubtful any group of people would have lived on Tiburón without access to coastal and marine resources. Band 5—the Xnaa Motat—may have been Guaymas or Upanguaymas who had taken refuge in the Sargento region during the wars the documents in this volume describe. Band 6—the Xica Hast Ano Coii—were probably the people who moved back and forth between San Esteban Island and the southern part of Tiburón, perhaps the western ranchería mentioned by Father Perera.

Unpublished research by C. H. Hine and James Hills (1986) and the ethnobiological investigations of Gary Nabhan (n.d.) shed more light on the ihizitim themselves. According to Jesús Rojo, who was interviewed by Nabhan (n.d.), "ihizitim—that's *terreno,* homeground. For me, it's Punta Mala on Isla Tiburón; that's where my grandfather lived, where my father, *mi jefe,* was born. It's based around a camp, one that each family has, one that belongs to all the descendants. It's only for them—those who live there are the only ones who can use the resources nearby the camp. All the descendants have rights there." Nabhan (n.d.) himself goes on to say, "It [the ihizitim] is literally the place within which you are connected to your land and the extended family of your ancestors through the ritual burying of your placenta there at the time of your birth. It is where you were raised by a group of interrelated nuclear families who all shared the use of the same water holes and gathering sites." Ihizitim took their names from prominent geographic features within them, and they ranged in size from 14 to more than 250 square kilometers (Hine and Hills 1986).

Regardless of the exact nature of Seri social organization at contact with the Spaniards, the processes of colonization, missionization, and warfare in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rearranged group territories. Those historical forces also threw members of different groups together in refuges such as Tiburón Island and the Cerro Prieto (modern Sierra Libre), that long, low mountain range stretching between Hermosillo and Guaymas. Initially, some of the Comcáac may have been drawn eastward by Spanish communities and Spanish livestock in the San Miguel and Sonora river valleys. Rancherías such as El Medio just west of the San Miguel served as temporary nuclei for dozens—and at times perhaps several hundred—Tepoca and Salinero raiders (see chapters 1 and 2). Life in the desert and on the sea had turned the Seris into opportunists who took advantage of many different resources. Spanish livestock must have been irresistible targets—big but relatively slow "deer" who fed many Seri families. It must be remembered, how-

ever, that even before the Spaniards arrived, Seris periodically journeyed to Eudeve, Opata, and perhaps Lower Pima communities to trade salt and deerskins for agricultural produce (see chapter 1). They also must have participated in the pre-Columbian shell trade that would have linked them with the Trincheras, Hohokam, and perhaps even Casas Grandes cultures. The dramatic hillside site of Trincheras just north of Seri territory was heavily involved in the shell network, and it is easy to picture Seri shell collectors traveling to Trincheras to exchange their shells for maize, beans, and other products. Raiding and trading with the Spaniards may have been a continuation of that pattern.

The Jesuit missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles drew hundreds of Seris eastward as well. As pointed out in chapter 2, it is doubtful that these missions ever embraced more than a minority of the Comcáac. Mission populations fluctuated from season to season and year to year as Seris left to gather pitahaya fruit, hunt for sea turtles in the eelgrass meadows of the Canal de Infiernillo, or even rustle Spanish horses and cattle. Nonetheless, the Jesuit missions provided the Seris with a toehold in Spanish frontier society. Their demise in the late 1740s helped trigger two decades of chaos and bloodshed unparalleled in the history of colonial Sonora.

Missionaries and Spanish officials considered the Apaches the greatest Indian threat to the security and expansion of the northwestern frontier. As the documents in chapters 3 and 4 make clear, however, the Spaniards realized they could not take effective action against those external enemies until they defeated or destroyed their internal Indian foes. In his *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora,* Judge Investigator and Visitor General José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, the architect of the "final solution" to the Seri problem, dismissed the notion that the Seris and other Indian rebels were "uncivilized, stupid, and rustic" (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975:41, my translation). On the contrary, he realized that Sonora's rebels understood Spanish government and commerce well and used that knowledge to wage war on the Spaniards. In his words, "The Seris, a barbarous and treacherous nation except for those who have not left the island of Tiburón, are for the most part ladinos and judicious" (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975:41).

Rodríguez Gallardo went on to discuss how quickly the Seris and others learned new practices and tactics. "The Seris, who did not use to kill horses because they do not eat them, have now learned from the Apaches, who, only to inflict damage and make pursuit impossible, kill and destroy even the horseherds so they cannot carry us to their territory," he wrote. "The same Seris in the present uprising have come to threaten us by setting fire to our fields (a stratagem used by Sampson in his time). The only thing lacking to do this from afar, and it would be very easy to do, is to shoot the fire from even further away by means of their same arrows" (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975:41). Spanish officials from Rodríguez Gallardo to José de Gálvez took the Seris and their Upper and Lower Pima allies very seriously. The great Apache peace forged at the end of the eighteenth century could not have been achieved if the Seris had not been forced to make peace with the Spaniards or driven deeper into the desert or onto the islands of the gulf.

That process of pacification took more than twenty years and required the largest military force ever mounted in the history of colonial Sonora (see chapter 4). Commanded by Colonel Domingo Elizondo, soldiers of the Sonora Expedition spent three years in the saddle and eventually brought a measure of peace to Sonora. The Sonora Expedition also established Guaymas as Sonora's most important port

and awakened Pitic from its lethargy by turning it into the expedition's major base of operations. Those seeds germinated in the nineteenth century as Guaymas and Hermosillo became the axes of commercial and political power in Sonora after Mexican Independence in 1821.

Even after the Sonora Expedition, however, many Seris continued to fight on. *Indomitable* is an overused word, but no other Sonoran people resisted the Spaniards—and later the Mexicans—so absolutely. Some Seris settled at Pitic and merged into mestizo society. Others attacked Spanish and Mexican wagon trains between Guaymas and Hermosillo or even crossed the Gulf of California on balsas and raided the missions of Baja California (see chapter 5). Many others withdrew from contact with outsiders as much as possible and followed the ancient rhythms of the desert and sea. Until rancher Pascual Encinas armed his cowboys with repeating rifles in the second half of the nineteenth century, the desert continued to be fortress as well as larder (McGee [1898] 1971; Spicer 1962). Until steamships made the Sea of Cortés less treacherous, the ocean kept Seris on Tiburón and San Esteban Islands free from Spanish and Mexican domination. Even today, the Comcáac take the late twentieth century on their own terms (Felger and Moser 1985; Sheridan and Parezo 1996).

To return to the theme set forth in the first paragraph: The Seris and the Spaniards may not have understood many of the nuances of each other's culture, but they comprehended the big picture. The Comcáac realized that the Spaniards and missionaries wanted to transform them "utterly," to paraphrase William Butler Yeats (1969). Most of them chose not to be transformed. And, to borrow from Yeats again, "a terrible beauty" was born. Armed largely with bows and arrows and an intimate knowledge of water holes, mountain canyons, and tides, the Seris held one of Europe's greatest empires at bay for two centuries. They continued to resist long after the empire collapsed. But that is another story.

Organization of the Volume and a Note on Sources

The volume is divided into five chapters corresponding to five periods in Seri-Spanish relations during the colonial epoch. The first chapter—"Early Spanish Contacts and the Foundation of the Seri Mission Program (1645–1700)"—portrays the sporadic interaction between Seris and Spaniards during the seventeenth century and the first attempts at integrating the Comcáac into the Spanish Empire. Documentation for this period is relatively sparse; the Escalante diary, translated in chapter 1, constitutes the largest and most informative single document about the Seris at this time with the exception of Father Adam Gilg's 1692 letter, which has already been translated and published (DiPeso and Matson 1965).

Chapter 2—"Missions and Skirmishes (1725–1740)"—examines the centrifugal and centripetal forces that drew some Seris into the missions of the San Miguel river valley while provoking others to intensify their raiding of Spanish livestock. The tensions generated by Seri raiding and Spanish retaliation led to a breakpoint in Seri-Spanish relations in the late 1740s, when Jesuits abandoned the Seri mission system and Spanish officials attempted to deport the Seris from Sonora by sea. Chapter 3—"The Breakdown of Seri-Spanish Relations and the Expedition to Tiburón Island (1748–1750)"—concentrates on this critical turning point. By the

mid-eighteenth century, Spanish documentation regarding the Comcáac becomes voluminous, with most of it relating to Seri raids and to military campaigns against the Seris. A key document for this period is Father Francisco Pimentel's diary of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla's expedition to Tiburón Island in 1750. Another key document—José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo's *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora,* 1750—has not been included because it is quite lengthy, it covers many subjects extraneous to Seri-Spanish relations, and an annotated version in Spanish is readily available in print (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975).

Chapter 4—"Fire and Blood (1751–1771)"—focuses upon the two disastrous decades following the collapse of the Seri mission program and the 1751 Upper Pima revolt. During this period, the Comcáac and their Upper and Lower Pima allies threatened the security and survival of Spanish Sonora at a time when Apache attacks were intensifying. To preserve that province, Spanish authorities mounted the largest military campaign in Sonoran colonial history. Two crucial documents—the "Breve Resumen" and the "Relación of the Expedition to Sonora"—recount that bloody and tumultuous period. They were selected over scores of other documents because they best summarize the struggle for Spanish Sonora at that time. The "Relación of the Expedition to Sonora" is the longest document in the volume, one that sheds an enormous amount of light on Pima as well as Seri resistance to the Spaniards.

Chapter 5—"Late-Eighteenth-Century Missionization, Resettlement, and Warfare (1772–1803)"—explores the aftermath of the Sonora Expedition, which never conquered the Comcáac but did wear them down. There is no foundation document for this period. Instead, the documents reflect the fragmented and inconsistent responses of both the Seris and the Spaniards during late colonial times. Moreover, by the early 1800s, Spanish documents concerning the Seris become scarce again. The Seris no longer posed a major threat to Spanish Sonora, and the Franciscans, who replaced the Jesuits in Sonora after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767, mounted no sustained effort to missionize the Comcáac. Seris once again became shadowy raiders on the margins of Sonoran colonial society.

An additional point needs to be made about the Spanish documentary record of the Comcáac. Missionaries, soldiers, and officials wrote thousands of pages about the Seris, but most of the information concerns raiding and warfare, not Seri society and culture. Consequently, the amount of direct ethnohistorical information in the documents presented in this volume, and in the hundreds of other documents that were read but not included, is relatively slight. Few Europeans or Euro-Americans lived with the Comcáac long enough to understand their kinship patterns, religious beliefs, or social organization in any depth. Jesuit missionary Nicolás Perera probably knew them best, but he recorded very little of that knowledge. The documents translated herein portray the Comcáac refracted and distorted through European and Euro-American eyes.

Unless otherwise indicated, information in the footnotes comes from the following set of standard sources: Francisco Almada's (1983) *Diccionario de historia, geografía, y biografía sonorenses;* Thomas Barnes, Thomas Naylor, and Charles Polzer's (1981) *Northern New Spain: A Research Guide;* Editorial Porrúa's (1968) *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía, y geografía de México;* Peter Gerhard's (1982) *The Northern Frontier of New Spain;* Charles Polzer's (1976) *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain;* Francisco Zambrano's

(1961–77) *Diccionario bio-bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México;* and the unpublished Biofile of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) at the Arizona State Museum (ASM), University of Arizona. And even though it is frequently cited in these pages, I also must acknowledge my tremendous debt to Richard Felger and Mary Beck Moser's (1985) monumental *People of the Desert and Sea: Ethnobotany of the Seri Indians.* It is the single best source on the modern Seris and the ways in which they continue to survive on the desert coasts of the Gulf of California.

I

Early Spanish Contacts and the Foundation of the Seri Mission Program (1645–1700)

The earliest indisputable reference to the Seris is found in Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas' classic *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del nuevo orbe* (Pérez de Ribas 1944, 1999). Pérez de Ribas, one of the first two Jesuit missionaries to the Yaquis in 1617, published his monumental work in 1645. His account indicates that the Seris occupied the central coast of Sonora and Tiburón Island. They practiced no agriculture themselves, but they occasionally journeyed to the more sedentary settlements of their agricultural neighbors to trade deer hides and salt for corn. Different Seri bands are not delineated. Nevertheless, in a much earlier letter to his father provincial, Pérez de Ribas mentioned that the "Yaiamas," or Guaymas Indians—the southernmost Seri group—inhabited a peninsula just north of Yaqui territory. There they were "*parientes de los Névomes*" ('kinsmen of the Névomes'), a Lower Pima group living next to them.[1]

In 1628, Father Juan Varela reported that these "Vayemas," or Guaymas, "*gente maritima y alguna Yslena*" ('a coastal and island people: isleña') had been reduced to village life and had been given fields to plant along the Río Yaqui by Father Pedro Méndez, another missionary pioneer of northwestern New Spain.[2] This new Guaymas pueblo may have been the village of Belén, which later became a triethnic community of Guaymas, Lower Pimas, and Yaquis. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, some Lower Pimas may have been pushed south

1. Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas to the Father Provincial, Mexico City, May 23, 1619. Carta al Padre Provincial, año de 1617, *Memorias para la historia de Sinaloa.* Mexican Manuscripts (M–M) 227, Bancroft Library (BL), University of California, Berkeley.

2. Father Juan Varela to the Father Provincial, February 16, 1628. *Memorias para la historia de Sinaloa.* M–M 227, BL.

Illustration of a group of seventeenth-century Seris on a map drawn by Father Adam Gilg, S.J., in 1692. The woman balances a basket on her head enclosing a baby on a cradleboard and may have a stone or shell in her nose—a trait modern Seris attribute to the giants who crossed over from Baja long ago. The man on the left carries a pot in a net hanging from a yoke. The map shows the "Seris Tepokes" inhabiting the Sierra Bacoachi. (Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History; courtesy Arizona State Museum)

toward the coast by Opata expansion; in 1536, a group of Névomes even accompanied Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca to Sinaloa, where they settled in the pueblo of Bamoa. Others may have moved into the coastal deserts to avoid the Old World epidemic diseases raging in their riverine pueblos along the middle Yaqui and Sonora drainages. There they would have come in contact, and perhaps intermarried, with the southernmost Seri groups (Pennington 1980; Reff 1991).

The earliest identified references to more northern Seri groups are found in two letters written by Captain Lorenzo de Bohorques in 1684. Describing the pueblos of Cucurpe, Tuape, and Opodepe along the Río San Miguel, the northwestern boundary of Spanish settlement at the time, Bohorques noted the presence of gentile "*Seris tepoques*" living at two "*parajes*" called "Zieneguilla" and "Baquazhi" about thirty leagues west of the San Miguel villages. He also mentioned another group called "Salineros" near the coast.[3] The following year, Captain Juan de

3. Captain Lorenzo de Bohorques, Opodepe, December 24, 1684. Archivo Histórico de Hacienda (AHH), Temporalidades (Temp), Legajo 278, Expediente 22.

Encinas wrote that "more than three hundred heathens" were living "at a place called Belén two leagues from the pueblo of Rahum," a western Yaqui pueblo. Among these more than three hundred persons were Guaymas, Névomes, and "Baynos" (perhaps Aibinos, an Opata group).[4]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Spaniards were distinguishing three major Seri groups—Tepocas, Salineros, and Guaymas—as well as "Seris de la Ysla," who later became known as Tiburones because they inhabited Tiburón Island (see the introduction). These distinctions persisted until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when more than two decades of intense guerrilla warfare may have collapsed some distinctions among the different Seri groups. Each group occupied different if semipermeable ranges, and when the Jesuits instituted their Seri mission program, each group was settled in a different pueblo. Hostility among groups was common. Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, whose detailed campaign diary constitutes the longest and most important document in this chapter, described the sporadic raiding between Tepocas and Salineros, which continued after missionization because of "ancient passions and wars."

In general, the Guaymas inhabited the southernmost extension of Seri territory between Cerro Prieto (the modern Sierra Libre) and the Río Yaqui. The Tepocas were the northernmost Seri group, ranging from the Río San Miguel to the coast, probably in the vicinity of Puerto Libertad. They appeared to rely less on marine resources than other Seri bands and maintained several semipermanent camps in the Sierra Bacoachi. The Salineros occupied the central portions of the Seri region from their ranchería of El Medio west of the Río San Miguel to the Canal de Infiernillo separating the Sonoran mainland from Tiburón Island. The Tiburones spent most of their time on Tiburón Island itself. Contact, whether hostile or cooperative, appeared to be relatively frequent among the Tepocas, Salineros, and Tiburones. The Guaymas, on the other hand, were more isolated from other Seri groups. They interacted primarily with Lower Pimas and, to a lesser extent, Yaquis.

Missionization reinforced these trends. For most of the seventeenth century, contact between Seris and Spaniards was sporadic. A few Seris were baptized in the Eudeve Indian communities of Cucurpe, Tuape, and Opodepe along the Río San Miguel, but no sizable community of Christian Seris developed. Even the Guaymas remained largely outside the Spanish pale, because no further mention of Father Méndez's mission among the Guaymas has been uncovered so far, and the Guaymas were described by Captain Encinas as "*gentiles*" ('heathens') in 1685. As the documents written by Father Juan Ortiz Zapata and Juan Fernández in this chapter make clear, however, Fernández, who was assigned to the Pimas at Ures, established the mission of Santa María del Pópulo for the Seris in 1679. According to Father Adam Gilg, the German Jesuit who succeeded Fernández, Pópulo was abandoned after an epidemic devastated the mission Seris in 1683. Gilg re-established Pópulo in 1688. Three years later, he reduced a number of Tepocas to a new village in the Sierra Bacoachi west of the Río San Miguel, naming it San Tadeo. Gilg's third reducción—San Eustaquio, located between Pópulo and San Tadeo—was quickly destroyed by Cocomacagues, a Lower Pima group (DiPeso and Matson 1965).

4. Captain Juan de Encinas, Rahum, January 2, 1685. AHH, Temp, Leg. 278, Exp. 22.

By 1700, two more Seri missions had been established. Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas was situated between the Eudeve communities of Cucurpe and Tuape on the Río San Miguel. Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, inhabited by Salineros, was three leagues south of Pópulo along the San Miguel. Pópulo and Los Angeles were the only Jesuit missions that survived for any length of time.

The Seris were attracted to mission life for a number of reasons. Gilg stated that as early as 1662, Spanish military forces had pursued and killed numerous Seri raiders. He claimed that such campaigns so devastated the Indians that "fear of the Spaniards" drove them into the arms of Father Fernández in 1679 (DiPeso and Matson 1965). But mission rations were undoubtedly very attractive to the opportunistic Seris, who were used to subsisting on whatever the desert and sea provided for them. In 1700, Escalante noted that the Tepocas building the church in their new pueblo of Magdalena were being fed flour, wheat, corn, and beef by their missionary, Father Melchor Bartiromo. Seris in all the mission communities were given land, seed, tools, and agricultural assistance by the missionaries and Spanish soldiers. Moreover, they were supported with rations until they could sustain themselves.

Even many Seris who did not adopt mission life gravitated toward the Spanish and Indian settlements of the San Miguel and Sonora drainages. According to Gilg, this eastward movement began with the missionization of the Lower Pimas, Eudeves, and Opatas in the 1640s and 1650s. "After the latter [Lower Pimas] were brought together in villages from the deserts in which they were scattered, the former (namely, the Seris) withdrew from the coast of the California Sea Straits and from their islands, farther back into the interior of the Sonora country, and attached themselves to the Pimas," Gilg wrote, "not from love for these their ancient neighbors, who also had moved southeast into newly constructed villages at the instigation of the Missionaries, but out of desire for booty that they could obtain by plundering the newly converted Pimas" (DiPeso and Matson 1965:41).

By 1700, raiding had become a well-established way of life for Seri and Lower Pima groups in western Sonora. Escalante mentions the constant attacks on Tepocas, Cocomacagues, and Spaniards by the non-baptized Salineros of El Medio, a raiding ranchería west of the San Miguel missions. At other times, he enters Seri mission communities only to find that many residents had fled because they were afraid the Spaniards were going to punish them for stealing livestock. Missionization was never radical or complete. On the contrary, most mission Seris—a small minority of the total Seri population to begin with—moved back and forth without much hindrance between the missions and the desert and sea to the west. This pattern may even have predated the arrival of the Spaniards; as Pérez de Ribas notes, the Comcáac traveled to the riverine communities of central Sonora to trade. Perhaps some of the mission Seris were descendants of traders who had regularly visited Opata, Eudeve, and Lower Pima communities before Spanish Sonora took shape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Father Andrés Pérez de Ribas on the Seris, 1645

Much of this passage from Pérez de Ribas' famous Triunfos *concerns groups other than the Seris. The ones living along the coasts of Sinaloa between the Río Mocorito on the south and the Río Fuerte on the north may have been related to the Guasaves and Cáhita-speaking peoples of Sinaloa, but they lived very different lives from the Guasaves or Cáhita-speaking Zuaques, Tehuecos, and Cinaloas, who farmed the river floodplains of Sinaloa. The people Pérez de Ribas was writing about were fisherfolk and hunter-gatherers. These groups apparently shared many of the same subsistence patterns as the Seris—a reliance upon fish; cactus fruit, especially the pitahaya (organ pipe); and interestingly enough, eelgrass* (Zostera marina), *whose seeds were a staple of the Seris (Felger and Moser 1985). Like the Seris, they also traded fish and other coastal or desert products such as salt and deerskins with their agricultural neighbors.*

This passage also sets out one of the major themes in Seri-Spanish relations—the fathomless cultural differences between coastal hunter-gatherers, who were "excessively wild, without pueblos, houses, or fields"—and the Spaniards and Jesuit missionaries, who enmeshed themselves in complex social, ecclesiastical, and cosmological hierarchies and believed that civilized people transformed the landscape, owned property, and lived in towns. Even at the end of the Spanish colonial period two centuries later, this cultural chasm yawned just as deeply as it did in the early 1600s, when Pérez de Ribas encountered the new world of northwestern New Spain.

I spoke of these nations, who ordinarily inhabit the arroyos and banks of the rivers [i.e., agricultural groups], because there are others—the most barbaric ever seen or discovered upon this earth. They neither work the soil nor sow like the others, nor do they have any manner of house or shelter, or defense against the elements. Nevertheless, their way of life deserves to be understood, even though it is the farthest removed from humanity and quite unlike that of the other peoples of the world. In this way it is possible to comprehend the misery into which man fell when through his sin he lost the delightful paradise into which God had placed him, in order that he might pass from paradise into heaven. The words of the royal prophet have been fulfilled in these people: "Thus man, for all his splendor, does not abide; he resembles the beasts that perish" [Psalms 48:13].[5]

5. This passage exemplifies the mixture of medieval and humanistic philosophy characterizing the Jesuits. The Seris and other non-farming peoples lived like beasts because of original sin. Yet their ways of life still deserved to be understood. See Reff's "Critical Introduction" in Pérez de Ribas ([1645] 1999) for a superb discussion of both Pérez de Ribas and the worldview of the Jesuit missionaries.

Because of his sin, man has fallen to the level of the beasts God created him to rule over. Of these people, some live like brute animals in bramble thickets and dense wooded hills, and others live along the shores and sand dunes of the sea. The former sustain themselves by hunting and gathering wild roots and fruit, drinking from *charcos*[6] or small lakes of rainwater. Those who live by the sea sustain themselves by fishing in the ocean, supplementing their catch with lobsters, snakes [eels], and other such creatures. In place of bread, they eat fresh, dried, or salted fish. Nonetheless, some journey to the pueblos of their agricultural neighbors at harvest time to trade fish for maize. At another time of the year, they gather the small seed of a grass that grows beneath the waters of the sea; this also serves them for bread.[7] The truth, though it may seem incredible to the nations of Europe, is that these people pass the greater part of the year without bread or any other grain to replace it. As I have said, they eat only fish and wild fruit.

That which grows abundantly and which they enjoy for the longest period of the year is pitahaya,[8] a tree foreign to Europe and the rest of the world. The branches of this tree look like grooved green tapers, growing straight from the short trunk in such a way that they form a beautiful crown. The pitahaya bears no leaves but its fruit grows like nipples along its branches. With its spiny skin the fruit looks something like the husk of the chestnut or the fruit of the prickly pear. Its flesh is similar to that of a fig, only blander and more delicate. In some of the fruits the flesh is very white, whereas in others it is red or yellow. They are delicious, especially when they come from dry areas such as the coast of the province of Sinaloa, where it rains very little. These pitahayas are extremely abundant, and sometimes they grow in stands for two, three, or six leagues at a stretch.

Such are the foods and sustenance of some of these migratory nations. It is worth noting that these people, especially the mountain and coastal dwellers, are the tallest and most corpulent of all the nations of Nueva Vizcaya and even Europe, despite the fact that they have so little food.[9] They are also very swift and nimble. They live for a long time, even to the point of decrepitude, upon such sparse and scanty fare so devoid of largesse.

Since I have written about their strange foods, I will also write about how they protect themselves from the rain and other inclement weather. When it rains and they wish to shelter themselves, their remedy is to gather a clump or bundle of tall grass. Binding the bundle at the top, the Indian then sits down, opens it at one end, and places it over his head in such a way that it covers his body. This bundle of grass serves as his raingear, his roof, his house, and his tent, even if it rains all night. Such is their defense against the rain.

Their protection against the extremely strong rays of the sun is no better, because their only defense is to thrust tree branches into the sand. Under this shade

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6. Depressions dug in arroyos to capture runoff.

7. Eelgrass (*Zostera marina*). See "Perera Regarding Huidobro's Expedition, 1729," for a lengthier discussion.

8. Organ pipe cactus (*Stenocereus thurberi*). The Seris used pitahayas for many purposes, eating the fruit both fresh and dried and fermenting boiled fruit pulp and juice into a wine. They also crushed the dry cactus itself and mixed it with animal fat to make pitch.

9. Probably because their diets were high in protein from all the fish and wild game they ate.

they sit, live, and sleep. Against the wind they have no other defense than their naked bodies. During the cold nights of December and January they avail themselves of bonfires that they light, lying down close to the flames in the cold sand. This is the type of protection they employ against the cold when they travel through unpopulated areas. Since there is never any lack of firewood in this province of abundant thickets, they build a string of bonfires close together and stretch out to sleep between them, taking care to extinguish the blaze when they awake. Finally, if one of these Indians wishes to travel four or six leagues on a cold night, he will carry a burning firebrand, holding it near his stomach to warm himself while leaving the rest of his body exposed. There are far fewer of these wandering people than there are farmers, yet they are happier than if they had all the wealth and palaces in the world.

There is word of another population called the Heris [Seris]. They are excessively wild, without pueblos, houses, or fields. They have no rivers or streams, and so they drink from small pools and charcos. They sustain themselves by hunting; however, when other nations are harvesting maize, the Seris come to trade deerskins and salt, which they have gathered from the sea. Those who live closest to the ocean also eat fish. It is said that others of the same nation inhabit an island in the same sea.[10] Their language is extremely difficult.[11]

From Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del nuevo orbe, *Tomo I, Libro I, Capítulo II, pp. 127–29.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Dije que estas naciones, que ordinariamente habitan a las riberas y orillas de los ríos, porque hay otras (y son las más bárbaras que se han visto, ni descubierto en el orbe) que ni labran tierras, ni siembran como las otras, ni tienen género de casa o vivienda, ni defensa de las inclemencias del cielo: y el modo de vivir de éstos, cuanto es más extraño del humano y de las demás gentes del mundo, es más digno de saberse: para que se entienda la miseria a que vino a parar el género humano, cuando por el pecado perdió la habitación deleitable y dichosa del paraíso donde Dios lo había puesto, para traspasarlo de allí al cielo. Y se ve cumplido en éstos a la letra lo que dijo el real profeta: *Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis.*

El hombre que fue criado de Dios con honra y dominio de las bestias se abatió por el pecado a vida de brutos animales; y éstos, unos viven en espesuras de breñas, montes y arcabucos; otros en las marinas y médanos de arena del mar: sustentándose los primeros con caza, raíces o frutillas silvestres, y bebiendo de algunos charcos o lagunillas de agua recogido de las lluvias; y los marítimos de su pesca de mar y a veces de langostas, culebras y otros animales, teniendo por pan para comer el

10. Tiburón Island. One group of Seris also lived part of the year on the much smaller San Esteban Island.

11. Seri is close to being a linguistic isolate, although most linguists place it in the Hokan stock. It certainly bears no relationships to the Uto-Aztecan languages of the Seris' neighbors in Sonora.

pescado fresco, otro que tienen seco y salado. Y aunque es verdad que los unos y los otros a tiempo de cosecha de maíz, suben a los pueblos de los amigos labradores a rescatarlo, y permutar por él algún pescado, y otro tiempo del año cogen una semilleja de hierba, que nace debajo del agua en el mar, que también les sirve de pan. Pero lo cierto es lo que por ventura pareciere increíble a las naciones de Europa, que la mayor parte del año se sustentan estas tales gentes sin pan, no otra semilla que lo supla, con sólo pescado o con las frutillas silvestres que hemos dicho.

La que por más largo tiempo gozan, y se da con más abundancia es la pitahaya, árbol peregrino para Europa y peregrino entre los demás árboles del mundo. Sus ramas son a manera de cirios estriados y verdes; salen derechos a lo alto de su tronco que es corto, y de suerte, que hacen su copa vistosa. No llevan hoja ninguna, sino en esas ramas nace, como pezones su fruta, que en su corteza con espinas, parece algo a los erizos de la castaña o a la tuna. Su médula se asemeja mucho a la del higo, aunque más blanda y delicada; en unas es muy blanca, en otras colorada o amarilla. Son muy sabrosas, particularmente cuando son de secano como lo son de la provincia de Sinaloa, que se dan en sus marinas, donde llueve muy poco. Es tanta la abundancia de estos árboles, que sucede estar pobladas de ellos dos, tres y seis leguas.

Estas son las comidas y sustento de algunas de estas peregrinas naciones. Y es caso muy digno de reparo, que con tener tan poca y poco reglada comida, son las más corpulentas (particularmente estos marítimos y montaraces) y de más alta estatura de todas las naciones de Nueva España, y aun de las de Europa, y muy sueltas y ligeras con ese corto y parco sustento y ajeno de regalo, viven muchos años, hasta la edad decrépita.

Y pues he escrito de su peregrino sustento, también diré lo que lo es en éstos para ampararse de las lluvias y demás inclemencias del cielo. Cuando llueve, si quieren defenderse del agua, el remedio es coger una macolla o manojo de paja larga del campo. Este atan por lo alto, y sentándose el indio lo abre, y pone sobre la cabeza, de suerte que le cubra el cuerpo alrededor, y éste le sirve de capa aguadera y de techo y casa o tiendo del campo, aunque esté lloviendo toda una noche. Esta es la defensa de la lluvia.

Y para la de los soles fortísimos de esta tierra no la tienen mejor, porque todo el reparo es hincar unos ramos de árboles en la arena, y sentarse, vivir y dormir a esa sombra. Para los vientos no hay defensa, sino recibirlos en el cuerpo desnudo. Para los de algunas noches rigurosas de los dos meses del año (que ya dijimos los son diciembre y enero) se valen de candeladas que encienden, acostándose en la arena fría cerca de ellas. Y este género de abrigo usan cuando caminan por despoblado, haciendo una hilera de candeladas un poquito distantes una de otra (que leña nunca les falta, por los muchos montes de que abunda esta provincia) y entre candelada y candelada, tenderse cada uno a dormir, teniendo cuidado de atizarla cuando despiertan. Y finalmente, si un indio de este jaez quiere caminar cuatro o seis leguas en una noche, por rigurosa de frío que sea, el remedio de que se vale es tomar un tizón encendido en la mano, y aplicar cerca del estómago para su abrigo, y corre el demás cuerpo al viento. Este tan peregrino género de gente es mucho menor en número que las labradoras, y con tal modo de vivir están más contentos que si tuvieran los haberes y palacios del mundo.

Hay noticias de gran gentío de otra nación que llaman heris: es sobremanera bozal, sin pueblos, sin casas ni sementeras. No tienen ríos, ni arroyos y beben de algunas lagunillas, y charcos de agua, sustentándose de caza, aunque al tiempo de

cosecha de maiz, con cueros de venados y sal que recogen de la mar, van a rescatarlo a otras naciones. Los más cercanos destos a la mar también se sustentan de pescado y dentro de la misma mar, en isla, se dice que habitan otros de la misma nación, cuya lengua se tiene por dificilísima sobre manera.

Father Ortiz Zapata on the Seris, 1678

Juan Ortiz Zapata, a veteran of the Tepehuan missions, was appointed visitador general *of the northern missions in 1678. His famous report*[12] *noted the accomplishments of the Jesuits since the late sixteenth century and described each mission, including its population. The following document describes the founding of the first Seri mission of Pópulo, apparently at the request of some of the Seris themselves. It also discusses two of the largest Seri groups, the Salineros and the Tepocas. Ortiz Zapata's geography is confused; he mistakes Tiburón Island for Baja California. But once that error is recognized, it is clear that Seris on the Sonoran mainland and Seris on Tiburón had close interactions with one another, including intermarriage. Ortiz Zapata also talks about pearls, which were to become the only material lure that drew Spaniards to the arid Seri coasts.*

I, Juan Ortiz Zapata,[13] of the Society of Jesus, visitor general of the missions of the Society of Jesus in the realm of Nueva Vizcaya, by order of Father Tomás Altamirano,[14] provincial of this province of New Spain's Society of Jesus, hereby testify [to the following]: While I was visiting the pueblo of Asunción de Opodepe,[15] part of the district of Los Reyes de Cucurpe,[16] in the presence of

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12. "Relación de las misiones que la Compañía tiene en el Reyno y Provincia de la Nueva España, echa el año de 1678 con ocasión de la visita dellas que por orden del Padre Provincial Thomas Altamirano hizo el P. Visitador Juan Ortiz Zapata de la misma Compañía." AGN, Misiones 26, ff. 241–269. Printed in *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*, 4ª ser., 1, 301–419.

13. Juan Ortiz Zapata, S.J. (1620–1689) was born in Zacatecas and entered the Jesuit order in 1638. By 1648, he was working in the Tepehuan missions. After completing his *visita general* of the northern missions, he served as rector in San Luis Potosí and as *operario* of the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City, where he died.

14. Tomás Altamirano, S.J. (1614–1680) was born in Lagos, Mexico, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1630. He served as rector of the colegios of Zacatecas, San Ildefonso de Puebla, Guatemala, and Espíritu Santo de Puebla. In 1677, he was named provincial of New Spain and served in that capacity until 1680.

15. Opodepe was an Eudeve community first missionized by Franciscans accompanying Pedro de Perea, but it became the Jesuit visita of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in 1649.

16. Franciscans first worked among the Eudeves of Cucurpe in the 1640s, perhaps as early as 1642; Cucurpe became the Jesuit mission of Los Santos Reyes Magos in 1647. It soon became a productive agricultural and ranching center that supplied other missions in northwestern New Spain. It also served as the jumping-off point for Kino's missionization of the Pimería Alta and as a refuge for Father Agustín de Campos during the 1695 Upper Pima rebellion. Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate established his temporary headquarters there during his campaign against the rebel Pimas that same year. In 1678, Cucurpe had an Indian population of 329 individuals grouped into 120 families.

Fathers Juan Fernández[17] and Gaspar Tomás,[18] whom I appointed notary, Cornelio Situir Loreneo and other Christians and *señores fiscales*—of which he is one—set out with Escobori, Catapca, and many other gentile Indians of the Seri nation. Although some [of the Seris] have been baptized in the Christian pueblos, it has not been possible, through the efforts made thus far, to make them settle down or to baptize all the general populace, for which purpose the captains and officials of His Majesty have selected the Valle de las Sercas, known today by the name of Valle de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo. As natural wanderers, the [Seris] are more inclined to hunt than to plow fields. They flee the confines of the other gentile pueblos, who are hostile toward them, and among them maybe one has served in the Christian pueblos.

Today, in my presence, undoubtedly touched by the hand of Divine Providence, or so it would appear from the outcome, they stated that they would like to settle in the aforementioned valley and build houses and a church, becoming baptized and living in a Christian manner as do the other nations in our ministry. They asked that Father Juan Fernández be assigned to them. Some Spanish settlers offered with Christian charity to help them at that site of Pópulo and to organize their defense from the enemies that troubled them. I therefore directed the aforementioned Father Juan Fernández, who was ministering to the district of San Miguel de Ures,[19] which was only four or five leagues distant from the Valle de Pópulo, to enter and observe the people and the nature of the site. He was to endeavor as soon as possible to put his hands to the labor of catechizing and baptizing the people and building a house and church for the minister's residence. He was also to scrutinize the people [already] present in the vicinity, and the disposition they might have toward receiving the faith and baptism.

According to the reports of those who appeared here before me, the coast of the South Sea lies two days' journey away, and along it are some saltbeds and a great number of people of [the Seri] nation whom they call Salineros.[20] Another two days' journey from this area, to the northwest on the same coast, are others of the same nation whom they call Tepocas.[21] Within sight of that area and of the Salineros,

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17. Juan Fernández, S.J. (1640–1693) was born in Orihuela, Spain, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1656. He served in the Sonoran missions, but little more is known about him.

18. Gaspar Tomás, S.J. (1646–1684) was born in Alucena, Valencia, Spain. He was sent to New Spain in 1665. By 1678, he was stationed in Cucurpe, where he died after serving as rector in Mátape (1681–1684).

19. Located about sixty kilometers upstream from Pitic (modern Hermosillo), Ures was an important community along the Río Sonora populated by Lower Pimas whom the Jesuits called Ures. Jesuits founded the mission of San Miguel de los Ures and first began baptizing these people in 1636.

20. The Salineros were a Seri group that inhabited the central portion of the Seri region from the Sonoran coast opposite Tiburón Island to the ranchería of El Medio just west of the Río San Miguel. The name is of Spanish rather than Seri origin. As the introduction to this volume makes clear, it is difficult if not impossible to correlate Spanish designations for different Seri groups with distinctions made by the Seris themselves. The term "Salinero," however, may indicate that Seris in the area were trading salt and other items for agricultural produce with the farming peoples of the San Miguel and Sonora river valleys.

21. The Tepocas were the northernmost Seri group, ranging from the Río de la Concepción drainage on the north to the Río Bacoachi drainage on the east.

whose coast they call Untantiné, lies another land across the sea that they call Tadihul [?]. Without a doubt, this is the Californias [Tiburón Island], as those who have been there know for certain.[22] They say its coast is so close to the Salineros that, if they leave at eight in the morning in a canoe they make of reeds, they arrive there at four in the afternoon—and this, they say, is due to the delay caused by the swell of the tides. [The waves] are very violent there, because the two coasts are so close together that from this side they hear the shouts that are given over there. They also report that the Tepocas are even closer to this land of the Californias [Tiburón Island], and that they are related by marriage to the natives of that coast. In fact, the governor of the Tepocas today is from the Californias [Tiburón Island] and is married to an Indian woman from this coast. Usually during the summer many come from that side to this one until, recognizing the *yuyuno*,[23] they return to their land. Likewise, they report that pearls are presently obtained from men well acquainted with the sea; showing a few, they said that there are some on this coast, here, and many on the far [coast]. They carried two mother-of-pearl shells, which one of them wore around his neck, and said that inside of these, from [an oyster], had been those granules that become the animals they gather in the sea.

I also testify that, of these Indians who appeared before me, the one called Catapca said he was Salinero, from the water's edge. Escobori, the highly revered captain of their nation, has until today been obstinate about receiving the baptism he presently might desire. Both have made the crossing and have been in the land of the Californias [Tiburón Island], and they say that across from it there is another very large land [Baja California] where lights are seen at night, although very far away, and smoke during the day. They do not know who the people are, nor do the natives of that land say they know, because no one has crossed to the other side. Those from the Californias do say that sometimes the sea has washed up logs and finished planks, smashed chests, broken china plates and bowls, nails, and other iron items, which presumably are from some Philippine ship that was lost in those waters.[24]

As witness, I hereby swear that everything has been described as it happened, and the aforementioned fathers sign with me, Father Gaspar Tomás acting as notary, on November 7, 1678.

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22. Although Baja California can be seen on clear days from the Sonoran coast, the Seris were telling Ortiz Zapata about Tiburón Island, not Baja. The Seris did cross the Gulf of California to Baja in their balsas (see "Seris in Baja California, 1802–1803" in chapter 5), but no other documentary evidence suggests close interaction and intermarriage between the Seris and people such as the Cochimís on the Baja Peninsula.

23. The meaning and derivation of *yuyuno* are unclear. It may be a *nahuatlismo*, i.e., a term of Nahuatl origin incorporated into vernacular Spanish. In the original document, the word is spelled *iuiuno*. The word *iuiui* is a Nahuatl adverb meaning 'with difficulty', 'with great effort', or 'through impotence'.

24. The Manila galleon trade began in 1565. Thereafter, at least one Spanish vessel a year usually returned from the Orient by sailing down the west coast of North America, including the Pacific coast of the Baja peninsula. It would have been highly unlikely, however, that cargo or wreckage from one of those vessels would have washed ashore on Tiburón Island.

Juan Ortiz Zapata
Juan Fernández
To which I attest:
Gaspar Tomás, appointed notary

In order to bear witness of just cause for whatever might be to the greater glory of God and the common good of these realms, [this document] is certified and executed in this form, there being on this occasion no official present in the vicinity before whom an authenticated report might be made.
Juan Ortiz Zapata

From the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Mexico, 17, ff. 405r–405v.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Juan Ortíz de Zapata de la Compañía de Jesús, visitador general de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús del Reino de la Nueva Viscaya por orden del padre Tomás Altamirano, provincial de esta provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España, certifico cómo, hallándome en visita del pueblo de la Asunción de Opodepe, perteneciente al partido de los reyes de Cucurpe en presencia de los padres Juan Fernández y Gaspar Tomás, que hacía oficio de notario por mí nombrado, partieron Cornelio Situir Loreneo y otros cristianos y también señores fiscales, que lo es, con Escobori, Catapca, y otros muchos indios gentiles de la nación de los seris que hasta hoy, habiéndose bautizado algunos en los pueblos de cristianos, no se les ha podido, por diligencias que se han hecho, dar asiento, y que en general todos reciban el bautismo, habiéndoles señalado para ese efecto los capitanes y justicias de su majestad, el Valle de las Sercas, a que hoy se ha puesto por nombre de el Valle de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo. Por ser de su natural andariegos e inclinados más a la caza que a las siembras y huir de los demás pueblos de gentiles sus confines, que les hacen hostilidad, y de ellos se ha servido alguna en los pueblos de cristianos.

Hoy, sin duda ha sido de la Divina Providencia, a mi presencia y tocados de su mano, según parece por los efectos, dijeron que querían asentar en dicho valle y hacer casas e iglesia bautizándose, y vivir en policia cristiana como las demás naciones que están a nuestro cargo; y pidieron se les diese al padre Juan Fernández, ofreciéndose algunos vecinos españoles con piedad cristiana a ayudarles y disponer su defensa, en dicho puesto del Pópulo, de los enemigos que les inquietan; por lo cual señalé a dicho padre Juan Fernández para que, asistiendo en el partido de San Miguel de Ures, de donde dista sólo de cuatro a cinco leguas dicho valle del Pópulo, entre y vea la gente y disposición del puesto, procurando desde luego poner manos en la obra catequizando y bautizando esta gente, y haciendo casa e iglesia para asistencia del ministro, y reconozca la gente que hay en los contornos, y disposición que tuviesen para recibir la fe y el bautismo.

Porque según refieren los que ante mí parecieron, dicen que a dos días de camino está la costa del Mar del Sur, y en ella unas salinas y golpe de gente de su nación que llaman salineros, y a otros dos días de camino de este puesto, en la misma costa, entre norte y poniente, están otros de su nación misma, que llaman tepoques, y a vista de ese puesto y de los salineros, cuya costa llaman Untantiné, enfrente otra tierra dentro del mar que llaman Tadihul [?], y son sin duda, como tienen por

cierto los que han entrado a ellas, las Californias, cuya costa dicen estar tan cerca de los salineros que, saliendo a las ocho del día en una canoa de carrizo que hacen, llegan allá a las cuatro de la tarde, y esto, dicen, es por dilación que les ocasiona la creciente de las aguas, que allí va muy arrebatada, porque está tan cerca la una costa de la otra, que de esta de acá oyen los gritos que se dan allá. Refieren asimismo que los tepoques están aún más cerca de dicha tierra de Californias, y que están emparentados los naturales de aquestas costas con los de aquella, y que actualmente el gobernador que hoy tienen aquestos tepoques es de Californias y está casado con india que es de esta costa, y que ordinariamente en tiempos de verano se vienen muchos de allá a acá, hasta que reconociendo el iuiuno [yuyuno], se vuelven a su tierra; así mismo refieren mostrando algunos, que por hombres entendidos en la mar, se tienen ya perlas, que de esta costa de acá hay algunas y que de aquella de allá, muchas, y trayendo dos conchas de nacar que uno de ellos traía al cuello, dijeron que dentro de ellas de un pescado, que vienen a ser las bestias que cogían en el mar, había aquellos granos.

Item [cer]tifico como de estos indios que parecieron ante mí, el uno de ellos llamado Catapca dijo ser salinero, de la lengua del agua, y Escobori, que es capitán de esta nación de ellos muy reverenciado, y hasta hoy en recibir el bautismo que ya desee, terco, y que entrambos [entre ambos] habían pasado y estado en la tierra de Californias, y refieren que enfrente de ella hay otra tierra muy grande donde de noche se ven las lumbradas, aunque de lejos, y de día los humos, aunque no saben que gente sea; ni los naturales de aquella tierra dicen que lo saben, porque no ha pasado ninguno de una a otra parte, si bien dan razón que de Californias dicen que algunas veces traído hacia allá el mar palos y pinos labrados, cajas quebradas, platos y escudillas de china quebrados, clavos y otros fierros, que se presume ser de alguna nao de Filipinas que en esos mares se perdiera.

Todo lo cual como pasó se ha referido y por vista lo certifico e hice conmigo lo firmasen dichos padres, dando fe como notario el padre Gaspar Tomás, en 7 de noviembre de mil seiscientos y setenta y ocho años.

Juan Ortiz Zapata
Juan Fernández

De que doy fe:

Gaspar Tomás, notario nombrado

Está cierto y se hizo en esta forma para que hiciese la fe que hubiese lugar de derecho por lo que pudiera ser de mayor gloria de Dios y utilidad pública de estos reinos, por no haberse hallado en la ocasión en aquellos contornos justicia alguna ante quien se hiciese información auténtica.

Juan Ortíz Zapata

Father Fernández to Altamirano on the Conversion of the Seris at Pópulo, 1679

This rather pious missive from Father Juan Fernández to his father provincial in Mexico City describes some of the common missionary techniques Fernández was using to convert the Seris at Pópulo, the first mission established among them. In particular, he emphasized the recital of the rosary and wove a strong Marianist strain through his doctrinal exercises. It is clear from his population figures that only a small minority of the Seris were participating in this first effort to bring them into the Christian fold.

(Marginal note: The Seri language is the harshest and most difficult of all the missions, and until now no one has learned it. It has a rasping pronunciation, [illegible phrase].)

My Father Provincial Tomás Altamirano:

May the Lord keep Your Reverence with the health and vitality that I wish for you. I received Your Reverence's [letter] and was overjoyed to have news of your [good] health. It is for His greater glory that Our Lord blesses Your Reverence with long life—and for [the glory] of the entire Company, with such a superior. Having given Your Reverence to us, God would not take you away but leaves you with us as our superior, to my consolation and everyone's—or so I ask of His Divine Majesty in my humble prayers and offerings. I esteem and cherish in my soul the favors and honors Your Reverence bestows upon me in your letter. Our Lord is to be the payment, for I can do nothing to repay Your Reverence for such love other than to constantly commend you to God and His mother, Mary, in my prayers and offerings.

Today I am in the district of Ures, and Father Francisco Xavier is at Bausacora [Baviácora],[25] assigned thus by Father Visitor Provincial Juan Ortiz Zapata. The reason for this change was the Seris' request to the father visitor provincial that I minister to them, so that they might be baptized and establish their pueblo. I have done so. Proceeding with great joy in my soul to the valley previously called Horca, I came to Ures, and on Saturday, January 6, the day of the Holy Virgin Mary, I sang the first mass there. To ensure the success of my mission, I chose the Holy Virgin Mary as the patron saint of the Seris, and for this reason I have named the valley Nuestra Señora de Pópulo. It is through her blessed intercession that Our Lord has wished to bestow His loving kindness on such misguided souls who roamed the wilds and the pueblos, as these Seris did.

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25. Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Baviácora was a visita of the mission of San Pedro de Aconchi along the Río Sonora. It was established for the Opata Indians in 1639.

Those of the nation who are presently here are not many, but rather few in number. I have baptized more than 130, including young and old, and all the baptized and unbaptized live together in this valley. Some have already built their houses, and the rest are in the process of doing so. They have built me a small dwelling on the site. All have planted the corn I gave them, for in order to gain their goodwill, it was necessary to win them over by their mouths, and give them food. I have presented the Christian doctrine in the Seri language, teaching it to them word for word; and every day, in the morning and the afternoon, they come together to recite it. On the days when I am with them, they come to hear mass, and little by little I am teaching them the ways of our holy faith and the things they must know for their salvation. I have instructed them in the devotion of the sacred rosary, to which end I have distributed rosaries among all the baptized, and every afternoon they gather to recite [the rosary] in their native tongue before an image of Our Lady. I recite in unison with them, the better to teach them to pray, and to move them closer to tender devotion toward the Holy Virgin. I often speak to them of the Holy Virgin, so that they will esteem her with great veneration and love.

It has been His Divine Majesty's will to take unto Himself and His Sacred kingdom seventeen of the baptized Seris: fourteen innocent children after they were baptized, two men, and one woman. One of the men died within three months of his baptism, and the other within eight days of being baptized. The woman, who was in danger of death when I baptized her, died within an hour. This Seri woman sent for me and requested with great anxiety that I baptize her immediately, for she greatly desired it. I baptized her and she died within an hour. I am much consoled by Our Lord's having taken this Indian woman, who prepared herself so well for holy baptism.

This Valle de Nuestra Señora de Pópulo is ten leagues from Ures, which distance I traverse with no trouble. I travel to all the souls under my charge, attending to the children's catechism and teaching everyone the ways of our holy faith. In particular, I have instructed all those under my charge in the devotion of the sacred rosary of Holy Mary, distributing to them what rosaries I have. Every Saturday and Sunday the Pimas assemble in the church; I sing the *Salve* [*Regina*] for them, and then they recite the rosary to the Holy Virgin. Every night the pages and *oficiales de casa* [gather] in the hall. I frequently have them make their confessions and receive communion, such as on the feast days of the Holy Virgin, together with the processions that are made on such days and on the high feast days of the year.

In this manner, I remain forever vigilant with all the souls in my charge. To do so well, I avail myself of the Holy Virgin, in whose sacred hands I place my life and all that is mine, and give thanks to the Lord, for He bestows everything—life, strength, and His grace. He has given me health, which remains at the service of Your Reverence. He has given me vitality and the strong desire to spend my life—and if I had them, all the [lives] in the world—in the conversion and salvation of souls. Thus, until my death, I can know no greater glory than to employ my life in the conversion of souls, and were it possible, as I wish for and beg of Our Lord, to shed my blood for He who shed His for the good of my soul. I have nothing further to tell Your Reverence, except that I implore you not to forget me in your sacred offerings, for I will achieve much through Your Reverence's prayers.

I am sending with the messenger this inkwell that I ordered made for Your Reverence. I had saved three bezoar stones[26] to send to Your Reverence, but my

intention and desire was hampered by the coming of the bishop, to whom I presented them. All of Sonora is short of silver, so that there is no one purchasing provisions as before. For this reason I am sending nothing to Your Reverence for powders. I shall be careful in the coming year and will always try to send Your Reverence some donation for the purchase of powders, and I will also endeavor [to send] some bezoar stones.

May the Lord keep Your Reverence for His greater glory and that of the Company, and for my consolation. Ures, October 7, 1679.

Your Reverence's son and servant,
Juan Fernández

I would appreciate Your Reverence sending me some rosaries with the messenger.

From the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome, 17, ff. 409r–409v.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

(Nota marginal: Esta lengua seri es la más áspera y difícil de todas las misiones y hasta ahora ninguno la ha aprendido. Tiene la aspereza de pronunciación que S. Lei [?] dije de la lira [palabras ilegibles].)

Mi padre provincial Tomás Altamirano:

Saludo en el Señor a vuestra reverencia con la vida y salud que yo le deseo. Recibí la de vuestra reverencia y con mucho gozo de mi alma en tener noticias de la salud de vuestra reverencia; Nuestro Señor se la aumente a vuestra reverencia con la vida para su mayor gloria y de toda la compañía con tal superior, que si Dios nos lo dió en vuestra reverencia no nos lo quite, sino que nos lo deje por superior nuestro para consuelo mío y de todos, así se lo pido en mis pobres oraciones y sacrificios a su Divina Majestad. Estimo y agradezco en mi alma los favores y honras que vuestra reverencia me hace en su carta. Nuestro Señor sea la paga, que yo no puedo hacer otra cosa para pagar a vuestra reverencia tanto amor, sino con encomendarlo a Dios y a su madre María continuamente en mis sacrificios y rosario.

Hallome hoy en el partido de los Ures, y el padre Francisco Xavier en el de Bausacora [Baviácora], así lo dispuso el padre visitador provincial Juan Ortiz Zapata. La causa de esta mudanza fue que los seris me pidieron al padre visitador provincial para que yo cuidara de ellos, y que se bautizarían y harían su pueblo. Hízose así. Víneme a los Ures, fui con grande gozo de mi alma al valle llamado antes de la Horca, y a 6 de enero, sábado, día de la Santísima Virgen María, canté alli la primera misa. Y para tener acierto en tal obra elegí por patrona de los seris a la Santísima Virgen María y por esta razón le puse el valle de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo por cuya intercesión ha querido Nuestro Señor usar de su misericordia con estas almas tan descarriadas por los montes y pueblos como andaban los seris.

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26. Bezoars were hard gastric or intestinal masses or stones found in ruminants such as deer. They were considered antidotes to poison.

La nación de los que al presente están no es muy numerosa sino poca. He bautizado con chicos y grandes más de ciento treinta. Todos los bautizados y los no bautizados están juntos en el dicho valle. Han hecho ya algunos sus casitas y los demás las van haciendo. Hiciéronme a mí un aposentito en el dicho sitio. Todos hicieron sus siembras de maíz que les di, que para ganarles la voluntad, fue necesario ganarles por la boca, y darles de comer. En su lengua seri les dispuse la doctrina cristiana, la cual les he enseñado palabra por palabra, y todos los días a mañana y tarde se juntan a rezarla. Y los días que yo estoy con ellos vienen a oír su misa y poco a poco les voy enseñando las cosas de nuestra santa fe y cosas que deben saber para salvarse. Les he impuesto en la devoción del santísimo rosario para cuyo fin he repartido rosarios a todos los bautizados y todas las tardes delante de una imagen de Nuestra Señora se juntan todos a rezarlo en su lengua y yo hago coro con ellos para enseñarles mejor a rezar y para que más se muevan a la devoción tierna con la Santísima Virgen, hablándoles muchas veces de la Santísima Virgen, para que le cobren mucha veneración y amor.

Ha querido su Divina Majestad de llevarse para sí y para su santo reino a diecisiete seris de los bautizados, catorce párvulos después de haberlos bautizado, dos adultos y una adulta. El un adulto murió de allí a tres meses bautizado, el otro murió dentro de ocho días de bautizado, la adulta que bauticé en peligro de muerte murió dentro de una hora de bautizada, la cual india seri me envió a llamar y me pidió con grandes ansias que la bautizara luego, que lo deseaba mucho. Bauticela y murió dentro de una hora, quedando yo muy consolado por haberse llevado Nuestro Señor a esta india que tan bien se dispuso para el santo bautismo.

Este valle de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo dista de los Ures diez leguas que las ando sin trabajo alguno y recorro todas las almas que tengo a mi cargo, asistiendo yo a la doctrina de los niños, y enseñando a todos las cosas de nuestra santa fe, y en particular he impuesto en todos los que están a mi cargo la devoción del santísimo rosario de María Santísima dando los rosarios que puedo y tengo. Todos los sábados y domingos se juntan los pimas en la iglesia. Yo les canto la salve y luego rezan a la Virgen Santísima su rosario. Todos los días por las noches en la sala los pajes y oficiales de casa. Hago que a menudo confiesen y comulgen, como son las festividades de la Santísima Virgen con sus procesiones que se hace en tales días y en las festividades solemnes del año.

De esta suerte estoy siempre en vela con todos las [al]mas que están a mi cargo. Y para hacerlo bien me valgo de la Virgen Santísima en cuyas manos santísimas pongo mi vida y todas mis cosas, y gracias [al] Señor, que él lo da todo, la vida, las fuerzas, y su gracia. Hame dado [salud], la cual queda muy a las órdenes de vuestra reverencia. Hame dado vivísimos [y] firmes deseos de gastar mi vida, y si tuviera todas las del mundo, [en] el bien de las almas y en su conversión, y así hasta la muerte no tendré otra mayor gloria sino saber emplear mi vida en la conversión [de] las almas, y si posible fuere, como lo deseo y se lo pido a Nuestro [Señor], el derramar mi sangre por quien derramó la suya para bien de mi alma. No tengo otra cosa que decir, vuestra reverencia, sino rogarle mucho que no me olvide en sus santos sacrificios que mucho lograré de las oraciones de vuestra reverencia.

Ahí remito con el portador este tintero [que] mandé hacer para vuestra reverencia, y tres piedras bazares tenía guardadas para remitirlas a vuestra reverencia, pero con la venida del señor obispo a quien se [las] presenté, se estorbó mi deseo y [e] intento. Toda Sonora está muy al[can]zada de plata, de suerte que no hay quien compre bastimentos como de antes, y por esta causa, no remito a vuestra

reverencia para polvos alguna cosa. Tendré cuidado para el año que viene y procuraré siempre el enviar a vuestra reverencia alguna limosna para que la gaste en polvos y también haré diligencia de algunas piedras bazares.

Nuestro Señor quede en la vida de vuestra reverencia para su mayor gloria y de la compañía y para consuelo mío. Ures y 7 de octubre de 1679.

Muy hijo y siervo de vuestra reverencia.
Juan Fernández

Estimaré que vuestra reverencia me envíe con el portador unos rosarios.

Diary of Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, 1700

Juan Bautista de Escalante was in many respects a typical example of the pioneer elite who colonized the northern frontier of Sonora. One of the few professional soldiers on that frontier, he accompanied Admiral Isidro de Atondo y Antillón in his abortive attempt to colonize Baja California in the early 1680s. Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino participated in the expedition as well. Escalante then joined the Presidio de las Fronteras de la Provincia de Sonora, which was created in 1690 and for its first ten years was a compañía volante *(flying company) with no fixed residence, under the command of Captain Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate. During the 1690s, Escalante served in numerous campaigns against Sonora's Indian enemies, including the expedition led by Petriz de Cruzate and Juan Fernández de la Fuente during the 1695 rebellion of the Upper Pima Indians. He also accompanied Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino and his companion Juan Mateo Manje on their 1697 swing through the country of the Sobaipuri Pimas along the San Pedro River in what is now southern Arizona. Sometime after that, Escalante rose to the rank of* alférez, *the title he held when Petriz de Cruzate ordered him to conduct the inspection of Seri and Lower Pima territory recorded in his diary, which follows.*

In 1704, Escalante returned to Baja California to become captain of the presidio of Loreto. He was removed by Father Juan María Salvatierra the following year, ostensibly for mismanagement and misconduct. Historian Harry Crosby (1994:81–82), on the other hand, suggests that Escalante was probably the victim of a power struggle between Salvatierra and the viceroy as the Jesuits fought to retain direct control over the captaincy of the presidio—a power they exercised only in Baja California. Escalante may have remained in, or at least frequently visited, Baja California off and on until 1712, because he occasionally appears as padrino *('godfather') in the baptismal record books of the Baja missions.*

After he returned to Sonora, Escalante rejoined the presidio of Fronteras, which by then had settled permanently at a place called Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, now known as Fronteras. There he fell under the sway of Fronteras' notoriously corrupt captains, Jacinto de Fuensaldaña, and later Fuensaldaña's nephew, Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós. According to Almada (1983:218), Escalante retired from military service in 1722 and became teniente de alcalde mayor *of the mining* real *of Motepori south of Arizpe. When Pedro de Rivera Villalón visited Fronteras in the winter of 1726 during his famous inspection of the presidios of northern New Spain, however, Escalante was still serving as* subalterno. *According to Rivera, "his judgment was poor, and during his absences he was never missed" (Naylor and Polzer 1988:82). During those absences, Escalante often resided in the mining real of Nacozari. Almada (1983) believes that he founded the famous Escalante family that remained prominent in the Arizpe area and along the northern frontier of Sonora throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.*

Escalante's diary, written midway through his career as a professional soldier, provides an incomparable bird's-eye glimpse of Seri-Spanish relations in all their messy ambiguity at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By then the

Spaniards had conquered and colonized Sonora's major river valleys, but the arid coasts remained outside Spanish control. Escalante's job was to change that, to protect the Seris gathered into the new missions of the Valle de San Miguel and, in the words of Father Melchor Bartiromo incorporated into the following diary, "to curb the arrogance of the heathen Seri Indians" who had attacked both mission Seris and Lower Pimas living in the vicinity of modern Hermosillo.

To do so, he crisscrossed Seri territory from Puerto Libertad and the Bacoachi drainage on the north to Lower Pima territory on the south. Escalante's inspection was an exercise of power as well as diplomacy, carried out with ritual and formality. Escalante threatened, cajoled, and gave stern and inspirational speeches to the various Seri and Lower Pima groups he encountered. He made a point of demonstrating and demanding respect for the Jesuit missionaries assigned to the missions into which the Seris and Lower Pimas were being gathered, and he executed several Seri leaders found guilty of assaults on mission communities. In the process, Spanish soldiers gained firsthand knowledge of Seri terrain, Seri water sources, and divisions among the Seris themselves.

I, Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, am corporal and commander of a squad of fifteen soldiers by order of my general and governor of the troops of this province, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate.[27] On January 29, 1700, I reached the pueblo of Tuape,[28] the mission of Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo.[29] I ordered the governor, *alcalde,* and *topiles*[30] of the new pueblo of

27. A native of Aragón, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate came to New Spain in 1680. He twice served as governor of New Mexico (1683–86; 1689–91), establishing the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Glorioso San José del Paso del Norte during the period when New Mexico was a government in exile, between the 1680 Pueblo revolt and the reconquest by Diego de Vargas. In 1693, Jironza Petriz de Cruzate became *capitán vitalicio* of the presidio of Fronteras and alcalde mayor of Sonora, leading campaigns against the Upper Pimas, Apaches, Janos, Jocomes, and Sumas. He was removed from the captaincy of Fronteras because of intrigues initiated by his successor, Jacinto de Fuensaldaña, in 1701.

28. Located along the Río San Miguel between Cucurpe and Opodepe, Santiago (San Diego de) Tuape was one of the earliest *reales de minas* in Sonora. During his attempt to found the province of Nueva Andalucía north of the Río Yaqui, Pedro de Perea established a house and several haciendas in Tuape in the early 1640s and introduced Franciscan missionaries into the Valle San Miguel as well as other areas of northern Sonora. The Jesuits countered by establishing the Jesuit *visita* of San Miguel de Tuape—with Cucurpe as its *cabecera*—in 1647. A 1650 concordat between the Jesuits and Franciscans gave Jesuits sole jurisdiction over Sonora, but the rivalry between the two religious orders continued for several more years until the Jesuits convinced the Franciscan superior in Mexico City to order his missionaries out of Sonora. Franciscans did not return until after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. In 1678 Tuape had an Indian population of 340 divided among 106 families.

29. Melchor de Bartiromo, S.J., was born in Caserta, Italy, in 1663 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1679. He finished his religious training in Mexico in 1695 and took charge of the missions of Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Tuape in 1697, where he remained until 1711. He also served at the short-lived mission of Santa María Magdalena among the Tepoca Seris.

30. A *topil* was a law enforcement official appointed as part of the local government in Indian mission communities.

Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas[31] to appear before me. I asked them how they were coming along, and they replied that they were building their pueblo and their homes as they should and learning to pray in the Hegue language[32] so that the father can minister to them. Father Melchor de Bartiromo is providing them with rations of maize and meat until they have planted their lands so that they may endeavor to build their houses and the church. The father has offered them lands that lie between the pueblos of Tuape and Cucurpe, with the consent of the natives of these two pueblos. They are now constructing their new pueblo, and there they will attempt to live and die for the sake of God and the Virgin Mary. Such was the answer they gave me.

I asked them through José Germán, governor of Tuape, if they knew for certain who the aggressors and enemies were who had injured and killed some of them in the new pueblo. I told them to declare who the aggressors were because I had come with the soldiers to help, protect, and defend them against their enemies and any other persons who might do them harm. They responded that they knew their enemies were Salinero Seris, with whom they had fought when they were still gentiles. They said the Salineros resumed warfare because the Tepocas were now reduced to mission life and were living as Christians within the sound of the mission bell as friends of the Spaniards.

The Salinero Seris asked, did the Tepocas not know that the Spaniards and soldiers of Sinaloa had killed many of their kinsmen and that, therefore, they had to finish off the Spaniards? The Tepocas told the Salineros that threats would not bother them, for they had soldiers to protect them. The Salineros responded that they would happily call out to the soldiers and ask them if they knew the [Salineros] had excellent arrows with flint points dipped in very strong plant poison [*yerba muy fuerte*].[33] And if the soldiers pursued them, they would ambush them at night

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31. This mission for the Tepoca Seris, located along the Río San Miguel between Cucurpe and Tuape, apparently survived less than a year. Geographer Carl Sauer (1934) believed that it was at the site of Malenita, a tiny settlement on a mesa above the west bank of the San Miguel about seven kilometers south of Cucurpe. According to Roca (1967:136), there were "clearly visible foundation stones of a church in the midst of an old *campo santo*" there in 1959.

32. *Hegue* was one of the terms used by Spaniards and Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to refer to the Eudeve Indians, who were related to the more widespread Opata Indians. According to Pennington (1980), the Eudeves occupied two enclaves on the borders of the Opatería. One was the middle stretch of the Río San Miguel, including the pueblos of Cucurpe, Tuape, and Opodepe. The other included the upper reaches of the Río Mátape and the middle portion of the Río Yaqui. In Pennington's (1980:16–17) words, "The linguistic relationship between Eudeve and Opata cannot be denied, in view of the documentary evidence of the Jesuit experience. The relationship is made clear by a comparison of data found in a hitherto relatively unknown 'Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Dohema, Heve o Eudeve,' held by the New York Historical Society Library, and that in the Lombardo *Arte de la lengua tegüima, llamada vulgarmente opata.* However, since the Jesuits clearly recognized the differences between Eudeve and Opata languages and viewed the two groups as distinct, one from the other (although they probably mingled during the pre–Contact period just as they did during the colonial period), it seems improper to consider the Eudeve a subgroup of the Opata." Both Eudeve and Opata belonged to the Taracahitan branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

33. The infamous Seri arrow poison was made from the sap of *Sebastiana bilocularis,* known as *hehe coanj* to the Seris and *hierba de la flecha* to the Spaniards, a shrub growing in arroyos, slopes, and bajadas on Tiburón Island and the Sonoran mainland. Occasionally, sap

and shoot their horses with arrows. The next day they would then catch the soldiers because the soldiers would be on foot and thirsty, whereas the Seris drink from deep water holes that the soldiers do not know about. In such fashion they would seize the exhausted and sleeping soldiers and shoot them with arrows. These were the threats the Salineros made to the Tepocas.

I then asked them if other rebel Indians had been accomplices of the Salineros. They replied that one Indian, the son of an old man named Quipati, had come to the pueblo the day after his kinsmen were killed, saying that the Salineros had not been alone. He and his brother-in-law, named Fachicumin [?], knew well those who had come with the Salineros. They said that another Christian Indian named Lorenzo Casama knew something about these deaths. Captain Don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor of the *real de minas* and the Valle de San José de Opodepe,[34] had taken their depositions and questioned them about what had happened. They gave him the same answer.

Through Governor José Germán I told them to remain quietly in their pueblo and to continue their good work while I set out to look for and punish the wrongdoers. I told them that when I called them to arms, they should go, and they said that they would. They also said that they knew the location of the water holes of the Salineros, as well as the routes by which they came and went. I told Governor José Germán to have men ready when I asked for them. He replied that he and his *justicias* would do so with great pleasure. With this I bade farewell to the Tepocas and Tuapes. I then prepared for the expedition by requisitioning fifty horses from Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo. In his presence, I supplied the soldiers in my charge with ammunition and mustered them on the thirty-first, the last day of January.

On February 1, I left the pueblo of Tuape for the Valle de San José de Opodepe, where I found teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra Don Nicolás Linse.[35] In accordance with the protocol between military and political officials, I asked him to tell me what was happening in his jurisdiction. He said that the Salineros and Tepocas had been accustomed to killing one another for a long time. He said

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from limberbush (*Jatropha cinerea* and *J. cuneata*) was mixed with it and placed on arrow tips. *Sebastiana* sap was also combined with the pulverized root bark of a perennial vine (*Marsdenia edulis*) to prepare a poison sprinkled on the victim's food. According to Felger and Moser (1985:300–1), "The dreaded arrow poison of the Seri undoubtedly was made from this plant, although the potency of the poison may have been exaggerated."

34. The Valle de Opodepe lies along the Río San Miguel south of Tuape. Opodepe was an Eudeve community first missionized by Franciscans accompanying Perea, but it became the Jesuit visita of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in 1649. About two kilometers north of Opodepe is the small settlement of El Real at the mouth of Cañada El Real. It is possible that an early mining community may have been located there. Another small settlement—San José—lies about three kilometers farther north along the San Miguel. In 1678, Opodepe had a population of 320 divided among 95 families.

35. On the frontier of northwestern New Spain prominent Spanish settlers often held both political and military offices. As teniente de alcalde mayor, Linse was the chief political representative of Sonora's alcalde mayor in the Opodepe region. As capitán a guerra, he was in charge of organizing Spanish settlers and other gente de razón in the Valle de Opodepe into militia units when necessary but commanded no standing force. Escalante, in contrast, commanded a squad of professional soldiers from the presidio of Fronteras, the only detachment of professional soldiers in Sonora at the time.

that he had already conducted a judicial inquiry and had taken the deposition of the governor of the new pueblo of Santa María Magdalena. I asked him for the deposition so that I would be able to make all the necessary inquiries. Taken from the original deposition, the following is the tenor of affairs:

On November 23, 1699, in the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, I, Captain Don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of this valley and jurisdiction, ordered José, the governor of this pueblo, to appear before me along with the rest of the justicias. I asked them what cause or motive the Seris had for coming and killing them. The governor and the justicias said they knew of no other reason than perhaps the ancient passions and wars that had existed between the Tepocas and the Seris. From the arrows that they found, they recognized the attackers as heathen Salinero Seris from the ranchería of El Medio,[36] one of the three rancherías lying between Pitiquín[37] and Santa María del Pópulo.[38] The governor and his justicias said that on the way back to their pueblo after looking for tracks, they found a Seri man and woman fleeing. Judging them to be spies of the Salineros, they tied the two up in order to take them to the *real justicia.* Another Seri then seized the Indian leading the male prisoner and shot him with an arrow. Finding himself wounded, that Indian killed the male prisoner. Four were shot and killed in the fray, two of them Seris.

This is the truth, which I took in this deposition, acting as *juez receptor* with the undersigned witnesses. To this I swear.

Don Nicolás Linse, juez receptor
Juan de Casados, witness
Juan de las Rivas Salazar, witness

While in the pueblo of Opodepe on February 2 of the same year, I learned that Lorenzo Casama, the Indian mentioned in the deposition of José, the governor of the Tepocas, was at the *estancia* of Meresichi.[39] I sent three soldiers there to bring

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36. The ranchería of El Medio or En Medio was probably located southeast of El Carbó and northwest of San Miguel de Horcasitas along the Arroyo Punta de Agua, which in turn flows into the Arroyo Moreno, a tributary of the Río Zanjón. The Río Zanjón flows into the Río San Miguel just north of its juncture with the Río Sonora. There is a Rancho Corral de Enmedio along Arroyo El Gato, which joins Arroyo Punta de Agua below Rancho Punta de Agua. In October 1985, my wife Christine Szuter and I discovered several large springs in the arroyo south of the rancho that could have supported a seasonal camp of Seri raiders and allowed them quick access to the Spanish, Eudeve, and Lower Pima communities along the San Miguel.

37. Pitiquín, Pitiquí, or Pitic, is modern Hermosillo. It was a ranchería of Lower Pimas in 1700. Contemporary O'odham pronounce it "Pitichquin," and know it as a place of Seri-O'odham intermarriage (Gary Nabhan, personal communication).

38. Santa María del Pópulo was located on the west bank of the Río San Miguel south of the Lower Pima community of Nacameri. Father Juan Fernández established it as a mission for resettled Seris in 1679, but it was decimated by an epidemic and abandoned. Father Adam Gilg re-established it a decade later. It survived—its population fluctuating dramatically—until the collapse of the Jesuit Seri mission program in 1748.

39. The community of Meresichi is located on the Río San Miguel between Tuape and Opodepe. It may have been a private stock ranch or a mission stock ranch in 1700.

back Casama, but they did not find him. The cowboys there said he had gone to Santa María de Pópulo, but that his wife was in Tuape in the house of the alcalde of that pueblo, who is his *compadre.*

Realizing that Casama knew I was looking for him, I left the pueblo of Opodepe and went to Nacameri.[40] There I found out that an Indian named Francisco, a native of Santa María del Pópulo, had spoken with Casama. Casama said that he was afraid of both the soldiers and the Seris of Santa María del Pópulo because they, although they are his kinsmen, talk a lot. For that reason, on February 3, I sent another three men to find Casama and bring him to me as quickly as possible while I waited for them in Nacameri. On February 4, the three soldiers returned without Casama. Having made the necessary inquiries, they learned nothing more than that Casama had gone to Santa María del Pópulo to see Father Rector Adam Gilg.[41]

This was the situation when three Indians arrived from San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues[42] asking that I bring to justice those who had killed their father and relatives. I asked them if they knew who the murderers were. They said that they did not know them, but that they had followed their trail and it led to the pueblo of Los Angeles.[43] They said the people of that pueblo could not help but know who the aggressors were. Because they knew no more, I told them to stay overnight in this pueblo and then accompany me to Santa María del Pópulo, where I would make the necessary inquiries to punish the murderers.

On February 5, I left Nacameri for Santa María del Pópulo and spent the night three leagues away from that pueblo. About nine in the morning on February 6, I arrived in Santa María del Pópulo, where I was received by the justicias. The inhabitants were arranged in two lines and had placed many arches and crosses

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40. Nacameri (modern Rayón) is located between Opodepe and Horcasitas along the Río San Miguel. The Jesuit *punta de anua* of 1646 identified it as a Névome, or Lower Pima, community. The first baptisms occurred in 1638; Bannon (1955) states that Jesuit Father Francisco Paris founded Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Nacameri in about 1646. In 1678, Nacameri had a population of 362 people grouped into 122 families. In 1825, its name was changed to Rayón in honor of General Ignacio L. Rayón, a hero of Mexico's struggle for independence from Spain.

41. Born in Romderstadt, Moravia, in 1653, Father Adam Gilg, S.J., entered the Jesuit order when he was seventeen years old. He completed his religious training in 1686 and sailed to New Spain the following year. He was assigned to the Seris at Pópulo, where he presumably remained until his death sometime before 1714. During that period, however, Gilg carried out many other responsibilities, serving as rector of the Rectorate of Nuestro Padre San Francisco Xavier, which included the missions of the San Miguel and Sonora river valleys, in 1700, and as rector of the Rectorate of San Francisco Borja, which included the missions of the Mátape and upper Yaqui river valleys, in 1704. He also accompanied Kino and Manje on their expedition to the lower Colorado River in 1699.

42. The Cocomacagues were a Lower Pima group living in the vicinity of modern Hermosillo. San Francisco de los Cocomacagues was probably northeast of Pitic and just south of the Río Sonora, perhaps at or near the modern village of San Francisco (also called La Bomba on some maps) near the confluence of the Arroyo San Francisco/La Junta and the Río Sonora.

43. Nuestra Señora de los Angeles was one of the two Jesuit Seri missions that survived for any length of time. Located south of Pópulo along the Río San Miguel, it was founded in the late 1600s, when Seris were relocated there in Lower Pima territory.

along the route to the *casa de comunidad.*[44] When I reached it, they paid their respects. I ordered the justicias to summon all the people in order to see who was missing, for I knew how many of them there were. Once they were all assembled, I read their names from a roster and found that ten families were missing. I asked the governor and the justicias where these people were. The officials responded that they had all fled when they heard that I was coming with a squad of soldiers because they were guilty of stealing cattle. I whipped those present whom the justicias accused of being thieves. I also punished an Indian who had left his Christian wife and taken a heathen woman. After flogging him, I turned him over to Reverend Father Adam Gilg to return him to his legitimate wife.[45]

That same day, all the justicias of San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues came to Pópulo with more than thirty Indians armed with bows and arrows. They asked me to see that justice was served by punishing those who had killed the *fiscal mayor*[46] of their pueblo. Although they did not know for certain who the aggressors were, it would be easy to determine because they had followed their trail to the pueblo of Los Angeles. The people of that pueblo would undoubtedly know who the culprits were. They all jointly gave the same account, and also offered to help search for those accused of the crime by the people of Los Angeles.

On February 7, I ordered the governor of the pueblo of Los Angeles, Manuel Lirón, to appear before me. An Indian named Tomás Basilio, judged to be a good and faithful interpreter, was appointed. Through him, I asked Lirón who knew about the murders committed against the Cocomacagues and whether they knew who the murderers were. He answered that he and his justicias did not know who had done the killings. What he and all the justicias did see, however, were the arrows of a heathen Indian named Astcuimel. They also saw the tracks of those who had committed the murders, which passed near their pueblo. But they had seen nothing else. Nonetheless, they had heard from other Indians that Astcuimel, accompanied by three other Salineros, had killed the Cocomacagues to avenge the

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44. Indians throughout northern New Spain fashioned arches and crosses to welcome Spaniards and missionaries into their communities. Both symbols were of pre-Hispanic as well as Catholic origin. According to Griffith (1992:78–79), arches carried in Tohono O'odham ceremonies "are often called 'rainbows'. The symbolism involved here may be more complex than one would at first imagine. The rainbow appears in the Old Testament as a sign of God's promise that never again would He send a flood to cover the whole earth. However, rainbows are also potent symbols of rain in a desert country and as such are carried by participants in traditional, non-Catholic O'odham ceremonies." Spicer (1980:173) notes that Yaquis in Sonora also associate arches with rainbows as symbols of "the pact with God which ended the Flood." In the case of the Yaquis, the flood took place in Yaqui territory, and Yaquis took refuge on nearby peaks in the Sierra Bacatete. The pact with God, symbolized by the arch, is also a pact between Yaquis and Spaniards sanctifying their occupation of the Yaqui homeland.

45. Monogamy sanctioned by the Catholic sacrament of marriage was an important aspect of missionization, the most systematic program of directed culture change carried out by the Spanish Empire in northern New Spain. It often conflicted with indigenous patterns of serial monogamy or limited polygamy.

46. In mission communities, the *fiscal mayor* was the chief secretary, aide, and servant to the missionary. Fiscales certified children and adults for baptism, published marriage banns, kept burial records, rang the mission bells for the *Angelus* and other daily prayers, and administered punishment, including lashing, to mission Indians. Fiscales were usually of the same ethnic group as other Indians in the mission, although on mission frontiers, Christian Indians from other groups were sometimes employed.

death of Astcuimel's wife, who had been killed by the people of Pitiquín. Such was their answer.

I therefore decided that same day, February 7, to set out to find the ten families who were missing from Nuestra Señora del Pópulo in order to see whether any of the murderers were among them. I took with me all the justicias of Santa María del Pópulo and of San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues, along with thirty others who offered to join me. After traveling four leagues, I reached a valley called Chupisonora.[47] There I found a ranchería inhabited by twenty-five people, both young and old. Among them was the gentile Astcuimel. He—along with another who seized his weapons in order to resist and yet another who was a cattle and horse thief—I bound and placed under guard. Since night had fallen, I removed them to a secure location in order to watch over them that evening. The next day, February 8, I dispatched them to Santa María del Pópulo, well guarded by two soldiers and twenty Indian allies.

With the remaining friendly Indians and eight soldiers, I went on to look for the rest of the missing ten families referred to earlier. I had reason to believe that the Indian Lorenzo Casama was at a ranchería named Jotobavi,[48] along with another Indian named Abate. However, the people of this ranchería spotted us from afar and fled, Casama with them. I followed the many tracks of people and horses that they left, and about two leagues to the west, I discovered another ranchería of Salinero Seris. Among them were two Christian Indians from Santa María del Pópulo, whom I took with me. After another two leagues, I camped for the night. I left there on the ninth of this month and reached the pueblo of Santa María del Pópulo, where I whipped the thieves and runaways I brought from the two rancherías. I then delivered them to Governor Lirón of the new pueblo of Los Angeles, because they belonged to that village.

On February 10, I ordered Cornelio, governor of Santa María del Pópulo, to appear before me. Under the customary oath which he took in the name of God Our Lord and with the sign of the cross, Cornelio swore to answer truthfully all of my questions. I asked him whether he knew the two Indians I had taken prisoner, and what he knew about them. He said he knew the older one named Astcuimel, and that he was the one who shot the *fiscal mayor* of the Cocomacagues and three others of the same tribe. Astcuimel had been accompanied by three other Salineros, who had gone to avenge the death of Astcuimel's wife and son at the hands of the Pimas from the ranchería of Pitiquín. Because the Pimas had abandoned that ranchería, he went and killed the *fiscal mayor* of San Francisco Xavier of the Cocomacagues instead. The governor swore that that was what he knew, and affirmed it was the truth. He said that Astcuimel was not his kinsman, and that he had nothing else to say about him.

On the same day, month, and year, I ordered the governor of the new pueblo of Los Angeles, Manuel Lirón, to appear before me. Under the same solemn oath, he

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47. The Valle Chupisonora lies along Arroyo Punta de Agua just east of Cerro Chupisonora about fifteen kilometers northwest of the site of Pópulo. The ranchería of Chupisonora was probably located at or near the modern settlement of the same name.

48. Jotobavi (*bavi* means 'well' in O'odham) and various other spellings of this same place, may refer to the rancho and associated well now called Batobabi, which lies on the northern fringe of the unnamed range of hills that rises between the Arroyo Punta de Agua to the east and the modern village of Carbó to the west.

swore to tell the truth in response to the questions he was asked. I asked whether he knew Astcuimel and what he knew of him. I told him to tell me what he knew. Lirón replied that he did indeed know Astcuimel and that he was one of those who had killed the *fiscal mayor* of the Cocomacagues in order to avenge himself upon the Pimas of Pitiquín who had killed his wife. Lirón also said that although three others had gone with Astcuimel, he knew only Astcuimel, not the others. He swore that this was the truth and that he knew nothing more. He affirmed and ratified his statement, stating that Astcuimel was not his kinsman.

On the same day, month, and year, I summoned Astcuimel to appear before me. Because he was incapable of taking the solemn oath,[49] I asked him whether he knew why I had taken him prisoner. He answered that he knew he had to die because he and three other Salineros had killed the *fiscal mayor* of the Cocomacagues. I asked him why he had killed the *fiscal mayor.* He said that one night while he and his family were sleeping near the ranchería of Pitiquín, the people of that ranchería came and shot his wife and another son of his with arrows. The people of Pitiquín then abandoned that ranchería the following day. Because he could find no one from Pitiquín, he and three other gentile Indians named Nomiil, Xeselxasimt, and Astquil set out one night and encountered no one to avenge themselves upon except the *fiscal mayor,* along with his wife and son and two others who were sleeping nearby. He and his companions shot their arrows at the same time. They fled when the wounded ones cried out, because they did not want the kinsmen of the wounded to come and kill them. Astcuimel said he had no reason to kill them other than the fact that they were Pimas like the ones of Pitiquín. He said that this was the truth and that he knew he had to die, but he wanted to be baptized so that he might die a Christian in order to go and see God. This was his response.

On February 11, 1700, then, I Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, ordered the soldiers of my command to take out Astcuimel and shoot him with harquebuses in front of all the people of the pueblo, in order to make an example of him for the others. I examined enough witnesses against Astcuimel under solemn oath [to justify the sentence]. Moreover, the criminal himself gave his statement and frankly confessed his crime without any extortion whatsoever. Astcuimel was therefore executed at about ten in the morning after receiving the water of holy baptism from Father Rector Adam Gilg. The priest accompanied Astcuimel and admonished him until he died in the presence of those whom he had wronged and those of Santa María del Pópulo. Through the interpreter, I spoke to the people of the pueblo again and told them not to engage in wars or seek revenge against one another on their own. I told them that they should go to their governor so that he might punish the guilty parties or bring the matter to the attention of the real justicia. To make the matter official, I recorded the proceedings on this day, month, and year.[50]

On the same day I dispatched two soldiers to Cucurpe with a letter for Father Melchor de Bartiromo. I asked him for a new shipment of horses and returned

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49. Because Astcuimel was a gentile, or non-Christian, Seri, he could not swear an oath based upon the recognition of God as divine and the Spanish king as earthly sovereign.

50. The bureaucratic trappings of Escalante's expedition signify that Astcuimel's execution was the official act of an officer of the Spanish military, not rough frontier justice.

those that had been badly abused in my aforementioned forays. I also asked him to send supplies and instructed the soldiers to bring back the Indian allies I summoned from the Tepoca and Tuape justicias, in order to pursue the rest of the aggressors and to visit the Salineros. For that reason, I have had to remain here in Santa María del Pópulo until the people and the soldiers return.

On February 16, the two soldiers arrived in this pueblo with seventy Tepoca and twenty Tuape Indian allies, as well as eight loads of supplies and thirty fresh horses sent by Father Melchor de Bartiromo for my inspection of the Salineros. The two soldiers also brought the carefully guarded Lorenzo Casama, the one behind the murders of the Tepocas. He was captured by José Germán, governor of the pueblo of Tuape, in accordance with my instructions. While the two soldiers were in Tuape, José Germán wrote to them, advising them to remain there so he could turn Casama over to them, which he did. The two soldiers then brought him before me. Soon after he arrived, I took his statement and he admitted without threat of torture that he personally had shot with an arrow an Indian named José from the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena because the justicias of that pueblo had bound his nephew and were taking him away. Trying to free him, Casama grappled with the justicias. A topile[51] then shot the prisoner, so Casama shot José and killed him. Casama said that he had committed no crime because he had confessed and taken refuge in the church. He felt that he was now absolved of what he had done.

I asked Casama why he had left Santa María del Pópulo. He replied that he had left not because he was afraid but because he wished to visit a relative he would not name. When I asked who was with him when he shot the Tepoca José, he said he had gone alone. I then asked him whether he knew who had gone to shoot the Tepocas in their pueblo, and he said that the principal killers were gentile Salineros from the ranchería of El Medio. He gave the following Chichimec[52] names for those Salineros: Imimasli, Amcanononcusi, Amacusasaqq, Caialg, Xapcuxssi, Sefluy, and another whose name he did not know but who was probably the son of an Indian named Xatalcamassaca. These seven are headmen of the ranchería of El Medio. Aside from them, many others came whom he did not know. He said he did not know anyone or anything else. I asked him why they had gone to commit the murders, and he responded that they did so because of the ancient hatred and wars that had existed between the Salineros and the Tepocas. Casama said he knew nothing else. Such was his reply, which he affirmed and ratified.

On the same day, month, and year, I summoned the justicias of Santa María Magdalena, who were in that pueblo of Pópulo. Because they were incapable of taking a solemn oath, I charged them to speak the truth and asked them through the official interpreter whether they knew Lorenzo Casama or anything about him. They responded that the topile who had brought in the Indian prisoner

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51. A topil was a mission Indian who functioned as the *alguacil,* or chief constable. The *-e* at the end signified "he who holds the *vara de justicia.*" Spanish officials customarily gave Indian officials rods of office as symbols of authority within, and subordinate to, the Spanish system.

52. The Gran Chichimeca was the central desert plateau north of the Valle de México inhabited by nomadic hunter-gatherers rather than settled farmers. Aztecs supposedly called these "uncivilized" people "Chichimecs." Here the term Chichimec refers to the Seri names of unbaptized "gentile" Indians.

[Casama's nephew] was present. They also said that they had taken him prisoner because they thought he was a Salinero spy. Casama then grabbed another Indian named José of the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena, demanding that he free the prisoner. Seeing Casama's vehemence, José shot and killed the prisoner, so Casama shot José. They said that this was the truth and that everyone in their pueblo knows it to be so. Because Casama confessed his crime, I resolved to punish him as an example to the rest, so that they would not take revenge into their own hands, but rather let the justicia punish their enemies. They all asked for this. They also said that they would be glad to see Casama punished, for he was the instigator of this murder and had been involved in others. This was their reply.

Therefore, on February 17, I, Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, ordered the soldiers under my command to take Casama out and shoot him with harquebuses in the presence of all the people of Santa María del Pópulo and those from San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues. I did so because his crime deserved punishment and to serve as an example to the others. Having examined the witnesses who testified against Casama, I saw that they repeatedly condemned him as a murderer or as an instigator of murders committed under his orders. I also heard complaints from many Christian Salineros and Tepocas, who asked that Casama be hanged. The prisoner cried out and confessed and asked forgiveness of the Tepocas as well as of the people of Santa María del Pópulo. But because he had set such a bad example for them, the soldiers executed my order.

Immediately afterward, and in the same spot, I gave the people new *tlatoles*.[53] I told them that seeing the dead Indian should serve as an example for them. I said that God Our Lord and the king, whom God watches over, punish evildoers in such fashion. I told them to end their wars and to remain peacefully in their pueblos, building their homes, planting their crops, obeying their governor, and respecting and paying heed to their minister, Father Rector Adam Gilg, who attended to the one who was executed. The priest also spoke to them. They were moved and promised to live good lives henceforth. So that these proceedings would be official, I recorded them on this day, month, and year.

On February 18, 1700, I left this pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo accompanied by Father Rector Adam Gilg and one hundred Tepoca, Tuape, and Cocomacague allies in pursuit of the Salineros from the west. That same day I reached San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues, where the justicias and the people received me in two lines. They pledged their obedience and thanked me for punishing the one who killed their kinsman. They promised not to have wars with them [the Salinero Seris] or anyone else. I ordered them again to remain peacefully in their pueblo and to be friends with the Tepocas whom I had brought with me. They said that they would gladly do so, and as a sign of peace they immediately gave food to the Tepocas.

I spent the night in this pueblo. The next day, February 19, I left for the ranchería of Pitiquín, which I found abandoned. I asked the governor of the Cocomacagues where the inhabitants of the ranchería were, and he replied that most had fled to a large hill called El Mescal because they feared the Salinero Seris. This hill is about sixteen leagues from the ranchería as they reckon by the sun. The governor

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53. *Tlatole* is a Nahuatl (Mexicano) word that means 'speaker'. The meaning of this word was modified in the colonial context to mean 'speeches', especially in terms of formal communication with, or between, Indians.

said that the rest of the Christian inhabitants were in his pueblo. I told him to summon them all to his pueblo and to tell them, on my behalf, to stop wandering about the hills. Instead they should live together in one place. I said that I would protect and defend them from anyone who sought to do them harm so that they could be baptized and build their pueblo.

I spent the night in the ranchería and left the next day, February 20, heading west along the floodplain of the river that flows out of Ures. After traveling about nine leagues, I camped by this river, because from then on there would be no water for the horses.[54]

February 21. After traveling ten leagues, I arrived at a well in the river where I saw tracks of Indians on foot and on horseback. I felt it was necessary to halt and make camp right next to this well. I then set out to follow those fresh tracks with four soldiers and six of the fastest Indians. Having gone about one league, I came upon a Salinero Indian who was camped there with three other persons—his wife, an old man, and his son. At the sound of our hoofbeats, they fled to a thorny thicket near their rancho. Only one Indian, who looked about thirty-six years old, and his little son, who was about three years old, remained. When he saw me approach, he grabbed his weapons and threatened to shoot. We began speaking and calling to him but that seemed to fill him with even more anger. He began shooting arrows at us. I ordered my men to take him prisoner but not to kill him, so he could give us some information. And even though he shot a good many arrows at us, they did us no harm. Realizing that he did not mean to harm us and unable to understand what he was yelling, I sent to camp for a Seri who could speak with him.

When he arrived, the Seri spoke to the man and told him to drop his weapons and come over to me. This he did, begging forgiveness. He thought I had come to kill him and therefore shot at us in order to frighten us away. I asked him whether he was a Christian and he said that he was not. I asked him where the rest of his people were, and he said that he did not know. Three days earlier, however, they were celebrating when an ingrate, the daughter of the first man I had executed, came and told them that the soldiers were coming with many people to kill them just as they had killed her father. For this reason, the people fled. He thought the Spaniards would not find him, so he had stayed in that rancho. Besides, he had never done anyone any harm. Such was his answer.

I told him that I had come only to take away the evildoers among them and to see how they lived. I did not intend to harm the Salineros but only wanted to make peace with them, not because I was afraid of them but because I wanted them to become Christians so the devil would not carry them away. I also let him know that I would pardon him in the name of His Majesty even though he deserved to be shot with a harquebus by one of my soldiers. I pardoned him only so that he might go and call his people and gather them together.

He replied that the others would be on an island that they reached in reed *balsas*.[55] That is where they said they were going when they heard the soldiers

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54. The Río Sonora disappears underground west of Hermosillo as it crosses Sonora's deep alluvial coastal plain. The region is now known as the Costa de Hermosillo, the largest agricultural zone irrigated by pumped groundwater in the state.

55. The Seris made their balsas (*hascám*) from three bundles of reedgrass (*Phragmites communis*), native to the Sonoran Desert, or from introduced giant cane (*Arundo donay*) lashed

were coming. He said that we should go remove them from the island, but that he would go search for the others. He also said that those who went to the island were very bad—thieves and murderers—and very arrogant. Although the Salineros had gone to their lands in the past, they had separated from them, saying that the soldiers would surely come for them and that if they were found together, all would be killed. Therefore, they had hidden themselves. He asked me to send an Indian from Santa María del Pópulo with him so that his kinsmen would believe him and return without fear. After consulting with Father Rector Adam Gilg and my other companions, I granted him the Indian he requested. As they were leaving us, he told us where we could find water and pasture for the horses.

On the next day, February 22, I sent an Indian topile from Santa María del Pópulo to summon the governor of the Salineros. I sent him with a white cross as a sign of peace so that the governor would come with all of his people without any fear whatsoever. I said that I was going to have a look at the sea and that I would return the following day, when the governor would be able to find me at this spot. After dispatching the alcalde, I left camp with seven soldiers, thirty Indian allies, and Father Rector Adam Gilg. After traveling twelve leagues, we reached the sea at two in the afternoon. On the beach, we saw tracks of Indians who had come to fetch fresh water from a water hole about the distance of a harquebus shot from the shore.

I halted the rest of the people there while three companions and I set out along the shore. We skirted a small range of hills that appears to be about one league in length. From the crest, I saw a very good harbor sheltered from the north [Bahía de Kino]. Closer by, about a half league away, there was a large rock outcrop that looked to be about a league and a half around, with an islet off its coast about two racecourses [*carreras de caballo*] in length. To the east there is an estuary that appears to be about five leagues long. To the south, a large peak can also be discerned about two leagues away by land, as well as other hills at intervals in the same direction.[56] The land along this coast is barren of all pasturage. In the entire twelve leagues that we traversed since leaving the reverend, I found only one source of fresh water eight leagues from the sea and several salty ponds. From the mountain range, it looked as if there were signs of better pasture and woodland on the other side of the estuary. Because it was late, however, I returned to the camp where I had left the father rector, and spent the night at that water hole.

The next day, February 23, we embarked on our return. Father Rector Adam Gilg went to see the harbor to make sure it was the one Father Eusebio Francisco Kino put into when he was in [Baja] California.[57] After he did so, I went straight

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together with mesquite root cordage. Both plants were called *carrizo*. The Seris propelled these boats with double-bladed paddles. Balsas were light, flexible, and allowed experienced Seri mariners to cross back and forth from the mainland to Tiburón and San Esteban Islands. Seris also traveled across the entire width of the Gulf of California to Baja. The Cochimí Indians of central Baja fashioned similar reed boats.

56. Escalante was probably looking south toward Bahía de Kino from the southern end of the Sierra Seri. The large rock outcrop is called Punta Ignacio. The islet is Isla Pelícano, also known as Alcatraz. The estuary is Estero de la Cruz. The large peak is Picacho San Nicolás south of Bahía de Kino.

57. After leaving Baja California to recuperate in the Yaqui missions on the Sonoran mainland, Admiral Atondo y Antillón sent Captain Blas de Guzmán, Kino, and other members

back to the camp I had left, which was about twelve leagues from the sea. Arriving there, I found the alcalde who had gone with the gentile Indian to summon the Salineros. The alcalde told me that he had not encountered anyone because they had all gone to the sea and that the gentile accompanying him did not want to return. I waited the rest of the day for the topile I had sent to summon the governor of the Salineros.

I spent the night there and left the next day, February 20 [February 24], for Santa María del Pópulo. There I found that all the Indians of that pueblo had begun building their houses and were actually doing so when I arrived. I gathered them together again and told them of my trip to the sea. I warned them that I and all the soldiers who accompanied me now knew the land of the Salineros. If they committed any wrong, I would return with many more people and would not leave until I had finished them all off. I told them I had pursued only those who had done harm to the Christians and that henceforth they should not permit any wrongdoing. The justicias and the new governor, Francisco Santiago, responded that they would explain all this to the Salineros.

So that these proceedings may be officially recorded, I signed them on this day, month, and year, along with the undersigned witnesses:

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Bartolomé de Barrios[58]

On February 28, 1700, I left Santa María del Pópulo for Cucurpe, the mission of Reverend Father Melchor Bartiromo. Having passed through a valley known as Chupisonora in search of some outlaws, I reached a place called Jotovabi [Jotobavi] at about eight o'clock in the evening, and spent the night there. I left on March 1 and reached the pueblo of Tuape with my companions and soldiers, where I set up camp. The same day two soldiers and I traveled as swiftly as possible to the pueblo of Cucurpe, where I found Reverend Father Melchor Bartiromo, minister of doctrine of that town. I conveyed to His Reverence my governor's orders concerning the reduction of the Tepocas Salineros. His Reverence offered to provide the necessary supplies for the accomplishment of this enterprise, both for the Tepocas and for the soldiers under my command.

On the second day of that month [March], Reverend Father Melchor and I agreed to send two Tepocas from the new town of Santa María Magdalena to the Salineros Tepocas with a cross as a sign of peace. The two Tepocas were to tell them that I had come to remove them from the coasts and bring them to Santa

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of his expedition on an exploratory voyage north along the Sonoran coast on a vessel named the *Capitana.* The vessel anchored in the body of water called San Juan Bautista, now called Bahía de Kino, on June 19, 1685.

58. Bartolomé de Barrios was a member of the presidial flying company of Sonora. He served with Escalante when they campaigned against the Pimas under Petriz de Cruzate in 1695. He and Escalante also were part of the detachment of twenty-two soldiers commanded by Cristóbal Martín Bernal, who escorted Kino and Manje as they descended the San Pedro River to the Gila and visited the ruins of Casa Grande in central Arizona in 1697.

María Magdalena so they could live with their kinsmen and their children could be baptized, for I knew that there were many Christians among them. Thus, in the name of Our Lord God and His Majesty, whom God protects, I offered them peace if they would return with the (two) Indian envoys whom Father Melchor de Bartiromo and I had dispatched. I said that I would not leave until March 4 so that the envoys would have time to reach the coast and then meet me at my camp at Aguas Frías, where I would await them until they returned. With these messages, and well supplied with mounts, I dispatched the two Indian envoys on March 1 [March 2]. One of the envoys is the *fiscal mayor* of Santa María Magdalena, and the other is a relative of his.

After dispatching these envoys, my soldiers and I remained in Cucurpe until March 4, both to rest our horses and to give the envoys enough time to meet us at Aguas Frías on the appointed day. On the fourth, I left Cucurpe for the western coasts with fifteen soldiers, fifty fresh mounts, and four loads of supplies. After traveling six leagues, I reached a place called Cerro de la Estrella,[59] where I spent the night. The next day, March 5, I reviewed the soldiers under my charge, and finding them ready and well supplied with ammunition, I resumed the march. After traveling about five leagues, I ordered a halt at a pool of rainwater, where we watered the horses. We passed the hottest part of the day at this spot and then continued on my course for another four leagues, reaching a water hole among some rocks that the horses could not drink from.

On March 6, I left this rock outcrop and traveled all day until I reached an arroyo with water in it, where I ordered a halt at four in the afternoon. On March 7, I remained at this arroyo to feed and water the horses because they were tired after the fifteen-league march from the rock outcrop. On March 8, I left the arroyo, which we had named Santo Domingo,[60] and at ten in the morning reached Aguas Frías, where I had planned to meet the envoys. It was necessary to stop in the same arroyo, despite its steep banks, because of the nearby water, pasture, and firewood. In addition, there were two caves nearby where we could protect our weapons from the rain that was threatening. We spent the night in that place.

On March 9, I remained there awaiting the two envoys. I also reconnoitered the entrances and exits to the water hole and realized that there was no better place to make camp because of the water and pasture for the horses. I therefore decided to stay in that place where the envoys were to meet me. That evening, halfway through the first watch [*mediado el cuarto de prima*], the sentinel called out, telling us to grab our weapons because arrows were being shot at us from the

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59. Cerro de las Estrellas is located southwest of Cucurpe and east of the modern community of Benjamin Hill. It stands on the eastern edge of the great alluvial plain that runs from Santa Ana on the north, beyond Hermosillo, and nearly to Guaymas on the south between the coastal ranges and the mountains of central and eastern Sonora. Ecologists Forrest Shreve and Ira Wiggins (1964) call this country the Plains of Sonora.

60. Santo Domingo was one of the arroyos draining the eastern Bacoachi drainage. Aguas Frías was probably located south of Rancho El Salto in the Arroyo Bacoachito, which soon becomes the Río Bacoachi, just south of its junction with Arroyo Carrizo, which drains into it from the northwest. From the town of Félix Gómez on the north to Rancho Pozo Negro on the south, the Bacoachi drainage is the only watershed with permanent springs and stretches of flowing water between the Río San Miguel and the Sonoran coast. As such, it must have been a magnet to the Seris and Pimas of western Sonora. The area south of Félix Gómez also would have had the floodplain pastures and steep canyons as described by Escalante.

other side of the arroyo. We quickly roused and armed ourselves, and one comrade fired a shot in the direction of the attackers. The arrows stopped then, but I ordered everyone to remain on alert with their horses and weapons for the rest of the night.

Waking early on March 10, I left with a squad to reconnoiter the area, crisscrossing back and forth to look for the tracks of the attackers. I found only three sets of tracks, which headed toward my camp and then turned back to the west. The attackers left two arrows stuck in the ground as a sign, one where they entered, the other where they left, indicating that they had come on purpose and had meant to do us harm. We followed their tracks for four leagues, but after riding up and down one rugged mountain range after another, I was obliged to withdraw because our horses were worn out. I therefore returned at two in the afternoon to move our camp.

When I returned, I found that my comrades and some of the Tepocas in my company had found sixteen arrows. And from those arrows they were able to determine the owners, whose Chichimec names were as follows: Lmimasli, Amcanovincussi, Amacussassaca, Pini, another who was the son of an Indian named Guepague, and one whose name they did not know, making a total of six aggressors. I asked the Tepocas why we had found only three sets of tracks and they replied that there were six. The attackers walked in each other's footprints in order to leave fewer tracks. Having learned that the aggressors were Seris from El Medio, I resolved to wait for the envoys and the people I had sent them to summon. Once they arrived, I planned to demand the punishment of the attackers. To that end, the same day I moved the camp to a better spot along the same stream.

On March 11, I dispatched a squad to reconnoiter the area. When they returned about three in the afternoon, however, they had found nothing other than the same three sets of tracks. The same day I sent two men to the *partido* of Cucurpe to ask Father Melchor de Bartiromo to send me thirty fresh horses and five loads of supplies. I also asked him to send twenty Tepoca allies.

On March 12, the two messengers reached my camp at Aguas Frías and informed me that forty people were coming from the sea—men, women, and children—with the governor of that coast. I asked the messengers how many people were by the sea, and they said that there were many, but those who remained there probably would not heed my summons because there were some old people who could not travel. The messengers said that the forty people who were coming would arrive on the thirteenth.

On March 13, I set out to meet the people about two leagues from my camp. The governor pledged his obedience, as did a Christian captain named Miguel and all his people. I brought them to camp with my company and distributed supplies to them. I asked the governor whether there would be water for the horses along the way that they had come, so I could go and fetch the people who remained. He said there was none, so that same day I sent two of the coastal Indians, one of them Captain Miguel, to summon them with new speeches. I also told the messengers to advise them that I had been waiting for them at Aguas Frías for many days and that I would remain here until they all came. If they did not come, I would have to go and remove them from the coast. I said that my soldiers, horses, and I knew how to travel for five or six days without eating or drinking, and that they should come immediately. I gave the captain and his companion some supplies and sent them off. I remained at Aguas Frías through March 15.

On March 16, the two men whom I had sent for horses and supplies returned

with thirty horses and five loads of supplies. All of it was provided by Father Melchor de Bartiromo, who generously offered to supply me with whatever I needed to finish congregating the Seris. The same day, the Indian I had sent with Captain Miguel arrived saying that the rest of the people did not want to come because they were too weak to travel. They also said that they had many old people as well as some who had never seen Spaniards in their lives.

With this news, I set out for the sea on March 17 with twelve comrades, thirty Tepocas, and some of the Indians who had recently come from the coast. After traveling about four leagues, I stopped for the night right next to a water hole to which the Salineros Tepocas guided me. We had brought along wooden troughs [*bateas*] with which to water the horses, but found no water there.

The next day, March 18, after traveling about five leagues, we reached a well of fresh water where the people were able to quench their thirst and where we gave water to some of the animals in the wooden troughs. We then continued on about fifteen leagues until, about four o'clock, we arrived at a funnel-shaped basin and some pools of water formed by a ring of rocks. We camped there that night.

On March 19, I continued traveling until I reached the sea about six leagues away. There I saw a good-sized ranchería that had just been abandoned. I also found a well of fresh water there within a stone's throw of the sea, where I established my camp in order to water the horses. Then I set out with six comrades to search for tracks along the entire beach, which stretched for two leagues. I had to turn back because night was falling, but I dispatched the Tepoca leader Cornelio to follow the tracks and to tell whomever he caught up with to wait for me there. When I got back to camp, I found that my comrades had watered the entire horseherd at the very edge of the sea, in a pool of fresh water they discovered at low tide.[61] At that point, the *fiscal mayor* Cornelio returned and told me he had overtaken a ranchería of sixteen people. To make sure they stayed there, he left one of his relatives with them.

On March 20, I left the sea and the water hole accompanied by the *fiscal mayor* [Cornelio]. After traveling about four leagues, I met up with the ranchería. After the *fiscal mayor* gave them speeches and warnings in my name, they pledged their obedience to me. I asked where the rest of the people were, and they said that Captain Miguel was already bringing them. That night they sent him a message to say that all the people would wait for me. At that point, I gathered up this ranchería and headed back to my camp of Aguas Frías. After traveling about five leagues, I found the rest of the people waiting for me next to a well in an arroyo. As a sign of peace they had placed many crosses along the entire route I had to pass. As soon as I arrived, they pledged their obedience to me. I gave them a good tlatole, making them understand that I was pursuing them only so that they might not lose their souls and so they would live as Christians. They said they believed me and would gladly do what I said. The heat of the day having passed, I gathered everyone up and marched for about three leagues. We then made camp at sunset without water.

On March 21, I summoned all the people at sunrise and told them I would have to go on ahead to care for my horseherd because there was no water and pasture there. I told them I was leaving behind their kinsman, the *fiscal mayor,*

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61. Springs of fresh water below the high tide line are called *batequis* along the Sonoran coast. There is a famous one at Puerto Libertad, which is where Escalante may have been.

and that they should go with him. They responded with pleasure, saying that they were burdened with their children and their pots of water and could not walk very fast. With this I said goodbye to them and traveled twelve leagues until I reached a well where I watered the horses from troughs and spent the night.

On March 22, I left this well and headed for my camp at Aguas Frías. I arrived there after traveling seven leagues and learned that Captain Sooba [Soba] had come with sixty Indian archers to see whether he might be of service to me.[62] He waited for me three days before returning, leaving many assurances that if I needed him, he would come immediately. I also found that Father Melchor de Bartiromo had sent me three more loads of supplies.

I spent March 23 at Aguas Frías, awaiting the Salineros. They arrived on the twenty-fourth. Eight of them were missing, but I was told that three pregnant Indian women and two old women had gotten tired and that the other three had stayed behind to help them. I was told that once the women delivered their babies, they and all their kinsmen would gladly come.

On March 25, I summoned all the people before me and found that they numbered 115 souls, counting both children and adults. On March 26, I sent them off to Santa María Magdalena with three soldiers, who had orders to deliver them to Father Melchor de Bartiromo so that His Reverence might see them and determine what should be done with them.

On the same day, I set out with thirty-two Indian allies. After marching about five leagues, I stopped and spent the night in a rocky arroyo. On March 27, I reached the old pueblo of Bacoachi,[63] where I spent the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth. On March 29, my chief of supply [*general de socorro*] sent me four more comrades, who brought four more loads of provisions sent by Father Melchor de Bartiromo.

On March 30, I left Bacoachi for the coast in order to pursue those who had attacked us before. I traveled about three leagues and then halted until the afternoon cooled off because there was no water. That evening, I marched another ten leagues and then stopped to allow the people on foot to rest for the remainder of the night.

On April 1, I continued marching for about eight leagues until I reached a pool of fresh water at midday. I found a recently abandoned ranchería there, along with three horses that the aggressors had left behind. I rounded up those animals and added them to my herd. I made a sweep for one league around the pool, then headed for the ocean about four that afternoon. After traveling part of the night, I stopped at a spring that supported a thicket of carrizo, awakening there on April 2.[64]

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62. Captain Soba was leader of the Sobas, an Upper Pima group living along the Río de la Concepción in the vicinity of Caborca. They are likely the Sand Papago known today as So:bmakam or 'Enemy (Apache-like) People' to other O'odham (Gary Nabhan, personal communication). Kino first visited the Sobas in 1693. The Spaniards often used Upper Pimas to fight the Seris in the years to come.

63. The "old pueblo of Bacoachi" may be at or near modern Rancho Bacoachi, which is located on the Río Bacoachi about ten kilometers up the drainage from Pozo Negro.

64. This may be the famous Pozo Carrizo, known to the Seris as *Hax Caail.* Until modern groundwater pumping and agricultural clearing destroyed it, it was located northeast of Bahía de Kino. Franciscan Father Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé attempted to establish a mission for the Seris there in 1772 and was killed the following year (see chapter 5).

From there I began to traverse all the beaches of the area, finding many footprints as well as the tracks of many loose horses. I immediately moved my camp to a better location and, taking ten comrades and twenty Indians with me, searched south along the beach. We found a rancho with about ten children and adults, who had their balsa canoes loaded and waiting in the waters of an estuary by the gulf of the sea.[65] Sensing our arrival and seeing the dust of our horses along the beach, they took to the water. My ten comrades and I reached the estuary along with two of the Tepocas who were fast enough [on foot] to arrive at the same time we did. We flung ourselves into the estuary but were only able to seize three prisoners. One was a pregnant Indian woman, another a six- or seven-year-old girl. In the middle of the estuary, we killed an old woman who could not reach the canoes. The two canoe-paddlers were also wounded with poisoned arrows. On land, the Indian allies ran across another old Indian woman and shot her with arrows. Five persons in all were captured or killed.

I soon returned to camp and found that the sentries had captured an old Indian man, who informed us that the Salineros had separated from the Seris of El Medio about ten days earlier. He said that the Seris of El Medio were rejoicing and celebrating with dances the deaths of the soldiers that they had killed. I replied that they had not shot, wounded, or killed a single soldier nor any of the Indians who accompanied me. I said that I would punish their audacity and told him to tell me the truth. He told me that the Indians who fired upon my camp were well known and that they always did wrong. They were the six instigators, but some of their kinsmen joined them in these crimes. Fearing that I had gone to look for them, they fled. And of the six we knew through their arrows, four had crossed over an arm of the sea [Canal de Infiernillo] to the other side [Tiburón Island] with a ranchería of women, children, and kinsmen. The other two were with another ranchería and had waited to finish their *mescal* roast[66] before crossing over to the other side of the strait, which they would do the next day.

When I learned this, I left the old Indian and the other prisoners securely bound and traveled through the night. I reached the ranchería at dawn, but the inhabitants saw the dust raised by our horses and fled. They took refuge on a rocky mountain ridge, where I caught up with them and captured the rabble. The Tepoca allies shot two boys whom I ordered to be given the water of holy baptism. Despite the efforts of our Indian allies and my comrades, however, we could not find out whence the two had escaped. When I gathered the rabble together in the ranchería, I learned that the old Indian had told me the truth. I resolved to free him so he could speak with the Salineros, all of whom have offered to leave the salt flats and build a town near Nuestra Señora del Pópulo. The old Indian was to tell the Salineros that I had come to punish only those who had shot at me and the

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65. Probably Estero de la Cruz east of Bahía de Kino.

66. Various species of agave, known commonly as mescal, were one of the most important wild plant foods in the Greater Southwest. The spiny leaves were hacked off and the energy-rich caudices, or basal portions, were baked in rock-lined underground ovens for 24–48 hours. The resulting sweet and nutritious food could also be pounded, dried, and stored. After the Spaniards introduced the distillation process, the baked caudices were shredded into pulp and fermented. The fermented mash was then distilled into a potent liquor known as *mescal, bacanora, lechuguilla,* and other names.

camp of my soldiers, and that they should proceed without fear to the place where they had promised Father Rector Adam Gilg they would settle. But if they did not leave, I would eradicate them, and my men and I would not rest until we had destroyed the Seris of El Medio. No one else remained because the Tepocas had all been reduced to village life. If he spoke well, then the Salineros would leave [the coast] and thereby would have peace with the Spaniards, and I would defend them against their enemies. With this message, I gave the Indian provisions and sent him off. He took the supplies and left very gratefully.

On that day, April 3, I left [the coast opposite] that island or arm of the sea, which appears to be two [or] three gunshots away. On the other side can be seen a mountain range that appears to be about seven leagues long. The Indians say they have two wells of fresh water there.[67] After a return march of seven leagues, I reached the pool of rainwater referred to earlier, and spent the night there.

On April 4, I left that spot in the afternoon and traveled most of the night. On April 5, I arrived at the place where the water of the old pueblo of Bacoachi peters out.[68] The next day, April 6, I reached Bacoachi itself, where I found that Father Melchor de Bartiromo had sent me three loads of provisions. I spent the day resting the horses there and left on April 7 on a direct route to the pueblo of Cucurpe. Making parts of the journey at night, I arrived on April 9, which was Good Friday.

I found Father Melchor de Bartiromo conducting the ceremonies of Holy Week. Because there were various Indian nations there, particularly Pimas, he asked me to stay in town with my comrades in order to head off any trouble among them. So I remained there from April 9 until April 13. I then left for the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena with my comrades and soldiers, in order to take a census and assign lands for planting, both for the long-time residents and for the 107 newcomers who have recently settled there.

On April 13, I arrived in Santa María Magdalena and attended to the natives from that day until April 19. During those six days, I saw to it that they built a church thirty *varas* [about 82 feet] long surrounded by a very well-made palisade. They had already constructed a small house for the priest who administers them, Father Melchor de Bartiromo. He has been encouraging them, and while they were building the church, he has given them five head of cattle and four loads of flour, wheat, and maize. He also gave them a large bell for their pueblo, which the Indians neatly hung in a wooden bell tower that they had built under his direction. He freely does everything he can for the new pueblo, teaching the natives as well as their children how to pray so that they can be baptized. Exactly that happened on April 17, when ninety-six souls were baptized. They were both young and old, and included those I removed from the coast as well as those who were already living in the pueblo.

I took a census of the men, women, and children, one by one. There were 373 of them. Their names will be recorded on the alphabetical list that remains in the

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67. The Sierra Kunkaak is the mountain range dominating the eastern half of Tiburón Island. Modern Seris have names for forty-three sources of water on Tiburón, only twelve or thirteen of which have water year-round. At least five of those are located in the canyons and foothills of the Sierra Kunkaak (Felger and Moser 1985).

68. At Rancho Pozo Negro, the Río Bacoachi leaves the mountains that force its waters to the surface. As it crosses the alluvial plain known as the Desierto de Encinas, it sinks below the surface except during floods.

possession of Father Melchor de Bartiromo, their minister. According to the precepts of the Holy Church, he ratified the common-law marriages the pagans had made among themselves, explaining Christian doctrine as well as the sacrament of marriage to them. That pleased them very much, and they asked their priest to say mass in their pueblo, since they were all Christians now and had a church and a bell. They also asked that he minister to them as well as to the others who were already Christians. They promised to make sure their children learned Christian doctrine. They also asked the priest to bless their pueblo.

On April 18, Father Melchor de Bartiromo celebrated mass for them. They all filed in procession with the image of Santa María Magdalena, the patron saint of their pueblo, as Father Melchor de Bartiromo blessed everyone who gathered around. I marched in the procession and saluted the glorious saint with shots from my harquebus. The Indians were very pleased with that. Captain Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of the Valle de San José de Opodepe and its jurisdiction, was also present.

After the mass and procession ended, the justicias came to see their reverend father minister to ask his permission to celebrate the day with a fiesta of dances. Both men and boys danced, the children dancing until they reached the spot where Father Melchor de Bartiromo was. They called him by name, and the father minister received them, giving thanks to God Our Lord and telling them, "Praise the Lord, children, so you will be in His grace." He embraced them tenderly and they responded to his affection by singing various songs.

In their dance, the adults came to where I had placed the guard room. They repeatedly hailed the soldiers, calling them friends and comrades. They also thanked them profusely for removing them from such inhospitable lands where only heathens wandered and bringing them to the pueblo that now belonged to them. There they would live for God and Holy Mary, the *fiscal mayor* of the pueblo explained.

I commanded them and all the others of the pueblo to swear their allegiance to the aforementioned Captain Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor, making them understand that he was the magistrate they had to obey. I also told them they had to let him know everything that took place in their pueblo so he could help them against their enemies if necessary and punish those who did wrong. They immediately swore allegiance to the king and his minister. Thus they remained tranquil, in peaceful possession of their pueblo and their lands. The natives of the pueblos of Tuape and Cucurpe had given those lands to the Tepocas as alms through the intervention of General Isidro Ruiz de Avechuco,[69] alcalde mayor of this province of Sonora, and of Father Melchor de Bartiromo, their minister. I have attended to the division of those lands so that the Tepocas realize that both their spiritual and temporal welfare is being taken care of.

So that all of my proceedings might acquire even further validation and credence, I asked Captain Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of this valley and its jurisdiction, to certify and truthfully attest to all that has happened in his presence—how the natives of Santa María Magdalena remain tranquil and in peaceful possession [of their pueblo and lands] and obedient to the

69. Isidro Ruiz de Avechuco, lieutenant of the presidial company of Janos, was a well-born miner from the *real* of Cusihuiriáchic in Nueva Vizcaya. In 1691, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Gabriel del Castillo, named him alcalde mayor of the province of Sonora.

king, our lord. Likewise, I requested and entreated Father Melchor de Bartiromo, the missionary of this pueblo, to attest to the truth of what I have said as minister of those natives and one who is very interested in the welfare of their souls. I also asked him to certify and acknowledge the arrival of the people whom, with the help of the soldiers under my command, I brought to this pueblo by order of my general and the governor of arms of this province of Sonora [Jironza Petriz de Cruzate]. Father Melchor de Bartiromo of the Society of Jesus, missionary of this pueblo, and Captain Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of this jurisdiction, granted me that request.

I attach their certifications to my *autos,* which are dated April 19, 1700. So that the truth of what I have said may be made evident, I attached those certifications to the back of page 14. Furthermore, I want to specify the numbers of people now in the pueblo. There are 108 baptized individuals and a total of 373 souls there. As I said, the certifications will make this clear. Therefore, I and the witnesses below signed this report.

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Bartolomé de Barrios

I, Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo of the Society of Jesus, am His Majesty's minister of doctrine for the districts of Cucurpe, Tuape, and Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas. As such, I affirm and attest in the appropriate manner that Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante was leader of a squad of eighteen soldiers in the Valle de Opodepe. They were under his command by order of Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, the general and governor of arms of the province of Sonora. The squad came to curb the arrogance of the heathen Seri Indians of the ranchería of El Medio because, as most people know, those Indians attacked Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, a new pueblo under my administration.

After the aforementioned alférez had carried out his general's apt orders with much prudence and Christian piety, I requested and entreated General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, the governor of those soldiers, to give new orders to Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante for the greater glory of God Our Father and of His Majesty. The request was to bring together in the aforementioned pueblo of Santa María Magdalena some rancherías of the same nation who live on the coasts of the southern sea. According to my information, these rancherías were all willing to come to this pueblo and be baptized. What held them back was the risk they, their children, and their wives would run from their constant enemies, the Seris of El Medio.

On receiving the order, Alférez Escalante began to carry it out on March 4 of this year. He sent two emissaries of the same nation to the Tepocas with pleasing tlatoles to make them understand that their kinsmen had asked them to become baptized and live within the sound of the church bells, as they themselves had promised me they would do. Escalante sent the emissaries in the name of God Our Lord so the Tepocas would leave their uninhabitable lands so far from divine and human law.

The two emissaries were also to notify the Tepocas that Alférez Escalante and the soldiers under his command left this pueblo on that day [March 4] in order to

stop awhile in the place they call Aguas Frías to wait for them. All of them could join together there and make the journey protected and guarded by the soldiers under the command of the alférez. According to his reports, the alférez remained in that spot from March 8 until March 22, when the Indians assembled there and pledged him their obedience. He then brought them in great good humor to this pueblo. There, to the greater glory of God Our Father and of His Majesty, Escalante turned over 109 persons to me, who were added to the 267 people that I had already gathered in this pueblo. All of them are now baptized and subject to our holy faith and our king, to whom they swore allegiance. The proceedings prepared by Alférez Escalante will make that clear so that the *real justicia* can interpose his authorization. The *real justicia,* in fact, was present when the people were delivered and the baptisms and other rituals took place. He is Captain Don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of the Valle de San José de Opodepe.

With the reduction of these Tepoca rancherías—along with other rancherías of Salineros and Seris who are now within the sound of the church bell in the new pueblo of Los Angeles—this frontier is and will remain pacified and at peace. For many years it has not been possible to attain such peace. Now, however, thanks to the Lord and to the great zeal and hard work of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, the present governor and captain of arms of this province, we see it achieved. With great vigilance and attention to my requests and petitions, the governor has employed his forces whenever it has been necessary for the reduction of these souls and the tranquility and peace of this frontier. He acts as one who both desires and accomplishes the spread of the holy gospel. He also attends to the service of His Majesty, whom God protects. To this end, he has sent various squads on various occasions to gather the aforementioned Indian nations to our holy faith with gentleness and Christian piety. And now, on this last occasion, he sent out a squad with all the necessary provisions, weapons, and horses, and appointed Juan Bautista de Escalante, the current alférez of the [flying] presidial company [of Sonora], as its commander and leader. Pursuing his responsibilities with Christian zeal, Escalante has performed at all times with the appropriate tact, resolution, counsel, and prudence in the service of Both Majesties throughout this campaign.

In order to make this all clear, I recorded my testimony at Escalante's request as surety of his just claim. Because it is true before God, I signed it in this pueblo of Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, on April 20, 1700.

Melchor Bartiromo
minister of doctrine through the authority of His Majesty

By His Majesty's authority, I, Captain Don Nicolás Linse, am teniente de alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of this Valle de San José de Opodepe and its jurisdiction. As I should and can do within the limits of the law, I certify and attest that Juan Bautista de Escalante turned over to me 109 Indians—men and women, young and old—in this pueblo of Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas. Escalante is the active alférez of the flying company of Sonora, which is under the command of General Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, governor of arms of this province and active captain of the aforementioned company. The Indians belonged to

the nation of the Tepocas Salineros. Escalante removed them from the coasts of the southern sea, which lie to the west of these frontiers.

I questioned these natives again and again through an appointed interpreter. The interpreter was an Indian from the aforementioned pueblo who knew the Hegue [Eudeve] language and belonged to the Tepoca nation. I asked the natives what reason they had for leaving the coasts where they were living. They said that they had received many messages from Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante and from Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo. Both had summoned them to come and live with their kinsmen in this pueblo. Because they were well treated by the alférez and his soldiers, because their coast lacked both farmland and water and was always being invaded by Seris and Pimas, and because they had a great desire to be baptized like their kinsmen, they were inspired to accompany Alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante and his soldiers, who brought them to this pueblo.

Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo was waiting to receive them and so was I, the teniente de alcalde mayor, as were the residents of this valley. In the presence of them all, the aforementioned alférez commanded the Tepocas to swear allegiance to me as the minister of His Majesty in this jurisdiction, and told them that I received them in His Majesty's name. Once this was said and understood by the natives, they swore allegiance to me. I then received them and incorporated them into the community with their kinsmen, who were the first settlers of this pueblo.

Once this was done, the Tepocas asked and entreated me to intercede with the reverend father to admit them into the fold of Our Holy Mother Church, and to administer the holy sacraments of baptism and marriage to them. They also asked me to distribute lands among them so they could clear and plant them. All that they requested was done. In the presence of the reverend father, the alférez, and the rest of the soldiers and residents, boundaries and markers were placed on the lands donated by the pueblos of Cucurpe and Tuape. Those lands were given at the request of Reverend Father Melchor de Bartiromo and General Don Isidro Ruiz de Avechuco, the alcalde mayor and capitán a guerra of this province of Sonora, on behalf of His Majesty.

So that it may be on record, I state that I received the aforementioned Indians and that the aforementioned alférez has attended to all the matters I referred to with great prudence. He has acted at all times with great military skill, limiting himself at all times to the balanced and appropriate orders of his general. This is clear to me because I read those orders when he began his *entrada*. I, in fact, was the one who asked Captain Francisco Pacheco Cevallos,[70] my alcalde mayor and Escalante's lieutenant governor, to request and persuade Governor Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate to send a squad of soldiers to these frontiers in the first place. I asked them to punish a ranchería of Seris known as El Medio, who were committing continuous outrages against the pueblos of this valley.

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70. Captain Francisco Pacheco Cevallos was born in Villa de Toranzos, Burgos, Spain. He came to the Americas as a young man and settled in Parral. By the 1680s, he had moved to the important mining community of San Juan Bautista in Sonora. In 1686, he served as teniente de alcalde mayor in the mining *real* of Bacanuchi and participated in a campaign against the Suma, Janos, and Jocome Indians that flared in the wake of the 1680 Pueblo revolt. He also served as interim alcalde mayor of Sonora that year. His son of the same name was alcalde mayor of Sonora in 1714 and 1720.

To make this clear, I recorded this testimony, to which I sign my name, as do the witnesses in my presence: Juan de la Rivas, Juan de Casaos, and Salvador Ramírez. I certify that this was written in the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena on April 20, 1700.

Nicolás Linse
Juan de Casaos, witness
Juan de la Rivas Salazar, witness
Salvador Ramírez, witness

From April 20 until May 8, Escalante and his men made an uneventful swing through the Pimería Alta. They visited San Ignacio, Magdalena, Tubutama, Sáric, and several smaller communities, reducing a number of rancherías to San Ignacio, the mission headquarters of Father Agustín de Campos. Campos attested to Escalante's faithful completion of his duties. Escalante did not mention any hostility between Upper Pimas and Seris.

On May 9, 1700, I arrived at the pueblo of Cucurpe where I found new orders from my general and governor of arms of this province. I was ordered to take the soldiers under my command and inspect the western borders of the Pimería Baja,[71] where I was to gather some Christian Indians who had abandoned their pueblos of Pescadero, San José,[72] and San Marcial[73] and were roaming the countryside as bandits. I was to bring them together and return them to their pueblos with the rest of the Christian Indians.

To that end, I left the pueblo of Cucurpe on May 10 and arrived at the pueblo of Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas. The Indians received me with great pleasure, the boys celebrating my arrival with various dances and songs. They had placed many burning lights with such skill that the circle of the dance was very well illuminated. When the celebration of my arrival was finished, I told them

71. Spaniards divided the Piman-speaking Indians of Sonora, who call themselves O'odham, or 'The People', into two major geographical groups: the Pimas Bajos, or Lower Pimas, who lived in central and eastern Sonora, and the Pimas Altas, or Upper Pimas, who occupied northern Sonora and what is now southern Arizona. Lower Pima groups inhabited a great arc of territory stretching from the lower San Miguel and Sonora drainages on the west to the Sierra Madre Occidental on the east. Other Piman speakers include the Northern and Southern Tepehuanes of Chihuahua and Durango and the Tepecanos of northern Jalisco. Linguists believe that the different Tepiman languages diverged fairly recently; 500 years ago, it might have been possible for an Akimel O'odham from the Gila River in central Arizona to have made his or her way south for 1,000 miles and communicated with other Tepiman speakers. The "western borders" of the Pimería Baja referred to here lie along the Río Mátape below Nácori Grande.

72. San José de Pimas is located along the Río Mátape about twenty miles upstream from San Marcial at the point where Highway 16, which connects Tecoripa and Hermosillo, crosses the Mátape drainage.

73. San Marcial lies along the Río Mátape about twenty-five miles southwest of Tecoripa.

that I was on my way to visit other nations to the west and that I would leave two of my companions there to help them sow their crops and to keep me informed of what might occur in the future. They responded that they were very pleased with the good treatment they had received from me and the soldiers under my command. They said that they would greatly regret my absence.

Taking my leave of them all, I spent the night in the pueblo and went on my way on May 11. I spent the night in the Valle de San José de Opodepe, which I left on May 12 for the pueblo of Nacameri. There I found Reverend Father Daniel Januske,[74] the minister of that pueblo, who thanked me profusely for all I had done in my entradas and assured me that my activities had been carried out for the greater glory of Our Divine Lord and His Majesty.

I spent the night in that pueblo and left on May 13. I arrived at the pueblo of Santa María del Pópulo, where Governor Francisco Santiago and his justicias received me with all of their people in two lines. They swore allegiance to me in the name of His Majesty. In that pueblo, I met two governors of the Salineros who had come to swear allegiance on their own. They told me that they had already removed their families from the coasts of the southern sea, where they had been living, and that they wanted to build a pueblo and a church in a place nearby, which was three leagues away from the pueblo of Santa María del Pópulo.[75] They said they were already settled there waiting to offer their obedience to me and the soldiers under my command. They offered to remain there, where thirty-six families had already planted their fields. The rest of the people—a total of 240 persons, both children and adults—were waiting in their territory for me to visit them and deliver them to the aforementioned assigned location. They also wanted me to assign them fields to sow in order to avoid conflict with others in the future. I thanked them on behalf of His Majesty for their welcome arrival and their good intentions. I told them that I and the soldiers whom they saw with me would go and inspect that place. I also said that once we were there, I would talk to them about many matters of importance for the benefit of their souls. They said goodbye to me and went back to their settlement very comforted by this information.

In this pueblo of Santa María del Pópulo, I found Father Adam Gilg, its minister of doctrine. He told me that he was waiting for me with fresh mounts and supplies for the inspection of those pueblos. He also said that he would accompany me. Because of this, it was necessary for me to remain in Pópulo until May 15. On that day, I left about two o'clock in the afternoon and spent the night at the new settlement of the recently arrived Salineros, which is three leagues away. On

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74. Daniel Januske, S.J., was born in Presburg, Bratislavia (Czechoslovakia) in 1660 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1678. He arrived in New Spain in 1691 and served in the Tarahumara region in 1692. In 1693, he replaced Antonio Arias at the mission at Tubutama, where he survived the 1695 Pima revolt and remained until 1696. He was in Teópari in 1697, the year he requested military support from Captain Retana because he feared an Indian uprising similar to the ones that had destroyed the missions of Onapa and Maicoba. He worked along the Río San Miguel from 1698 to 1702. Later he moved to the missions of Cumpas and Oposura, in the Río Moctezuma valley, where he served as visitor of the Sonoran missions from 1722 until his death in 1723.

75. These are the same Seris whom Escalante earlier rounded up from the Sonoran coast. The modern Rancho Seri north of Pópulo along the Río San Miguel may be at or near the site of this short-lived settlement.

my arrival, the Salineros received me with arches and crosses, the men, women, and children placing themselves in two lines. They swore allegiance to me, and most of the justicias and other Indian leaders came to kiss my feet. They gave signs of humility and of wanting to remain peacefully in that location.

Through Governor Francisco Santiago of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, I asked the governor and the justicias of the Salineros why they wanted to found a pueblo there and become Christians. The governor and his justicias replied that they came there because of the various promises they had received from Father Adam Gilg, who asked them to settle there. More recently, they received a message from an Indian I had set free on the beach of the southern sea after I attacked at dawn and captured a Seri rabble who had carried out a surprise attack on my camp. That Indian informed them about an ultimatum I had made, telling them to abandon those coasts and meet with Father Rector Adam Gilg because I was looking for the ones involved in the attack and would not leave until I had punished all such wrongdoing. If I ran into them, whether by day or night, I would destroy them. Their wives and children would then think that they themselves were the offenders. They should therefore leave those coasts without fail.

Because the father rector had told me many good things about them [the Salineros], I wanted to see them and speak with them. And since the Indian had relayed my message and given them such a good tlatole, I obliged them to go see the priest. That, then, was their motive. They now believe that the soldiers are very brave and good-hearted, because they punish only those who do wrong. Because they [the Salineros] had not harmed anybody, they decided to do what the Indian messenger told them to do. This is the reply they gave me.

I then asked the governor and his justicias to observe and instruct them not to falter in all they were proposing to do. I asked them whether they and all their kinsmen wanted with all their will to be Christians and establish a pueblo, as they were saying, or whether they were doing so only out of fear at seeing me and the soldiers under my command. They replied that they were not doing so out of fear but because they wanted to be Christians of their own free will. Besides, they had already sworn allegiance to His Majesty and to their minister, Father Rector Adam Gilg. I delivered new tlatoles in Gilg's presence, ordering the Indians to remain at peace while building their pueblo, to keep peace with the Cocomacagues of San Francisco Xavier, and to obey their priest. I advised them to send for the rest of the people who had remained on the coasts of the southern sea. I said that on the way back from my trip, I would visit them again, and that they should therefore plant their fields, build their houses, and clear their lands. They replied that they would.

I said goodbye to them and left on May 16, departing for the ranchería of Pitiquín in the company of Father Adam Gilg. After traveling about three leagues, I spent the night on the bank of the Río Santa María del Pópulo.[76] On May 17, I continued marching about ten leagues to the river[77] that flows from the pueblo of San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues, where I spent the night.

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76. The Río San Miguel, which joins the Sonora and flows into the Abelardo L. Rodríguez Reservoir at Hermosillo.

77. Escalante is referring either to the Río Sonora or to the Arroyo San Francisco/La Junta that flows into the Río Sonora.

On May 18, I continued until I reached the ranchería of Pitiquín. The governor and justicias of that ranchería came out to greet me with many crosses in their hands and with arches and crosses placed along the road. They also had constructed three huts made of branches, one for me, one for Father Rector Adam Gilg, and one for the soldiers under my command. Arranging themselves in two lines, most of them received me on their knees. When I arrived at those huts, they swore allegiance to me and then to the reverend father rector. I met with all the justicias of San Francisco de los Cocomacagues and with a war captain named Pedro Baricuca, native of the pueblo of Ures and a member of the Pima nation. He had received word that I was coming with the soldiers under my command, so he came to see me at Pitiquín. He had been waiting for me for three days to see how he could serve His Majesty.

Because he understood the Castilian language, I appointed him interpreter. Through him, I explained to the people of Pitiquín the purpose of my visit to their land. I told them that I was glad to see them all gathered together. I asked the governor and his justicias why, when my soldiers and I had passed through Pitiquín on our way to the coasts of the southern sea to remove the Salineros, we did not find them there. Instead, the entire ranchería had been deserted. It surprised me very much to find such good lands abandoned, when the soldiers and I had seen them planted when we first visited Pitiquín. I wanted them to tell me their reason for deserting their ranchería and where they had been while they were away.

The governor and all his justicias replied that they had abandoned their community because they feared the continual attacks and wars carried out by the Salinero Seris. At that time, the Salineros threatened them daily, just as they had always done when they were still heathens. The people of Pitiquín had left with the intention of returning as soon as the Seris calmed down. They said that they had been with other Pimas, kinsmen of theirs who lived near the Guaymas,[78] a nation next to the Río Yaqui. As soon as they realized that the Salineros had been reduced, they returned to their ranchería to plant their fields and be baptized as Father Rector Adam Gilg had offered. They assured me that there was no other reason why they had deserted Pitiquín, and that they would like to live in their ranchería now and forever. They would now establish a pueblo in earnest, summoning and gathering others of the same nation so they could live together and build a church. This was the answer they gave.

I thanked them through the interpreter and then I ordered them in His Majesty's name to remain in their ranchería and build their pueblo and church. I reminded them that they already had sworn allegiance to the king twice, promising to do all those things. I told them not to forsake their lands or fail to do what they had promised, because it was a service to God Our Lord. If they did not keep their promises, they would be severely punished as rebels and recalcitrants. They replied that they would not fail because now most of them were Christians and they were asking Father Adam Gilg, who had offered to be their minister, to baptize the rest of them.

Through the interpreter, I also proposed that they make peace with their enemies, the Salineros. They replied that they would gladly do so, in order to pursue their intended plan and so they and the Salineros would no longer cause injury to

78. The Guaymas were the southernmost Seri group.

one another. They were very happy with all this. I let them know that I would talk to them about many things I needed to tell them, but because it was so late, I would wait until the following day. Pleased, they said goodbye and went to get a chapel ready so Father Rector Adam Gilg could say mass for them the next day. They also invited some of the soldiers under my command to serve as compadres and padrinos.[79]

The following day, May 19, Reverend Father Adam Gilg said mass for them in the chapel. When the mass was over, they all prayed and recited the Christian doctrine. The men and women arranged themselves in two lines and adored the Holy Sacrament in Spanish. After this sacrament was over, I gave them new tlatoles and affirmed the peace among the Indians from the ranchería of Pitiquín, the Seris of Santa María del Pópulo, and the Salinero Seris. I made them embrace one another and ordered them not to wage war from then on, but rather to live as Christians and to hold fairs together to exchange cloth that they made and seeds from their fields. They replied from all sides that they would do so and gave many thanks to me for the good that I had done in establishing the peace. For a long time, they had wanted to live in peace and freely possess their lands.

After finishing that matter, I counted all the men, children, and women, who numbered one hundred souls all together. Seventy-seven are long-time Christians and the rest, both children and adults, are heathens. That same day the father rector baptized twelve of the children. This leaves twelve unbaptized adults out of the total of one hundred inhabitants[80] who remain in the ranchería and who are determined to establish a pueblo.

From May 19 until May 26, accompanied by Gilg, Escalante and his troops visited communities between the Río Sonora and the Río Yaqui, including the Lower Pima settlements of San Francisco Xavier de los Cocomacagues, Pescadero, San José, and San Marcial; the Eudeve settlements of Nácori and Rebeico; and the mining real *of Quisuani, where Pimas from the rancherías of San José and San Marcial were described as "servants" of the* vecinos *there. There Escalante interrogated an alcalde of the Pimas and demanded to know "who the thieves were who were stealing horses and cattle from the district of Mátape." With stubborn taciturnity, "the alcalde answered that he did not know the identity of the thieves who were causing the damage. He knew even less about whether others of his nation were among the servants of that mining community. Even though I questioned him again and again, the alcalde always answered that he did not know anything. Under the threat of severe punishment, I ordered him not to tolerate any thieves and to inform the* real justicia *if he should find out about any so they could be punished. He replied that he would do so."*

Escalante continued his investigation of cattle rustling in San José, where an old Indian who had been shot with arrows by some cattle thieves appeared. Pedro,

79. In Roman Catholic cultures, particularly Mediterranean and Latin American ones, bonds of ritual or fictive kinship are created between the parents of a child and the child's godparents for the sacrament of baptism. Those individuals call one another *compadres* and *comadres.* Ties of ritual kinship are also formed between the child and his or her godparents, who are called *padrinos* and *madrinos.*

80. Escalante's figures actually total 101 people.

the old Indian's son, confronted the assailants, but when he reported his information to Francisco, the alcalde of San José, Francisco told him not to inform either the governor of San José or Escalante. Escalante punished Francisco by having him tied to a tree and given more than sixty lashes. From San José, Escalante and his troops proceeded to San Marcial, an old mining real *turned mission community, where the missionary recommended that the community be moved to San Lorenzo, six leagues away, because the water had dried up in San Marcial. The Lower Pimas of San Marcial agreed to the move, and asked that San Lorenzo be rechristened Nuestra Señora del Pilar.*

I said goodbye to them, leaving them very contented with the tlatole I had given them. That same day in the old *real* of San Marcial, Father Rector Adam Gilg explained the intentions and motives he had in asking my general and governor of the troops of this province [Jironza Petriz de Cruzate] for the squad under my command. He told me that most of the people from the ranchería of Pitiquín, together with the Guaymas, were in revolt in a place called Tacoboalco. He said it was important to separate the people of Pitiquín from the Guaymas and reduce them to their pueblo. To that end I left that day in the company of Reverend Father Adam Gilg with the intention of traveling straight to the west in order to reach the ranchería of Tacoboalco.

After traveling nine leagues, I became certain that it was not possible to reach the ranchería by the route I was taking with my troops because there was no water for the horses for three days in that direction. We therefore stopped and spent the night. The following day, May 28, Father Rector Adam Gilg was of the opinion that we should go to the pueblo of Belén[81] with my squad because we were so close to that village. By means of the Guaymas living there, the many Christians from different Christian pueblos present in Tacoboalco could be convinced to return to their pueblos.

In response to this suggestion, I continued marching from about two in the afternoon to nine that night. After traveling close to ten leagues, I arrived at nightfall at the edge of a very large plain. From there I continued marching the following day, the twenty-eighth of that month [May]. After traveling about five leagues, I arrived at an arroyo thick with water and carrizo, which the Indians call Bacatetebe.[82] There I found tracks of many people, horses, and small livestock. There was also a ranchería with mescal pits and many traces of ovens for distilling mescal liquor.

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81. Belén, also called Belem, was one of the eight original Yaqui missions established by Jesuit missionary Andrés Pérez de Ribas between 1617 and 1621. Originally located on the north bank of the Río Yaqui, it was the westernmost Yaqui mission community—the one closest to the Gulf of California. Its Yaqui name is Veenem, meaning 'flat, sloping place', and the Yoemem consider it one of their Eight Sacred Towns, even though it was abandoned after the Río Yaqui changed course and moved south. During the colonial period, Lower Pimas and Guaymas often lived in Belén as well.

82. If Escalante marched west and then south from San Marcial, the large plain he mentions was probably the Valle Guaymas northeast of Guaymas. The ranchería of Bacatetebe must have been along one of the arroyos draining west from the Sierra Bacatete into this valley about half a day's march from Belén.

While following the tracks, one of the Indians in my company saw an Indian from that ranchería [Bacatetebe] going up a large hill. He began to call him in the Pima language; after much persuasion, the Indian came back down. Through the interpreter, I asked him whether he was a Christian. He replied that he was and that his name was Andrés. I questioned him about the people of that ranchería, where they were, and why they had abandoned their ranchería. He responded that they had received word the day before that the soldiers were coming. Because most of them were horse and cattle thieves, they were convinced that the soldiers were coming to capture them. Most of them were heathens from various places. He and his wife and children had remained because they had always lived there where they had their fields.

Guided by this Indian, I paused at midday at another nearby arroyo where he had a small planted field. Having arrived at this spot, I resumed questioning him. The Indian replied that it is true that many bad Indians take refuge in that place and that he does not know them by name but knows that they are Pimas and that they steal cattle from Agua Caliente[83] and horses from various Spaniards. Later they meet up in Bacatetebe. The Christian and heathen Guaymas from Tacoboalco come to these gatherings and engage in drunken revelry and then go home. All the tracks which can be seen at that ranchería are from these gatherings.

I asked him how far it was from that ranchería to the pueblo of Belén. He replied that Belén was nearby—by leaving this place about midday, one would arrive about five in the afternoon, reckoning by the sun. Based on that information, Reverend Father Adam Gilg determined that we should go to the pueblo of Belén to solicit help from the people of Pitiquín as well as to see Reverend Father Juan María de Salvatierra.[84] By meeting with and speaking to Salvatierra, Gilg hoped to get much help in reducing those Indians who were living along the coast.

That same day I continued marching and stopped for the night about four leagues before reaching Belén. I left there the following day, May 29, and arrived at the pueblo of Belén about seven that morning. Reverend Father Manuel Díaz[85] of the Society of Jesus, minister of doctrine of that pueblo, came out to receive me with all the justicias and all the people arranged in two lines. At the church, they also welcomed Father Rector Adam Gilg, who arrived with my company.

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83. The settlement of Agua Caliente is located in the Valle Agua Caliente east of the Sierra Bacatete. It was an estancia of the mission of Cumuripa when Escalante visited it in early June 1700.

84. Born in Milan, Italy, in 1647, Father Juan María Salvatierra, S.J., came to New Spain in 1676. He was assigned to the Rectorate of Santa Inés de Chínipas, working with Guazapares and Cerocahuis in the rugged Sierra Madre country west of the Río Urique before becoming father visitor general of the missions of northwestern New Spain in 1690. Salvatierra won his greatest fame, however, as organizer of the successful Jesuit missionization of Baja California, which began in 1697 with the founding of Loreto.

85. Father Manuel Díaz, S.J., was born in San Luis Potosí in 1667 and joined the Society of Jesus in 1683. He was assigned to northwestern New Spain in 1694 or 1695, serving in the Yaqui mission of Belén and the Lower Pima mission of San José de Guaymas. From 1716 to 1740, he worked among the Mayos in the mission cabeceras and visitas of Tesia, Navojoa, Corimpo, and Camoa along the Río Mayo. During the 1740 Yaqui revolt, he was taken prisoner by the insurgents until Calixto, one of the rebel leaders, freed him. Seventy-three years old at the time, he was apparently traumatized by his experiences and died shortly thereafter.

Having arrived here, I ordered the governor of the pueblo to gather all his people together because I wanted to speak to them. After they were brought together that same day about four in the afternoon, I asked Francisco, the governor of the Guaymas of that pueblo, if all the people in his charge were together there. He replied that they were not. They were scattered about, some serving the Spaniards, others on the coast of the sea with the heathen Guaymas and Pimas.

The Pima governor of the pueblo had all his people together. Through the designated interpreter, I gave good tlatoles, commanding them to live in their pueblo, build homes for themselves, and not associate with the heathens from that time onward. The Pima governor replied that they would do as I said.

Subsequently, I ordered Governor Francisco Guayma and all his justicias to go immediately and without delay to contact and remove all his people who were among the heathens. I also ordered him to talk to the heathens through the Pimas and ask them to come live among them [the people of Belén]. To that end, I sent the heathen Guaymas and Pimas a white cross as a sign of peace on my part.

The following day, May 30, I awaited the ambassadors in Belén. They arrived on May 31 about five in the afternoon. There were thirty Guaymas and Pimas from the coast of the southern sea and from the ranchería of Tacoboalco. They swore allegiance to the king and said that they were there to hear whatever I wanted to say to them and order them to do. They said they would willingly do whatever I commanded. They told me that they had been born and raised on the aforesaid coast and ranchería and that they had remained there for that reason.

Through an Indian interpreter named Ignacio, who was of their nation and spoke Spanish, I explained my arrival in their pueblo. I said that Reverend Father Adam Gilg, whom they saw there, had come with me to search for his Pima children from the ranchería of Pitiquín in order to bring them back there to live with the others. The others [the Pimas who remained in Pitiquín] were already building a pueblo in Pitiquín, and Gilg was there to summon [the fugitives] and gather them together, baptize them, marry them, and teach them Christian doctrine so they would not lose their souls. Therefore, they [the people of Belén] should tell us where those Pimas were.

The Indians replied that it was true there were many Pimas from the ranchería of Pitiquín among them, as well as some Christian Indians from San José and San Marcial. They said that those from Pitiquín were waiting for it to rain before returning to their ranchería because they face three days on the trail without water and cannot cross that land until it rains. They already know that their kinsmen are building a pueblo and they share the same desire. Besides, the Indians from the ranchería of Tacoboalco, who are endeavoring to be Christians, are obliged to dispatch them to their ranchería and not allow them in their territory anymore. This was the reply they gave.

Through the interpreter, I ordered them to spend the night in Belén. I told them that I and the soldiers who were present were going out to welcome Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, who was coming to see them and speak to them. I also said that the following day I would speak with them at length. I then immediately ordered the soldiers under my command to mount their horses. Presenting their arms and arranged in two files, my company and I departed, with Father Rector Adam Gilg and Father Manuel Díaz accompanying us. Half a league from the pueblo, we ran into Reverend Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra, and we saluted him with full volleys at intervals until we returned to Belén. The Indians there welcomed him with many arches all the way to the entry of the church.

The following day, June 1, I had the aforementioned Indians appear before the reverend fathers and me. I questioned them about their intentions and those of their kinsmen, because I knew for certain that there were many Christian Indians among them from various pueblos as well as many thieves. I said that I had not entered their land to remove and punish the bad ones so that they will fear me. I said that I was calling them together in order to give them this information. I told them that they should not ignore what I was peacefully proposing to them and that they should be warned that Our Majesty the king punished those who were bad as well as rewarded those who were good. I said that Our Majesty had many soldiers on land as well as at sea for punishing them. They themselves had seen ships at sea heading for the Californias. They therefore should tell me what their feelings and intentions were.

They replied that they wanted to be baptized and to live as Christians. They offered to come to live in the pueblo of Belén and to leave the ranchería of Tacoboalco, since they have no lands suitable for planting there. They also said that they would not consent to the presence of villainous, thieving, or even Christian Indians from other places along those coasts or in their ranchería. To that end, they wanted me to name a justicia whom they would be obliged to follow and who would look after them.

With the counsel of the reverend fathers, who happened to be there, I appointed Ignacio, the aforementioned interpreter, as captain since he was fluent in Spanish and fit for the position. They all gave me thanks for doing this and said that they would not overlook those things which had been promised to them. I ordered them to do as they said and told them that in order to be baptized as they requested, they needed to come to the pueblo of Belén and to build flat-roofed homes [*casas de terrado*].[86] Once they were living in the pueblo, they were to go to church in the afternoon and in the morning so they could learn to pray in order to become Christians. Their small children should be baptized as soon as they arrived in the pueblo. With great enthusiasm, they replied that they would immediately and instantly come.

This being their answer, Reverend Father Rector Juan María de Salvatierra undertook to give them a short sermon about their salvation. Because he was skilled in their languages, Father Rector Adam Gilg, for his part, explained what was important for their souls. Pleased and touched, the heathens kneeled at the feet of the reverend fathers, who received them in their arms and took their leave of them.

Later that day, June 1, Escalante, Gilg, and Díaz accompanied Salvatierra to the beach where he had his boat. Escalante returned to Belén and spent the night there. Then he and his men made another sweep through Lower Pima country,

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86. Seris and many Lower Pimas lived in simple brush shelters; among the Lower Pimas of the western deserts, these were shaped like beehives and called *ki*, the same term used by Upper Pimas. *Casas de terrado* were more substantial structures with flat roofs covered with earth. The walls may have been made of adobe, but more likely were of wattle-and-daub construction or of rows or bundles of reeds. Such house types can still be seen today among the few surviving Lower Pimas around Onavas, Sonora.

visiting Agua Caliente, San Lorenzo, El Cajón, San José, Quisuani, Nácori, Mátape, Bamuco, Santa María, and Pescadero between June 1 and June 17.

On June 18, I arrived at the pueblo of San Francisco Xavier del Tucubava.[87] There I encountered the governor of the pueblo, who had just arrived from the pueblo of Ures. I asked him where all his people were, and he replied that they were on their way back from the harvest at Ures. When I asked him why they had not finished their houses, he replied that it was because the governor of the Ures had insisted on taking them away to help with the wheat harvest.[88] After he and all his people had helped him [the governor of the Ures], however, the governor of the Ures had mistreated them. He [the governor of Tucubava] no longer wanted to continue helping them [the Ures]. Instead, he wanted to remove all his people and return them to their pueblo to finish their houses and care for their milpas. This is what he replied.

I ordered that all the people of his pueblo continue to build their pueblo properly and that he not allow them to wander scattered over the hills. I notified him that I was leaving two soldiers in Pópulo to help the Seris construct their houses and plant their fields, and to see that they [the people of Tucubava] did what I commanded. The governor replied that they would do so.

With that I took my leave of them the same day. I spent the night halfway down the road about four leagues from the new pueblo which the Salineros were endeavoring to build. I arrived there on June 19 and found Reverend Father Rector Adam Gilg waiting for me, along with all the Salineros. They were arranged in two lines and had placed many arches and crosses leading to where they had built a small chapel of branches and a house of the same construction for Father Rector Adam Gilg. Gilg was accompanied by the governor of Santa María del Pópulo. After the Salineros had sworn allegiance to me, I asked them through the governor what they could tell me about the Salineros who had remained in the salt flats and what they had said in response to the tlatoles I had sent with the two Indians.

The governor replied that one of the ambassadors named Ucadlacus was present. The ambassador said that he had given my warnings to the Salineros just as he was told to do, but that they took no notice of them. They said that they did not want to come to the pueblo right then, but that if they felt like it at some later time, they would come. Before they would have come, but now they had made peace with the heathen Guaymas. He [Ucadlacus] also said that the Seris who live in the salt flats are rebels—forty-four families—as are the Seris of the island [Tiburón], who number twenty-four families. They are also very angry with the

87. Located somewhere in the vicinity of Ures, San Francisco Xavier del Tucubava apparently was a different community than San Francisco de los Cocomacagues.

88. The most important Old World crop introduced by the Jesuits was wheat, which filled an empty niche in the agricultural cycle of the Indian farmers of Sonora because it could be grown during the winter months when frosts were a danger. Corn, beans, and squash—New World food staples—were not frost-tolerant. By 1700, the Lower Pimas of Ures were already growing so much wheat that they needed Indians from other communities to help them harvest it.

soldiers and do not wish to leave until they can seek vengeance. This was the ambassador's reply.

I told the governor of the Salineros and his justicias not to believe the threats of the aforementioned Salineros or the Seris of El Medio. They should endeavor to remain firm in their intention of building their homes and church, since they had already begun to do so. I said I was leaving two of my companions behind to defend them against their enemies. The devil was deceiving those who did not want to enter the pale of our holy faith. They did not enjoy the supreme goodness that they [the Christian Salineros] now had because they and their children were now Christians. They should not stop sending word to their kinsmen that they could come without fear. Only those who came [to the Seri mission pueblos] would be pardoned. But if they did not want to come, it would be necessary to pursue them until they were all killed. To this the aforesaid justicias replied that they would continue to send word to their kinsmen and that, if [the kinsmen] did not come, they would help the soldiers to finish them off or reduce them.

That same day I took my leave of them. I warned them to take care of the two soldiers I was leaving with them, that I wanted to see that they had treated these soldiers well. They replied that they would look upon them as their brothers and companions.

I have finished, carried out, and accomplished everything my general and governor of arms of this province, Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, has commanded me to do. So that all these reports and military decrees carry more weight, I implored Reverend Father Rector Adam Gilg to testify to the veracity of what has been carried out in his mission districts and along the routes upon which he has accompanied me. The father rector granted me this request, so I attached it to my reports to give them greater credence. Thus I attest in the aforementioned new pueblo of Los Angeles on June 20, 1700.

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Appointed Secretary of War

From the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1700, ff. 49v–84v.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

En 29 días del mes de enero del año de 1700, yo, el alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, cabo y caudillo de una escuadra de quince soldados que traigo de mi cargo, según orden de mi general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia, don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, llegué dicho día al pueblo de Tuape, misión del reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo. Y en dicho pueblo mandé parecer ante mí al gobernador, alcalde y topiles del pueblo nuevo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas. Y preguntándoles su modo de vivir, me dieron por respuesta que ellos estaban actualmente haciendo pueblo en forma y sus casas de vivienda, y enseñándose a rezar en la lengua hegue, para que los administre el dicho padre, quien ellos declaran que actualmente los está [a]limentando con los bastimentos de maíz y carne para que fabriquen las casas y [e] iglesia que pretenden hacer, hasta que ellos siembren las tierras que el dicho padre Melchor de Bartiromo les ha ofrecido entre los dos pueblos de Tuape y Cucurpe. Con el consentimiento de los naturales de los dichos dos pueblos entre cuyo medio se está fabricando el

dicho nuevo pueblo donde ellos pretenden vivir, y morir por Dios y Santa María. Y esto me dieron por respuesta.

Y preguntándoles, por medio del gobernador José Germán que lo es del dicho pueblo de Tuape, que quiénes les habían hecho mal dentro de su dicho pueblo nuevo, matándolos. Y que si se sabían ciertamente quiénes eran los agresores y enemigos suyos, lo declarasen, que yo venía con los soldados que veían presentes a ampararlos, y ayudarlos y defenderlos de sus enemigos, y de otras cualesquiera personas que les hiciesen mal. Y respondieron que ellos sabían ciertamente que los seris salineros eran sus enemigos, por antiguas guerras que en su gentilidad han tenido, y ofrecen nuevamente dar los salineros, por causa de haberse ya reducido, ser cristianos, y a vivir a son de campana y ser amigos de los españoles.

Proponiéndoles que si no han sabido que los españoles y soldados de Sinaloa les mataron muchos parientes suyos, y así, que sepan que han de procurar acabarlos. Y los dichos tepocas respondieron a los seris salineros que no les daba cuidado las amenazas; que ellos tenían a los soldados de su parte para que los ayudasen. Y que respondieron los salineros, que llamasen enhorabuena a los soldados, que si no sabían que ellos tenían muy buenas flechas con punta de pedernal y yerba muy fuerte; y que si salían los soldados a buscarlos, que ellos le[s] pondrían de noche en emboscada, y que flecharían la caballada. Y que al día siguiente cogerían a los soldados a pie y sedientos, porque ellos beben agua en pozos hondos, y que los soldados no saben los aguajes. Y que de esta manera los cogerían cansados y dormidos y que los flecharían. Esta [es] la amenaza que hicieron los salineros a los tepocas.

Así mismo les pregunté que si sabían que si otros indios revueltos con dichos salineros habían sido cómplices, me respondieron que un indio, hijo de un viejo llamado Quipati, el día siguiente que les mataron sus parientes, vino a su pueblo y les dijo que no habían sido los salineros solos, que él y su cuñado, llamado Fachicumin [?], sabían muy bien los que habían venido con los salineros. Y que otro indio cristiano, llamado Lorenzo Casama, sabía lo que había en dichas muertes. Y que el capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor del real y minas y valle de San José de Opodepe, les había tomado su declaración y preguntádoles lo que había en eso. Y esto dieron por respuesta.

A que por medio del dicho gobernador José Germán, les mandé que se estuviesen quietos en su pueblo prosiguiendo en su buena intención, y que yo pasaba a buscar a los que les habían hecho mal, para castigarlos; y que advirtiesen que cuando yo los llamara, fueran con sus armas. A que respondieron que sí, y que ellos sabían los aguajes y entradas y salidas de los salineros. Y por lo consiguiente mandé al dicho gobernador José Germán, que estuviese pronto cuando yo le pidiese alguna gente amiga. A que con mucho gusto, respondió él y los justicias que sí. Y con esto me despedí de los tepocas y tuapas. Tratando de mi viaje, apercibí cincuenta caballos del reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, en cuya presencia amunicioné a los soldados de mi cargo y les pasé muestra el día 31 fin de dicho mes.

El día primero de febrero salí del pueblo de Tuape para el valle de San José de Opodepe en donde hallé al dicho teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra, don Nicolás Linse; a quien con la atención que se observa entre los militares y políticos, me informé del dicho, de lo que había en su jurisdicción. A que me respondió que era cosa muy antigua y acostumbrada entre salineros y tepocas, el matarse; y que ya había hecho alguna diligencia judicial, tomándole su declaración al gobernador del pueblo nuevo de Santa María Magdalena, la cual le pedí, para que conste haber

hecho las diligencias necesarias. Y sacada de su original dicha declaración, su tenor es como se sigue:

En el pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, en 23 días del mes de noviembre de 1699 años, yo el capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra, en este valle y su jurisdicción, hice parecer ante mí a José, gobernador de dicho pueblo y a los demás justicias. Y habiéndoles preguntado que qué causa o motivo tuvieron los seris de venirlos a matar, dijo el gobernador y los demás justicias que no sabían qué motivo tuvieron dichos seris de venir a matarlos; sólo si sería por antiguas pasiones y guerras que había entre dichos tepocas y seris. Y que por las flechas que habían hallado, conocieron ser de una de tres rancherías de seris salineros gentiles que están entre el Pit[i]quín y Santa María del Pópulo en la ranchería del Medio. Y dicho gobernador y sus justicias dicen, que andando buscando los rastros de vuelta a su pueblo, hallaron un indio seri y a una india seri que juzgando ser espías de dichos salineros, los amarraron. Y queriéndolos llevar a la real justicia, se trabó un indio seri con el que llevaba él preso y le flechó, quien viéndose herido, mató al preso. Y que fueron los flechados y muertos cuatro, y de los seris fueron muertos dos. Y que esto es la verdad. Y esto puse por diligencia, actuando como juez receptor, con los testigos infrascritos de que doy fe.

Don Nicolás Linse, juez receptor
Testigo, Juan de Casaos [?; Casados]
Testigo, Juan de las Rivas Salazar

El día 2 de febrero de dicho año en el pueblo de Opodepe, tuve razón que se hallaba en la estancia de Mer[es]ichi, el dicho indio mencionado en la declaración del gobernador José de los tepocas, llamado Lorenzo Casama. Despaché tres soldados a dicha estancia para que trajesen al dicho Casama, y habiendo llegado los dichos soldados a la estancia, no hallaron; sólo sí, les dijeron los vaqueros de dicha estancia, que se había ido a Santa María del Pópulo, y que la mujer del dicho estaba en el pueblo de Tuape en casa del alcalde de dicho pueblo, que es su compadre.

Y habiendo tenido razón de que el dicho Casama sabía que yo le buscaba, salí de dicho pueblo de Opodepe para el de Nacameri, adonde me informé de un indio llamado Francisco, natural de Santa María del Pópulo, que había hablado con el dicho Casama, y que le dijo que tenía miedo a los soldados y a los seris de Santa María del Pópulo, y que aunque eran sus parientes, eran muy habladores. Y con esta razón desde este dicho pueblo, hoy 3 de dicho mes, despaché otros tres compañeros con orden que lo buscasen y trajesen a buen recaudo, que en este dicho pueblo los aguardaría. Y el día 4 del corriente volvieron los dichos tres soldados sin el dicho Casama, quienes hicieron las diligencias necesarias, y no hallaron más razón de que se había ido al pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo a verse con el padre rector Adamo Gilg.

Y estando en esto, llegaron tres indios de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues, pidiéndome que les hiciese justicia contra los que le habían muerto a su padre y a sus parientes, a quienes pregunté que si sabían quiénes eran los matadores. Respondieron que no los conocían, que sólo vieron otro día—día que siguieron el rastro de los agresores—que llegó el rastro hasta el pueblo de los Angeles, y que la gente de dicho pueblo no puede dejar de saber quiénes fueron. Y viendo que no daban más razón que lo referido, les mandé hacer noche en dicho pueblo, y que irían conmigo a Santa María del Pópulo, y que haría las diligencias para castigar los matadores.

El día 5 de dicho mes, salí del pueblo de Nacameri para el de [pueblo] de Santa María del Pópulo, y [e] hice noche tres leguas antes de llegar al dicho pueblo. El día 6 de dicho mes, como a las nueve del día, llegué al pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo donde me recibieron los justicias de dicho pueblo, con toda su gente en dos filas, habiendo puesto muchos arcos y cruces hasta la casa de comunidad. Y habiendo llegado me dieron la obediencia, y les mandé a los justicias que juntaran toda su gente para ver los que faltaban, que yo sabía cuántos eran todos ellos. Y habiéndose juntado, comencé a llamarlos por una nómina y vi de que faltaban diez familias. Y preguntando al gobernador y a los demás justicias por ellos, me respondieron que todos esos se habían huido, así que tuvieron noticia que yo iba con una escuadra de soldados y porque se hallaban culpados por ladrones de vacas. Y en los que había presentes en dicho pueblo, castigué con azotes a los que los justicias de dicho pueblo acusaban por ladrones y a otro, indio que había dejado a su mujer cristiana y cogido una gentil, al cual habiéndole [dado] una vuelta de azotes, le entregó el reverendo padre Adamo Gilg a su legítima mujer.

Y dicho día llegaron a dicho pueblo todos los justicias de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues con más [de] treinta indios armados con arco y flechas, pidiéndome que les hiciese justicia castigando a los que mataron al fiscal mayor de su dicho pueblo; que aunque ellos no sabían ciertamente quiénes eran los agresores, que fácilmente se podía saber, porque ellos siguieron los rastros hasta dentro del pueblo de los Angeles, y que los de dicho pueblo no podrían dejar de saber quiénes fueron. Y esta razón dieron todos juntos, ofreciéndose a ayudar a buscar a los que los del pueblo de los Angeles culparan.

El día 7 de dicho mes y año mandé parecer ante mí al gobernador del pueblo de los Angeles llamado Manuel Lirón, a quien por medio del intérprete nombrado, que lo es, y ha sido juramentado de hacer bien y fielmente el oficio de intérprete, un indio llamado Tomás Basilio, les pregunté que sabían de las muertes que habían hecho en los cocomacagues, que si sabían quiénes eran los matadores. Que respondieron que no sabían quiénes lo habían hecho; lo que sí vio él y todos los justicias, fueron las flechas de un indio gentil conocido llamado Astcuimel, y que los rastros de los que hicieron las muertes pasaron por junto a su pueblo, y que no vieron otra cosa. Sólo sí, habían oído de otros indios que este dicho Astcuimel, acompañado de otros tres salineros, había hecho las muertes en los indios cocomacagues en venganza de que los del Pit[i]quín habían muerto a la mujer del dicho Astcuimel. Y esto dieron por respuesta.

A [lo] que determiné dicho día 7 del corriente salir a buscar las dichas diez familias que faltaban de la gente de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo y ver si hallaba algunos de los matadores. Y llevé en mi compañía todos los justicias de Santa María del Pópulo y los de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues y treinta dichos que se ofrecieron a ir conmigo. Y habiendo caminado cuatro leguas llegué a un valle que llaman Chupisonora donde hallé una ranchería de veinticinco personas, chico y grande, y entre ellos al dicho gentil Astcuimel; al cual, con otro que cogió sus armas para resistirse y otro ladrón de ganado y caballos, los puse amarrados y a buen recaudo. Y por haber cerrado ya la noche, los saqué a buen paraje para velarlos esa noche, como lo hice hasta el día siguiente que se contaron 8 de dicho mes, de donde los despaché bien asegurados, con dos compañeros de guardia y veinte indios amigos, al pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo.

Y yo con los demás indios amigos y ocho compañeros, pasé a buscar la demás gente que faltaba de las diez familias atrás referidas, que tuve razón que en una ranchería nombrada Jotobavi estaba un indio mencionado llamado Lorenzo Casama,

en compañía de otro llamado Abate el cual, por aviso que tuvo de otro que desde lejos me divisó, se huyeron los de la ranchería y el dicho Casama con ellos. Y proseguí sobre el mucho rastro de gente y caballada, y como dos leguas hacia la parte del poniente hallé otra ranchería de seris salineros, y entre ellos, dos indios cristianos de Santa María del Pópulo a los cuales traje conmigo. Y a cosa de dos leguas hice noche de donde salí el día 9 de dicho mes, y llegué al pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo, adonde castigué con azotes a los huidos y ladrones que traje de dichas rancherías. Y los entregué al gobernador Lirón del pueblo nuevo de los Angeles a quien pertenecían dichos huidos.

El día 10 de dicho mes hice parecer ante mí a Cornelio, gobernador de Santa María del Pópulo, al cual debajo del juramento acostumbrado que lo hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la Señal de la Cruz, prometió de decir verdad en lo que le fuera preguntado. Y siéndole preguntado, que si conocía aquellos dos, dos indios que yo tenía presos, y que qué sabía de ellos, dijo que conocía al más grande que se llamaba Astcuimel, y que él era el que flechó al fiscal mayor de los cocomacagues y a otros tres de dichos cocomacagues, acompañado de otros tres salineros, por causa de que los pimas de la ranchería de Pit[i]quín le mataron a este dicho Astcuimel a su mujer y un hijo suyo; y que por vengarse de los del Pit[i]quín y como vio que despoblaron dicha ranchería, fue y mató al mayor de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues. Y que esto es lo que sabe, y la verdad en que se afirmó y ratificó, diciendo que no era su pariente y que no tiene que decir más de él.

Dicho día mes y año, hice parecer ante mí al gobernador del pueblo nuevo de los Angeles llamado Manuel Lirón, quien con la misma solemnidad del juramento, prometió decir verdad en lo que le fuera preguntado. Y siéndole preguntado que si conocía al dicho Astcuimel y que qué sabía de él, que dijese lo que supiera; a que respondió que sí lo conocía, y que el dicho era uno de los que mataron al fiscal mayor de los cocomacagues en venganza de los pimas del Pit[i]quín [que] le mataron a su mujer. Y que aunque habían ido otros tres con el dicho Astcuimel, que no los conocía, que sólo a este dicho conocía. Y que esto es la verdad y que no sabe más. Y en esto se afirmó y ratificó, diciendo que no era su pariente.

Y dicho día, mes y año hice parecer ante mí al dicho Astcuimel, quien por ser incapaz de la solemnidad del juramento, le pregunté que si sabía por qué lo tenía yo preso. Y dijo que ya sabía él que había de morir, por que él y otros tres indios salineros mataron al fiscal mayor de los cocomacagues. Y preguntándole que por qué causa lo mató, dijo que estando cerca de la ranchería del Pit[i]quín, durmiendo una noche, vinieron los de dicha ranchería y le flecharon a su mujer y otro hijo suyo. Y que al día siguiente se despobló dicha ranchería. Y como no halló a los de esta dicha ranchería, fue una noche con otros indios gentiles llamados Nomiil, y otro Xeselxasimt, y el otro Astquil, y no halló más ocasión para vengarse que al fiscal mayor de dicho pueblo durmiendo, y a su mujer y a un hijo suyo, y a otros dos que estaban cerca del dicho fiscal mayor. Y que él y sus compañeros tiraron flechas a un tiempo y que a los gritos de los flechados echaron a huir, porque no se juntaran sus parientes y los mataran a ellos. Y que no tuvo otro motivo para matarlos más que ser pimas como los del Pit[i]quín. Y que ésta es la verdad; y así que él sabía que había de morir, y que lo bautizasen, que quería morir como cristiano para ir a ver a Dios. Y esto dio por respuesta.

En 11 días del mes de febrero del año de 1700, yo, el dicho alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, habiendo examinado los testigos suficientes, debajo de toda la solemnidad del juramento, contra este dicho Astcuimel, y haberlo el mismo reo

declarado y confesado, llanamente, sin extorsión ninguna, para el ejemplar de los demás, mandé a los infantes de mi cargo que sacasen a este dicho Astcuimel a vista de todo el pueblo y lo arcabuceasen. Lo cual se ejecutó dicho día como a las diez, habiendo recibido el agua del Santo Bautismo que se la echó el padre rector Adamo Gilg, asistiéndole y exhortándole hasta que murió en presencia de los querellantes y de los de Santa María del Pópulo, a quienes por medio del dicho intérprete di nuevos tlatoles, mandándoles que no tuviesen guerras ni que se vengaran unos a otros por su mano sino que acudiesen a su gobernador para que lo castigase o diese cuenta a la real justicia. Y para que conste lo puse por diligencia dicho día, mes y año.

En dicho día despaché dos soldados con una carta para el padre Melchor de Bartiromo, al partido de Cucurpe, enviándole a pedir nueva remesa de caballos, enviándole los que se me habían maltratado en las corredurías atrás mencionadas, así mismo, bastimento. Y que dichos soldados trajesen la gente amiga que dejé citados a los justicias tepocas y tuapas, para la persecución de los demás agresores y visita a los salineros. Y para dicho fin ha sido preciso detenerme en este dicho pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo de 11 del corriente mes, hasta que volviesen los dichos compañeros y soldados.

En 16 días del mes de febrero de dicho año llegaron a este pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo los dos soldados con setenta indios tepocas amigos, veinte indios tuapas, y ocho cargas de bastimentos y treinta caballos de refresco que me envió el padre Melchor de Bartiromo para la visita de los salineros. Así mismo los dos dichos soldados me trajeron a buen recaudo al dicho Lorenzo Casama, motor en las muertes que hicieron a los tepocas; que lo apresó el gobernador José Germán, del pueblo de Tuape, por encargo que yo le había hecho del dicho. Y hallándose los dos dichos soldados en el pueblo de Tuape, les escribió el gobernador José Germán, avisándoles se retuvieran para entregarles al dicho Casama, como lo entregó. Y dichos soldados lo trajeron a mi presencia, donde luego que llegó, le tomé su declaración y confesó, sin extorsión de tormento, haber flechado por su mano a un indio llamado José, del pueblo de Santa María Magdalena, por causa que llevaban los justicias de dicho pueblo, un sobrino suyo amarrado. Y que por quitarlo se trabó con los dichos justicias y un topile flechó al preso, y que él entonces flechó al dicho José y lo mató. Y que él no lo tenía por delito, porque él ya se había confesado y metido en la iglesia y que le parecía estar libre ya de lo que hizo.

Y preguntándole que por qué se había ido del pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo, respondió que él no se había ido de miedo, sino que había ido a llamar un pariente suyo, el cual no quiso decir quién era. Y preguntándole que quiénes le habían acompañado cuando flechó a José tepoca, dijo que él solo. Y preguntándole que si sabía quiénes fueron a flechar a los tepocas dentro del pueblo, respondió que los principales matadores eran gentiles salineros de la ranchería del Medio. Y por los nombres chichimecos los nombró, y son los siguientes: Imimasli, Amcanononcusi, Amacusasaqq, Caialg, Xapcuxssi, Sefluy, y otro que no supo su nombre, dijo que era hijo de un indio llamado Xatalcamassaca; que por todos son siete principales en esta ranchería del Medio. Que agregados a estos vinieron otros muchos que él no conocía; y que no conocía más, ni sabía otra cosa. Y preguntándole que por qué motivo habían venido hacer las muertes, respondió que era antigua pasión y guerras que tenían esos salineros y tepocas, y que no sabía otra cosa; en que se afirmó y ratificó y dio por respuesta.

Dicho día, mes y año hice parecer ante mí a los justicias de Santa María

Magdalena que se hallaban en dicho pueblo del Pópulo, a quienes debajo de todo cargo, por ser incapaces de juramento, les pregunté por medio del intérprete nombrado que si conocían al dicho Lorenzo Casama, o que si sabían de él alguna cosa. A que respondieron que allí estaba presente el topile que llevaba al indio preso, quien ellos habían cogido pensando ser espía de los salineros. Y que el dicho Casama se trabó con otro indio José del pueblo de Santa María Magdalena, mandándole que soltara al preso, y el dicho José, viendo la instancia que el dicho Casama le hacía, flechó al preso y lo mató, y que entonces el Casama flechó al dicho José. Y que ésta es la verdad y que todo los de su pueblo lo conocen y que saben esto. Y así que pues el dicho Casama lo confesaba, que lo castigase para ejemplar de los demás y que ellos no trataran de tener venganza de sus enemigos por su mano, sino que la justicia lo castigase. Y que esto pedían todos ellos, que así quedarían consolados en ver castigado al dicho Casama por motor de esta muerte, y otras que el dicho ha acompañado [a] hacer con otros, y esto dieron por respuesta.

Y yo, dicho alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, el día 17, habiendo examinado los testigos contra el dicho Casama, y visto que le condenaban en primera y segunda vez por matador y motor de muertes que en diferentes ocasiones se habían hecho por su orden, y que había, entre los salineros tepocas cristianos, muchos querellantes que pedían ante mí invoque que lo ahorcase, así por merecerlo su delito, como para el ejemplo de los demás, mandé a los infantes de mi cargo que lo sacasen a vista del pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo y lo arcabuceasen en presencia de todos los de dicho pueblo y tepocas y de los de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues. Lo cual habiendo confesado y a voces pedido perdón, así a los tepocas, como a los del dicho pueblo del Santa María del Pópulo, por haberles dado mal ejemplo, ejecutaron mi orden.

Y luego incontinente en el mismo lugar les di nuevos tlatoles, advirtiéndoles que les sirviese de ejemplo ver aquel indio muerto. Que Dios Nuestro Señor, y nuestro rey que Dios guarde, manda [*sic*] castigar al malo [ilegible] [con] aquella suerte. Y así que cesen sus guerras y se estén quietos en sus pueblos, y que hagan sus casas, siembren sus tierras, obedezcan a su gobernador, respeten y acaten a su padre ministro, que lo es el padre rector Adamo Gilg, quien asistió al dicho ajusticiado. Y de su parte les hizo otra plática de que quedaron muy tiernos y ofreciendo vivir bien en adelante. Y para que conste puse esto por diligencia dicho día, mes y año.

En 18 del mes de febrero del año de 1700, salí de este pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo en compañía del padre rector Adamo Gilg y cien indios amigos: tepocas, tuapas, y cocomacagues, en persecución de los salineros del poniente. Y dicho día llegué al pueblo de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues en donde me recibieron los justicias y demás gente de dicho pueblo en dos filas. Y habiendo llegado me dieron la obediencia y muchas gracias por haber castigado al que mató a su pariente, y ofreciendo el no tener guerras con ellos ni otros ningunos; lo cual les mandé nuevamente: que se estuviesen quietos en su pueblo y que se hiciesen amigos con los tepocas que yo llevaba conmigo, a lo cual respondieron muy gustosos que así lo harían. Y luego al instante comenzaron a dar de sus comidas a los tepocas en señal de paz.

Y en dicho pueblo hice noche. Y otro día que se contaron 19 de dicho mes salí de dicho pueblo para la ranchería del Pit[i]quín, la cual hallé despoblada. Y pregunté al gobernador del pueblo de los cocomacagues por la gente de dicha ranchería, y me dijo que de temor de los seris salineros se había [ido] mucha parte de ellos a un

cerro grande que llaman del Mescale que dista de dicha ranchería dieciseis leguas según tantearon por el sol. Y que la demás gente cristiana estaban con él en su pueblo. A que le mandé al dicho gobernador que los llamase a su pueblo y de mi parte les dijese que no se anduviesen en los cerros, sino que viviesen juntos en un lugar; que yo los ampararía y defendería de los que quisieran hacerles mal, con tal de que se bautizasen y [e] hicieran su pueblo.

Y en dicho paraje y ranchería hice noche de donde salí, otro día que se contaron 20 de dicho mes, para el poniente llevando por camino la vega del río que sale por los Ures. Y habiendo caminado como nueve leguas, paré y [e] hice noche en dicho río, porque en adelante no había agua para la caballada.

Veintiuno, y habiendo caminado diez leguas, llegué a un pozo que había en dicho río, y habiendo visto rastros de indios de a pie y a caballo, me fue preciso hacer alto y poner el real inmediato al dicho pozo. Y salí con cuatro compañeros y seis indios amigos, los más ligeros, en seguimiento de aquellos rastros frescos. Y habiéndolos seguido una legua, hallé un indio salinero que estaba rancheado con otras tres personas: su mujer, un viejo, y otro hijo suyo, los cuales al tropel de nuestras cabalgaduras se huyeron a un monte de abrojos inmediato a su rancho, donde quedó solo un indio, al parecer de edad de treinta y seis años, con un hijo suyo pequeño de edad de tres años. Y el cual dicho indio, luego que me vio ir hacia donde él [e]staba fue tomando las armas y amenazando a tirar. De que le empezamos a hablar y a llamar se llenó más [de] enojo según mostró, pues comenzó a tirarnos flechas. Y yo mandé a los compañeros que fueron conmigo que se guardasen de él y que no lo matasen, que sería bien el cogerlo para que nos diera razón. Y por bastantes jaras que tiró el dicho indio no se le hizo daño ninguno, hasta que viendo que no se quería dar, ni que le entendían lo que hablaba dando gritos, despaché al real a llamar un seri para que le hablase.

Y luego que llegó, le habló el dicho seri, mandándole que soltara las armas y viniese donde yo estaba, lo cual hizo el dicho indio, pidiéndome que le perdonase, que él pensaba que yo iba a matarlo y que por eso tiraba a espantarnos. A que le pregunté que si era cristiano y respondió que no. Y preguntándole que dónde estaba toda la gente, respondió que no sabía donde estaba, que es verdad que había tres días que están ellos celebrando una fiesta y vino una indina, la hija del primer justicia, y les dijo que iban los soldados con mucha gente a matarlos, y que a su padre de ella le habían muerto los soldados, y que con esta razón se desparramaron todos. Y que él pensando que no lo hallaran los españoles, se había quedado en aquel rancho, y lo otro porque él no ha hecho mal a nadie. Y esto dio por respuesta.

A que le dije y le di a entender que yo iba sólo a sacar los malos que había entre ellos y a ver su modo de vivir, que yo no iba hacer mal a los salineros, sino a hablarles de paz, no por miedo que tenía de ellos, sino para que se hiciesen cristianos y que no se los llevara el diablo. Y así que advirtiese que yo le perdonaba en nombre de su majestad, que bien merecía el que yo mandara a un soldado, lo matara de un arcabuzazo, pero que le perdonaba sólo porque fuera a juntar y a llamar toda la gente.

A que respondió que la demás gente estaría en una isla que pasan ellos en balsas de carrizo, que así lo dijeron cuando tuvieron la noticia que iban los soldados, diciendo que fuéramos a sacarlos de allá, pero que iría a buscar los otros. Que los que se fueron a la isla son muy malos, ladrones y matadores, que esos son altaneros, que por tiempos van a sus tierras de ellos, y que los salineros se habían apartado de ellos, diciendo que los soldados ciertamente habían de ir a buscar [a] aquellos, y

que si los hallaban juntos, que pudiera ser que los matasen a todos. Y que por eso se habían escondido. Y así que fuera un indio de Santa María del Pópulo con él para que sus parientes lo creyesen y que vinieran sin miedo. Para lo cual con el parecer del padre rector Adamo Gilg y de los más compañeros se lo concedí, yendo en su compañía el indio que pidió. Dejándonos el dicho indio informados de aguaje y pasto para la caballada.

El siguiente día que se contaron 22 de dicho mes, desde el dicho paraje despaché otro indio topile del pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo a llamar al gobernador de los salineros; al cual en señal de paz le envié una cruz blanca y que viniese con toda, sin temor ninguno, que pasaba a ver el mar, y que al siguiente día había de volver y que me hallaría en dicho paraje. Y habiendo despachado al dicho alcalde, salí de dicho paraje con siete soldados y treinta indios amigos en compañía del reverendo Adamo Gilg. Y habiendo caminado doce leguas, llegamos al mar a las dos de la tarde. Y por la playa que hallé, vimos rastros de indios que habían venido a coger agua a un pozo de agua dulce que está en la orilla del mar como cosa de un tiro de arcabuz adonde paré la demás gente.

Y yo con tres compañeros salí por la orilla del mar dando vuelta a una sierrecilla pequeña que tiene al parecer una legua de largo; desde la cumbre de ella vi un puerto muy bueno, abrigado del norte. Y mas adentro como [a] media legua, un peñol que a la vista tiene legua y media en contorno y una isleta que sale de él, que tendrá de largo como dos carreras de caballo. Así mismo, hacia la parte del oriente, sale un estero que a la vista tiene de largo como cinco leguas. Así mismo se divisa mas adentro hacia la parte del sur, un cerro grande que dista de tierra dos leguas al parecer. Y a trechos, se divisan otros cerrillos en la misma derechera. La tierra de aquella costa es estéril de pasto, y por las doce leguas que caminamos desde el paraje donde dejé el [al] reverendo, no hallé más que un aguaje de agua dulce que dista del mar ocho leguas y algunas lagunetas salobres, [que] desde dicha sierrecilla de la otra banda del estero parece ser señalar mejor terreno de pastos y arboledas. Y por ser ya tarde, me volví al real adonde había dejado al dicho padre rector, y [e] hice noche en dicho pozo.

Otro día que se contaron 23 de dicho mes, salimos de vuelta y fue el padre rector Adamo Gilg a ver el dicho puerto, y asegura que es el puerto donde abordó el padre Eusebio Francisco Kino cuando estuvo en la California. Y después de haber reconocido el dicho puerto, salí vía recta para donde dejé el real, que dista del mar doce leguas. Y habiendo llegado, hallé al dicho alcalde que había ido con el gentil a llamar a los salineros, y me dijo que no había hallado gente, que toda se había ido al mar, y que el dicho gentil que fue con él no quiso volver. Así mismo lo restante del día estuve esperando al otro topile que envié a llamar al gobernador de los salineros.

Y hice noche en dicho paraje de donde salí el día 20 [*sic*] de febrero de vuelta para Santa María del Pópulo. Y hallé que todos los indios de dicho pueblo habían empezado a hacer sus casas y estaban actualmente haciéndolas. A los cuales junté nuevamente y les di a entender de mi ida al mar, y que advirtiesen que yo, y todos los soldados quienes habían ido conmigo, ya sabíamos la tierra de los salineros; y que si ellos obran mal, había de volver con mucha más gente y que no había de salir de su tierra hasta acabarlos. Y que yo no había ido a buscar a otros, sino a los que les hacían mal a los cristianos, y así que en adelante no consintieran hacer maldades. A que respondieron dichos justicias y nuevo gobernador Francisco Santiago que así se lo darían a entender a los salineros.

Y para que conste lo puse por diligencia, firmándolo con los testigos infrascritos, día, mes y año.

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Bartolomé de Barrios

En 28 días del mes de febrero del año de 1700 años, salí del pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo para el partido de Cucurpe, misión del reverendo padre Melchor Bartiromo. Y habiendo salido por el valle que llaman Chupisonora, recorriendo y buscando alguna gente forajida, llegué dicho día a un paraje que llaman Jotovabi como a las ocho de la noche, en donde hice noche; de donde salí el día primero [*sic*] de marzo de dicho año, y llegué con mis compañeros y soldados de mi cargo al pueblo de Tuape en donde dejé el real. Y dicho día pasé con dos soldados, a la ligera, al pueblo de Cucurpe, donde hallé al reverendo padre Melchor Bartiromo, ministro doctrinero de dicho pueblo, para comunicar con su reverencia el orden de mi gobernador para la reducción de los tepocas salineros. Y ofreció su reverencia que para dicho fin, fomentaría con los bastimentos necesarios, así para los dichos tepocas, como para los soldados de mi cargo.

El día 2 de dicho mes, fuimos de acuerdo, el reverendo padre Melchor y yo, de despachar dos indios tepocas, a los del pueblo nuevo del Santa María Magdalena con una cruz en señal de paz, a los salineros tepocas, diciéndoles que yo iba a sacarlos de las costas donde estaban y a traerlos al pueblo de Santa María Magdalena para que viviesen con sus parientes, y para que se bautizasen sus hijos, y que yo sabía que había muchos cristianos entre ellos. Y así, que en nombre de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su majestad que Dios guarde, les ofrecía paz, como se viniesen con los dichos indios embajadores que yo y el reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo enviamos. Y que yo salía el día 4 de corriente para que dichos embajadores tuvieran tiempo de llegar a dicha costa, y pudiesen venir a toparse con mi campo en el paraje de Aguas Frías donde los aguardaría, hasta que volviesen. Y con estos tlatoles y bien aviados de cabalgaduras, despaché a los dichos indios el día primero de marzo, que el uno de ellos es el fiscal mayor de dicho pueblo, y otro pariente suyo.

Y habiendo despachado dichos embajadores, hice alto en dicho pueblo con los soldados de mi cargo, desde dicho día hasta el día 4 de dicho mes, así por refrescar la caballada, como por dar tiempo a dichos embajadores para que no faltasen al tiempo señalado para el dicho paraje de Aguas Frías. Parador de donde salí dicho día de este presente año de 1700, de dicho pueblo de Cucurpe, con quince soldados de mi cargo, para las costas del poniente con cincuenta caballos de refresco y cuatro cargas de bastimentos. Y habiendo caminado seis leguas, llegué a un paraje que llaman el cerro de la Estrella donde hice noche. El siguiente día que se contaron 5 de dicho mes, en dicho paraje, pasé muestra de armas a los soldados de mi cargo, y hallándolos todos prontos y bien amunicionados, proseguí marchando. Y habiendo caminado como cinco leguas, hice alto en un jagüey de agua llovediza para la caballada. Y habiendo pasado en dicho paraje la fuerza del sol, proseguí mi derrota. Y habiendo caminado cuatro leguas, llegué a un pozo de agua que hace en unas peñuelas donde no pudo beber agua la caballada.

El día 6 de dicho mes, salí de dichas peñuelas y caminé todo el día hasta las cuatro de la tarde que llegué a un arroyo de agua donde hice alto. El día 7 de dicho

mes, en dicho arroyo persistí en repastar y refrescar la caballada, que llegó cansada a dicho arroyo, que dista quince leguas del paraje de peñuelas. El día 8 de dicho mes, salí de dicho arroyo que le pusimos por nombre Santo Domingo y llegué a las diez del día al paraje nombrado Aguas Frías donde cité a los dichos embajadores, donde fue preciso parar dentro del mismo arroyo encajonado, por la conveniencia de tener cerca el agua, y pasto, y leña, y estar inmediatas dos cuevas para poder defender las armas de una lluvia que amenazaba el tiempo. Y dicho día hice noche en dicho paraje.

El día 9 del dicho mes en dicho paraje hice alto, esperando los dos embajadores y recorriendo entradas y salidas de dicho aguaje. Y habiendo reconocido, que no había otro paraje a propósito de agua y pastos para la caballada, determiné hacer real en dicho paraje adonde cité dichos embajadores. Y dicho día 9 de marzo, mediado el cuarto de prima, dio voces la centinela, diciendo que cogiéramos las armas porque de la otra parte del arroyo nos tiraban flechas. Y levantándonos con las armas prontamente, disparó un compañero hacia la parte que venían las flechas, a lo que cesaron luego. Y mandé que todos estuviesen prontos, con sus armas y caballos, lo restante de la noche.

Y habiendo amanecido el día 10 de[l] corriente, salí con una escuadra recorriendo y cruzando la tierra, buscando los rastros de los del rebato. Y no hallé más que tres rastros que vinieron a mi real, y volvieron para la parte del poniente, dejando por señal dos flechas clavadas, encontradas de ida y vuelta, dando a entender que habían venido de propósito a ello y que habían hecho daño. Y habiendo seguido dichos rastros cuatro leguas, y viendo que me iba remontando por lo muy áspero de una y otra sierra, y llevar las cabalgaduras ya fatigadas, me volví como a las dos de la tarde a mudar el real.

Y habiendo llegado, hallé que los compañeros y algunos indios tepocas que fueron en mi compañía habían hallado dieciseis flechas. Y por ellas conocieron a sus dueños, nombrándolos por sus nombres chichimecos, que son los siguientes: Lmimasli, Amcanovincussi, Amacussassaca, Pini, y otro hijo de un indio llamado Guepague, el [al] otro no conocieron, que fueron seis los agresores. Y proponiéndoles yo a los dichos amigos tepocas que no eran más que tres rastros los que habían venido, respondieron que eran seis; que por no hacer muchos rastros venían pisándose los unos a los otros. Y con esta noticia, informado que fueron los seris del Medio, dispuse el esperar los embajadores y la gente que envié a llamar, y después que hubiesen venido, solicitar el castigo en estos del rebato; para cuyo fin dicho día mudé el real a mejor sitio en el mismo aguaje.

El día 11 de dicho mes en dicho paraje, despaché una escuadra a recorrer la tierra. Y habiéndola recorrido, volvieron como a las tres de la tarde y no hallaron más que los dichos tres rastros. Y dicho día despaché dos compañeros al partido de Cucurpe, al padre Melchor de Bartiromo, para que me enviase treinta caballos de refresco y cinco cargas de bastimentos y que viniesen veinte tepocas amigos.

El día 12 de dicho mes llegaron los dos correos a este dicho real de Aguas Frías, y me dieron cuenta cómo venían cuarenta personas del mar, hombres, mujeres, y muchachos con el gobernador de dicha costa. Y pregunté a los dos correos que qué número de gente había en el mar, me respondió que había mucha y que los que quedaban allá, le parecía que no vendrían a mi llamada porque eran algunos viejos que dificultaban el camino. Y que las cuarenta personas que venían llegarían el día 13.

Y dicho día 13 de dicho mes, salí a topar dicha gente como dos leguas de mi real; adonde me dieron la obediencia el gobernador y un capitán cristiano llamado Miguel y toda su gente; a los cuales traje en mi compañía hasta mi real y les repartí bastimentos. Y preguntando al dicho gobernador si había agua para la caballada en dicho camino, para que yo pudiera ir a sacar la demás gente que quedaba, me respondió que no; a que dispuse dicho día despachar dos indios de la misma costa, que el uno fue el dicho capitán Miguel, a llamarlos con nuevos tlatoles, advirtiéndoles que ya había muchos días que yo estaba esperándoles en dicho paraje y que allí me había de estar hasta que todos viniesen, y que de no venir había yo de ir a sacarlos a la dicha costa, que yo y mis soldados y mi caballada sabíamos caminar cinco y seis días sin comer ni beber y así que viniesen luego al instante. Y dándoles bastimentos al dicho capitán y a otro compañero, lo despaché. Y quedé en dicho paraje esperando el día corriente y el día 15.

El día 16 de dicho mes llegaron a dicho real los dos compañeros que había despachado por caballada y bastimento, quienes me trajeron treinta caballos de refresco y cinco cargas de bastimento, que todo lo dicho me envió el padre Melchor de Bartiromo quien con mucha liberalidad me ofreció que pidiese todo lo que fuera necesario para acabar de agregar dicha gente. Y dicho día llegó el indio que acompañó al dicho capitán Miguel, diciendo que no querían venir porque tenían flojera al camino y que había muchas viejas y viejos, y alguna gente que no habían visto en su vida españoles.

Y con este aviso, luego otro día que se contaron 17, salí para el mar con doce compañeros y treinta indios tepocas y algunos de los que habían llegado de dicha costa. Y habiendo caminado como cuatro leguas, hice noche inmediato a un pozo para donde me guiaron los mismos salineros tepocas, habiendo llevado bateas prevenidas para dar agua a las bestias, y hallamos que no había.

Otro día que se contaron 18 de dicho mes, habiendo caminado como cinco leguas, llegamos a un pozo de agua dulce donde tomó la gente un refresco y dimos a algunas bestias agua en las bateas, y proseguimos caminando. Y habiendo caminado quince leguas, como a las cuatro de la tarde, llegamos a un embudo y charcos de agua que hacía en unas peñas tendidas donde hice noche.

Y el día 19 proseguí caminando, y a seis leguas de distancia llegué al mar donde vi que acababan de despoblar una ranchería de buen porte. Y en dicha ranchería hallé un pozo de agua dulce que dista del mar un tiro de piedra, donde por dar agua la caballada, hice real. Y salí con seis compañeros rastreando por toda la playa cosa de dos leguas. Me volví porque ya cerraba la noche, y despaché al mayor tepoca llamado Cornelio en seguimiento de dichos rastros y que les hablara que me aguardasen donde los alcanzara. Y habiendo llegado al real, hallé que habían dado los compañeros agua a toda la caballada en la propia orilla del mar en un vivero de agua dulce que descubrió, así que bajó la mar. Y estando en esto llegó el dicho fiscal mayor Cornelio, y me dijo que había alcanzado una ranchería de dieciseis personas, y que para asegurarlas había dejado con ellos un pariente suyo.

Y el día 20 del corriente mes, salí del mar y paraje del pozo con el dicho fiscal mayor, y a cosa de cuatro leguas hallé la dicha ranchería, la cual con los tlatoles y recaudos que en mi nombre les dió el dicho fiscal, me dieron la obediencia, a los cuales pregunté por la demás gente. Y me respondieron que el capitán Miguel los llevaba ya, y que aquella noche le hicieron correo para que me aguardase toda la gente. Y luego al punto levanté esta dicha ranchería, y caminando ya de vuelta

para mi real de Aguas Frías; como a cinco leguas, hallé en un arroyo que estaba la demás gente, junta en un pozo de agua dulce donde me estaban esperando. Y habían puesto muchas cruces por todo el camino por donde yo había de pasar en señal de paz. Cómo luego que llegué, dieron la obediencia. Y después de haberles dado buenos tlatoles, dándoles a entender que no los solicitaba más que porque no se perdieran sus almas y para que vivieran como cristianos. A que respondieron que así lo creían y harían de muy buena voluntad. Y habiendo pasado la fuerza del sol, levanté toda la gente y proseguí caminando. Y a las tres leguas a puestas del sol hice noche sin agua.

El día 21 del corriente mes al salir el sol, junté toda la dicha gente, y les dije que a mí me era preciso el irme delante porque tenía quehacer en mi caballada. Y que porque no había agua y pasto, me adelantaba, y que allí les dejaba a su pariente, el fiscal mayor, que fueran con él. A que respondieron muy gustosos que sí, que ellos iban cargados con sus hijos y ollas de agua y que no podían andar muy aprisa. Y con esto me despedí de ellos y caminé doce leguas hasta llegar a un pozo donde di agua a mi caballada en bateas y [e] hice noche.

El día 22 salí de dicho pozo para mi real. Y habiendo caminado siete leguas, llegué al real y paraje de Aguas Frías donde hallé razón de que había venido el capitán Sooba con sesenta indios flecheros a ver si yo lo había menester. El cual me aguardó tres días y visto que yo no venía, volvió, dejándome muchos recaudos que si lo hubiese menester que vendría con toda puntualidad. Y así mismo hallé que el padre Melchor de Bartiromo me envió nuevo refresco de tres cargas de bastimento.

El día 23 hice alto en dicho paraje esperando la gente, la cual llegó el día 24 y de ellos faltaron ocho personas. Y me enviaron a decir que se quedaban cansadas tres indias preñadas y dos viejas y que los otros tres quedaban con ellos [ellas] para ayudarlos [ayudarlas]; que luego que pariesen, vendrían con toda voluntad como todos sus parientes lo tienen ofrecido.

El día 25 junté en dicho paraje toda la gente y hallé cantidad de ciento y quince almas, chico y grande. Las cuales despaché otro día que se contaron 26 de marzo con tres soldados que los trajeran a Santa María Magdalena y con orden que los entregasen al padre Melchor de Bartiromo por cuenta para que su paterna reverencia los viese y de ellos diera recibo o testimonio como constará.

Y dicho día salí de dicho paraje con treinta y dos indios amigos. Y habiendo caminado cinco leguas, paré y [e] hice noche en un arroyo peñascoso. Y otro día que se contaron 27 de dicho mes, llegué al pueblo viejo de Bacoachi donde hice alto el día 28 y 29; que dicho día llegaron cuatro compañeros más que me vinieron enviados de mi general de socorro, con cuatro cargas de bastimento que me envió el padre Melchor de Bartiromo.

El día treinta de dicho mes salí de Bacoachi para la costa del mar en persecución de los del rebato. Y habiendo caminado tres leguas, por no haber agua adelante, hice alto hasta el refrescar la tarde. Y dicho día en la noche caminé diez leguas y paré a que descansase la gente de a pie lo restante de la noche.

Y el día primero de abril proseguí caminando y a cosa de ocho leguas, llegué al medio día a un jagüey de agua dulce, donde hallé una ranchería despoblada que había [hacía] poco tiempo que habían despoblado, y hallé tres bestias caballares que habían dejado los dichos agresores, las cuales agregué y junté en mi caballada. Y habiendo recorrido una legua, en contorno de dicho jagüey, como a las cuatro de la tarde salí para el mar. Y habiendo caminado parte de la noche, fui a parar en un ojo de agua que hace un carrizalejo, donde me amaneció el día 2 de abril.

Y de allí comencé a recorrer todas las playas de aquel contorno, hallando muchos rastros de a pie y mucha huella de caballada suelta. Y luego incontinente mudé a mejor sitio el real. Y con diez compañeros y veinte indios amigos, salí por una playa hacia la parte del sur, recorriendo. Y hallamos un rancho que tenía hasta diez personas, chico y grande, estando con dos balsas cargadas y prevenidas dentro del agua en un estero inmediato al golfo del mar; y habiéndonos sentido, y visto por la playa el polvo de nuestras cabalgaduras, se tiraron al agua. Y llegando yo con mis diez compañeros y dos indios tepocas que por ligeros llegaron parejo conmigo, nos arrojamos dentro del estero y tan sólamente les apresamos tres piezas de una india parida y otra indisuela de la edad de seis a siete años, y enmedio del estero matamos una vieja que no tuvo lugar de alcanzar las balsas. Asímismo fueron heridos de flechas con yerba los dos balseros. Afuera en la tierra toparon los indios amigos otra india vieja, y la flecharon; que por todos fueron cinco los que cayeron presos y muertos.

Y luego incontinente revolví para donde dejé el real y hallé que los de guardia habían cogido un indio viejo, el cual declaró que había diez días que se habían apartado los salineros de los seris del Medio. Y que habían estado regocijando con bailes las muertes que habían hecho los seris del Medio a los soldados. A que le dije que no habían flechado, herido ni muerto, a ningún soldado ni indio de los que iban conmigo. Si bien, que yo iba a castigar la osadía que tuvieron; y así, que me dijese la verdad. A que respondió, que los indios que fueron al real a flechar, eran conocidos y que siempre hacían mal, y que estos tales son seis motores, que agregan algunos parientes suyos para estas maldades. Y que temiendo el que yo había de buscarlos se habían apartado. Y de estos dichos motores nombrados, según y como los conocieron por sus flechas, cuatro de ellos se habían pasado a la otra banda que hace un brazo de mar, con una ranchería de mujeres, muchachos y parientes suyos; y que dos, con otra ranchería, estaban esperando el sacar una tatema de mescale para pasarse y que otro día se pasasen a la otra banda.

Y con esta razón aseguré al indio bien amarrado y las otras presas. Caminé el dicho día en la noche hasta el amanecer que fue inmediato a la ranchería. Y estando ya a la vista de dicha ranchería, divisaron ellos el polvo de la caballada y despoblaron la ranchería cogiendo una sierra peñascosa donde alcancé y apresé la chusma. Y los indios tepocas amigos flecharon dos muchachos a los cuales mandé que les echasen el agua del Santo Bautismo. Y por muchas diligencias que todos, así los indios amigos como mis compañeros, hicimos, no hallamos por dónde se escaparon estos dos dichos. Y habiendo juntado la chusma en la dicha ranchería, me informé que era cierto lo que el dicho indio viejo me había dicho, y determiné soltar al dicho para que hablase con los salineros que han ofrecido salirse todos de las salinas y [e] ir a hacer pueblo cerca de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, enviándoles a decir que yo había ido sólo a castigar a los que fueron de noche a flecharme el real de mis soldados. Y así que sin temor se fuesen a donde le tienen ofrecido al padre rector Adamo Gilg, y que de no salir, iré a sacarlos, que yo y mis compañeros no habíamos de parar hasta acabar a los seris del Medio, pues ya no quedaban otros porque los tepocas ya están reducidos a pueblo. Y así que pues se lo diría buenamente, se saliesen. Y que haciéndolo así, tendrían paz con los españoles, y yo los defendería de sus enemigos. Y con este recaudo despedí al dicho indio dándole bastimento, de que quedó y se fue muy agradecido.

Y dicho día que se contaron 3 de abril, salí de la dicha isla o brazo de mar que a la vista tiene dos de [*sic*] tres tiros de escopeta; y de la otra parte se ve una sierra que a la vista tiene siete leguas de largo. Y dicen los indios que tienen dos pozos de

agua dulce. Y habiendo caminado siete leguas de vuelta, llegué al dicho jagüey de agua llovediza atrás referido, en donde hice noche.

El día 4 salí en la tarde de dicho paraje y caminé toda la más parte de la noche. Y el día 5 de abril, llegué a un paraje que es donde remata el agua del pueblo viejo de Bacoachi. Y otro día que se contaron 6 de dicho mes, llegué a dicho Bacoachi donde hallé que el padre Melchor de Bartiromo me envió tres cargas de bastimento. Y en dicho paraje estuve dicho día descansando las cabalgaduras, y de allí salí el día 7, vía recta para el pueblo de Cucurpe, haciendo algunas jornadas de camino de parte de noche a donde llegué el día 9 de abril que fue Viernes Santo.

Y hallé al padre Melchor de Bartiromo en la función de la Semana Santa, quien me pidió que por hallarse en dicho pueblo varias naciones de indios aunque los más pimas, que me detuviese en dicho pueblo con mis compañeros por evitar algún motín entre ellos. Y así me detuve desde el día 9 hasta el día 13 de dicho mes, que salí con mis compañeros y soldados al pueblo de Santa María Magdalena a empadronarlos y señalar las tierras para sus siembras, así a los antiguos pobladores, como a los recién agregados, que es número de ciento y siete.

El día 13 del corriente llegué a dicho pueblo de Santa María Magdalena donde he asistido a dichos naturales desde dicho día hasta el día 19 del dicho mes. Y en ellos he visto que en tiempo de seis días han fabricado una iglesia de treinta varas de largo, cercada de palizada clavada muy aseada. Y así mismo tienen hecha una casa pequeña para el dicho padre que los administra, que es el padre Melchor de Bartiromo, quien les ha estado fomentando y en este tiempo les ha dado para la fábrica de dicha iglesia cinco reses y cuatro cargas de harina, trigo y maíz. Y para su pueblo una campana grande, la cual pusieron los dichos indios con mucho aseo en un campanario de palos que a su disposición hicieron los dichos naturales de dicho pueblo nuevo; asistiendo con toda voluntad a lo que pertenece a su pueblo, enseñándose así ellos como sus hijos a rezar para bautizarse como lo hicieron el día 17 de dicho mes que se bautizaron número de noventa y seis almas chico y grande, así de las que saqué de la costa como de las que había ya en dicho pueblo.

Y habiéndolos empadronado por sus nombres uno a uno, hombres, niños y mujeres en número de trescientos setenta y tres como constará por la nómina que queda en poder del reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, su ministro, quien les revalidó según orden de la Santa Iglesia los casamientos naturales que tenían hechos infieles, explicándoles así la doctrina cristiana, como el sacramento del matrimonio, de que quedaron todos ellos muy gustosos, pidiéndole a su padre ministro que pues eran ya cristianos, que les dijese misa en su pueblo, pues ya tenían iglesia y campana, y así que les administrase como a los demás cristianos viejos, que ellos cuidarían que sus hijos aprendiesen la doctrina cristiana, y que les bendijese su pueblo.

Y el día 18 de dicho mes, les celebró misa cantada el reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, saliendo todos en procesión con la imagen de Santa María Magdalena abogada de dicho pueblo, bendiciéndolo todo en contorno el dicho padre Melchor de Bartiromo. Y salí en dicha procesión marchando y haciendo la salva con tiros de arcabuz a la Santa Gloriosa de que quedaron los indios muy agradecidos.

Y acabada la misa y procesión [en] que se halló presente el capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra del valle de San José de Opodepe y su jurisdicción, vinieron a ver al reverendo padre ministro los justicias, a pedirle licencia para festejar aquel día con fiesta de bailes, así de hombres grandes como niños, quienes se iban bailando hasta llegar donde estaba el reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, nombrándolo por su nombre, a los cuales recibía el dicho padre

ministro dando muchas gracias a Dios Nuestro Señor, diciéndoles "alabad niños al Señor que estáis en su gracia," abrazándoles tiernamente, y ellos correspondiendo a los amores de su dicho padre ministro con varios cantos.

Y la gente grande, en su dicho baile se llegaban a donde tenía yo el cuerpo de guardia, y saludaban repetidas veces a los soldados, llamándoles amigos y compañeros como dándoles muchas gracias de que los habían sacado de las tierras inhabitables que habitan sólo gentiles, y sacádolos a pueblo que ya ellos poseían por suyo, y que allí vivirían por Dios y Santa María, que así lo explicó el fiscal mayor de dicho pueblo.

A los cuales, y a todos los de dicho pueblo mandé que diesen la obediencia al dicho capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor, dándoles a entender que era su justicia, a quien habían de obedecer y dar cuenta de todo lo que acaeciera en su dicho pueblo, para que les ayudase si hubieran menester algún socorro contra sus enemigos, y para que castigase al que fuera malo. Y luego al punto dieron la obediencia al rey nuestro señor y a su ministro, quedando en quieta paz, y pacífica posesión de su pueblo y de las tierras que de limosna, con la intervención del general don Isidro Ruiz de Abechuco, alcalde mayor de esta provincia de Sonora, y la del reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, su ministro, les han dado los naturales del pueblo de Tuape y Cucurpe a dichos tepocas, a los cuales les he asistido a su repartimiento de tierras para que adviertan a que se tiene todo cuidado, así del bien espiritual como temporal.

Y así mismo para mayor validación y que hagan mayor fe todas mis diligencias, rogué al dicho capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de este dicho valle y su jurisdicción, se sirviese de darme una certificación y testimonio verdadero de todo lo que ha pasado en su presencia, y como quedan dichos naturales de dicho pueblo en quieta paz y pacífica posesión, y obedientes al rey nuestro señor. Y así mismo al reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, misionero de dicho pueblo, rogué y supliqué que como ministro de aquellos naturales y como tan interesado en el bien de sus almas se sirviese de darme certificación y verdadero testimonio o recibo de la gente, que con los soldados de mi cargo, agregué al dicho su pueblo por orden de mi general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia de Sonora. Lo cual me concedió el reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo de la compañía de Jesús, misionero de dicho pueblo, y el capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de dicha jurisdicción.

Las cuales arrimó a mis autos que es fecho en 19 días del mes de abril de 1700 años. Y para que conste ser verdad las arrimo a fojas a la vuelta de número catorce. Otro sí, por en el número de la gente, entre renglones lo especifico, y son los bautizados ciento ocho, y por todos son los del dicho pueblo trescientos setenta y tres almas. Como llevo referido, constará por las dichas certificaciones que así lo firmé con los testigos infrascritos.

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Bartolomé de Barrios

El reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo de la compañía de Jesús, ministro doctrinero por su majestad de los partidos de Cucurpe, Tuape y Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, certifico y doy fe en la forma que debo y puedo, de cómo hallándose el alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante en este valle de Opodepe por

cabo y caudillo de una escuadra de dieciocho soldados, que trajo de su cargo por orden de su general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia de Sonora, que lo es don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, a reprimir el orgullo de los indios gentiles, seris de la ranchería de En Medio, por causa y motivos públicos de haber asaltado al pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, pueblo nuevo de mi administración.

Y habiendo dicho alférez dado cumplimiento, a todo con mucha prudencia y piedad cristiana, a las muy acertadas órdenes de su dicho general, rogué y supliqué al dicho señor general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, gobernador de dichas armas, se sirviese para mayor honra y gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su majestad, de enviar nueva orden al dicho alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante para que agregase a este dicho pueblo de Santa María Magdalena unas rancherías de la misma nación que vivían en las costas de la mar del sur. Y que por recaudos míos ya estaban unánimes y conformes a venirse a dicho pueblo para bautizarse, reteniendo su venida por el riesgo de sus personas, hijos, y mujeres de sus continuos enemigos los seris de En Medio.

Y dicho alférez, habiendo recibido dicha orden, desde el día 4 de marzo de este presente año, dio principio a la ejecución de dicha orden, enviándoles dos embajadores de su misma nación con tlatoles muy buenos, dándoles a entender que así por pedimento de sus parientes, como por ofrecimiento que ellos habían hecho a mí de bautizarse y vivir a son de campana, les mandaba en nombre de Dios Nuestro Señor que se saliesen de aquellas tierras inhabitables de toda ley divina y humana.

Y que advirtiesen que el dicho alférez y los soldados de su cargo salían dicho día de este pueblo a hacer alto y tiempo en el paraje que ellos nombran Aguas Frías a esperarlos para que todos juntos en dicho paraje se viniesen amparados y resguardados de los soldados del cargo de dicho alférez, quien persistió en dicho paraje desde el día 8 según sus cartas de aviso, hasta el día 22 de dicho mes de marzo, donde habiéndolos juntado y recibido de ellos la obediencia, los condujo con toda afabilidad hasta este dicho pueblo, donde para mayor honra y gloria de Dios Nuestro Señor y de su majestad, me entregó ciento nueve personas. Las cuales quedan agregadas a las demás doscientas sesenta y siete que tenía ya yo agregadas en dicho pueblo. Y todas quedan bautizadas y sujetas a nuestra santa fe y al rey nuestro señor, a quien dieron la obediencia como constará por algunas diligencias que hizo el dicho alférez para que la real justicia interpusiese su autoridad. La cual se halló presente a dicha entrega y bautismos y demás funciones que se hicieron en presencia de dicha real justicia, que lo es el capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra del valle de San José de Opodepe y su jurisdicción.

Y con esta reducción de estas rancherías de tepocas y otros que llaman de salineros y seris, los cuales también quedan debajo de son de campana en el nuevo pueblo de los Angeles, queda y quedará esta frontera toda pacífica y en paz. Cosa que en tantos años no se ha podido conseguir y ahora ya lo vemos, gracias al Señor, y al mucho celo y trabajo del presente gobernador y capitán de las armas de esta provincia, el general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, quien con tanto desvelo a mis ruegos y pedimentos ha empleado sus armas, todas las veces que se ha ofrecido, para la reducción de estas almas y sosiego y paz de esta frontera, como quien tanto desea y procura el dilatar el Santo Evangelio y acudir al servicio de su majestad que Dios guarde. Y a este efecto, ha enviado varias escuadras en varias

ocasiones para agregar con suavidad y piedad cristiana a nuestra santa fe dichas naciones. Y ahora, la última vez, envió una escuadra con toda las debidas prevenciones de bastimentos y más cosas militares de armas y caballada, y por cabo y caudillo de dicha escuadra nombró al alférez actual de su compañía Juan Bautista de Escalante, el cual, siguiendo el celo cristiano, ha obrado en todo con el debido acierto, acuerdo, consejo y prudencia en el servicio de ambas majestades en toda esta campaña.

Y para que conste di el presente a pedimiento suyo, para el resguardo de su derecho; y por ser verdad adelante de Dios, lo firmé en este pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, en 20 días del mes de abril de 1700 años.

Melchor de Bartiromo
ministro de doctrina por su majestad

El capitán don Nicolás Linse, teniente de alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra en este valle de San José de Opodepe y su jurisdicción, por su majestad, certifico y doy fe en cuanto debo y puedo y haya lugar en derecho, de cómo el alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante, alférez vivo de la compañía volante de esta provincia de Sonora de cargo del señor general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, gobernador de las armas de esta provincia y capitán vivo de dicha compañía, me entregó en este pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas, número de ciento nueve personas, indios e indias, chicos y grandes, de nación tepocas salineros, que sacó de las costas del mar del sur, que cae al poniente de estas fronteras.

Y habiéndole hecho a dichos naturales varias preguntas y repreguntas por medio de un intérprete nombrado, que lo fue un indio de dicho pueblo, inteligente en la lengua hegue y de nación tepoca, preguntándoles que qué motivo tuvieron de salir de las costas del mar donde vivían, dijeron que por muchos recaudos que recibieron del dicho alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante y de[l] reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo, en que les llamaban que viniesen a vivir con sus parientes a este dicho pueblo. Y que viendo el buen tratamiento que el dicho alférez y los soldados de su cargo les hacían, y hallarse ellos en dicha costa destituido[a] de tierras, aguas y siempre invadidos de la nación seri y pima, y el sumo deseo que tuvieron de ser bautizados como sus parientes, los animó a venir en compañía de dicho alférez Juan Bautista de Escalante y sus soldados, quienes los condujo hasta este dicho pueblo.

Que para su recibimiento se halló el reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo y yo, dicho teniente de alcalde mayor, con los vecinos de este valle; en cuya presencia, dicho alférez mandó a dichos indios tepocas que me dieran la obediencia como al ministro de su majestad en esta jurisdicción. Y que advirtiesen que yo los recibía en nombre de su majestad; que hecho, dicho y entendido por dichos naturales, me dieron la obediencia. Y yo los recibí e incorporé con los otros, sus parientes de la dicha nación, y primeros pobladores de este dicho pueblo.

Que hecho me rogaron y suplicaron intercediera con el dicho reverendo padre, fuese servido de admitirlos al gremio de Nuestra Santa Madre la Santa Iglesia, y les administrara los Santos Sacramentos del Santo Bautismo y casamientos. Y que así mismo me pidieron les repartiera tierras para desde luego limpiar y sembrarlas; que todo sea hecho según y como lo han pedido. Que en presencia del dicho reverendo padre, y del dicho alférez, y de los demás señores soldados y vecinos sea

hecho, poniendo lindera y señales a las tierras que les ha dado de limosna el pueblo de Cucurpe y Tuape, a pedimento del señor general don Isidro Ruiz de Avechuco, alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de esta provincia de Sonora por su majestad y del reverendo padre Melchor de Bartiromo.

Y para que conste haber recibido dichos indios, y que el dicho alférez ha asistido a todo lo referido con mucha prudencia, obrando en todo con todo perito militar, ciñéndose en todo a los asentados órdenes de su general como me consta, por haberlos leído al tiempo que vino a esta entrada; por cuanto yo había pedido a mi alcalde mayor y a su teniente general, el capitán Francisco Pacheco Cevallos, requiriesen y pidiesen al general don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, remitiese una escuadra de soldados a estas fronteras para castigar a una ranchería que llaman seris del Medio, que todo se hizo por los continuos daños que recibían en los pueblos de este valle.

Y para que conste di el presente firmado de mi nombre y con los testigos de mi asistencia que los son Juan de la Rivas, Juan de Casaos, Salvador Ramírez. Es fecho en el pueblo de Santa María Magdalena, en 20 de abril de 1700 años doy fe.

Nicolás Linse
Testigo, Juan de Casaos
Testigo, Juan de la Rivas Salazar
Testigo, Salvador Ramírez

Desde 20 de abril hasta 8 de mayo, se fueron el Escalante y sus soldados a la Pimería Alta.

En 9 días del mes de mayo del año de 1700 llegué al pueblo de Cucurpe, donde hallé nueva orden de mi general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia en que me manda pase con los soldados de mi cargo, a las fronteras de la pimería baja del poniente, a visitar dichas fronteras, y a agregar algunos indios cristianos que andan retirados y forajidos de sus pueblos del Pescadero, San José y San Marcial hasta dejarlos juntos y congregados con los demás cristianos de dichos pueblos.

Que para dicho fin, salí de dicho pueblo de Cucurpe el día 10 del corriente mes y llegué al pueblo de Santa María Magdalena de los Tepocas quienes me recibieron con mucho gusto, festejando mi llegada los muchachos con varios bailes y cantos, con muchas luces encendidas puestas con tal arte que hacían en la rueda del baile mucho lucimiento. Y acabando el festejo de mi recibimiento, les di a entender que yo pasaba a visitar a otras naciones hacia el poniente, y que allí les dejaba dos compañeros míos, para que los asistiesen a que sembraran ellos sus tierras y para que me avisaran de lo que hubiera en adelante; a que respondieron ellos que quedaban agradecidos del buen tratamiento que yo, dicho alférez y los soldados de mi cargo, les habíamos hecho, y que sentían mucho mi ausencia.

Y despidiéndome de todos ellos, hice noche en dicho pueblo, de donde salí en persecución de mi derrota, el día 11 del corriente mes. Y fui hacer noche al valle de San José de Opodepe, de donde salí el día 12 para el pueblo de Nacameri, donde hallé al reverendo padre Daniel Januske, doctrinero de dicho pueblo que me dio

muchas gracias por lo operado en mis entradas, asegurando haber sido las diligencias hechas, para mayor honra y gloria del Divino Señor y de su majestad.

Y en dicho pueblo hice noche de donde salí el día 13 de dicho mes. Y llegué al pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo donde me recibió el gobernador Francisco Santiago y sus justicias, con toda su gente en dos filas; dándome la obediencia en nombre de su majestad. Y en dicho pueblo hallé dos gobernadores de los salineros que de por sí vinieron a darme la obediencia, diciéndome que ya habían sacado todas sus familias de las costas del mar del sur donde vivían, y que querían hacer pueblo y [e] iglesia en un paraje inmediato tres leguas del pueblo de Santa María del Pópulo, adonde estaban ya rancheados, esperándome a mí y a los soldados de mi cargo para darnos la obediencia, ofreciéndome el persistir en dicho paraje donde tienen ya sembradas sus tierras, treinta y seis familias. Y las demás restantes, para el cumplimiento de doscientas cuarenta personas, chico y grande, mujeres y varones, están en la disposición de sus tierras, y que esperan en que yo fuera a visitarlos y a dejarlos en su dicho paraje señalado. Y sus tierras de siembras que se las señalase para que no se las perjudicasen otros en algún tiempo. A que les di muchas gracias en nombre de su majestad por su buena venida e intención, diciéndoles que yo y los soldados que veían presentes iríamos a ver el dicho paraje. Y que allá les hablaría muchas cosas que les importaba para el provecho de sus almas, a que se despidieron de mí y se fueron a su paraje muy consolados.

Y en dicho pueblo hallé al reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, ministro doctrinero de dicho pueblo, quien me dijo que me estaba aguardando con caballada de refresco y bastimentos para la empresa de la visita de dichos pueblos. Y que me acompañaría su reverencia, por cuya causa me fue preciso detenerme en dicho pueblo hasta el día 15 como a las dos de la tarde; que dicho día salí del dicho pueblo y fui a hacer noche al nuevo paraje de los salineros, recién venidos, que dista tres leguas, los cuales me recibieron con arcos y cruces y puestos en dos filas, hombres, niños y mujeres. Y habiendo llegado dieron la obediencia, llegando los más de los justicias y [e] indios principales a besarme los pies, dando muestras de humildad y de permanecer en quieta paz en dicho paraje.

En donde por medio del gobernador Francisco Santiago de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, les pregunté al gobernador de dichos salineros, y a sus justicias, que qué motivos tuvieron para venirse a querer fundar y poblar pueblo y a ser cristianos. Respondió el gobernador y sus justicias que el motivo que tuvo para venirse fue el haber recibido del reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg varios recaudos en que los llamaba. Y nuevamente haber recibido de un indio, que solté en la playa del mar del sur cuando di un albazo y apresé la chusma de los seris que me dieron el rebato en mi real, un recaudo mío, diciéndoles que decía yo que se saliesen de aquellas costas y se viniesen a Santa María del Pópulo a ver al padre rector Adamo Gilg, porque yo andaba buscando a los del rebato y que no había de salir de aquellas costas hasta castigar semejante maldad porque si yo topaba con ellos de día o de noche los había de asolar a ellos, sus hijos y mujeres pensando que ellos eran los malhechores. Y así que se saliesen sin falta ninguna de aquellas costas.

Y que porque el dicho padre rector me había dicho mucho bien de ellos deseaba verlos y hablarles. Y que por este buen recaudo y tlatole que de mi parte les dio dicho indio, les obligó a salirse y venirse a ver al dicho padre; y que éste ha sido el motivo, y que ahora creen que los soldados son muy hombres y de buen corazón, pues castigan sólo a los que hacen mal. Y que como ellos no han hecho mal a nadie

determinaron luego ejecutar lo que les dijo el dicho indio, y esto me dieron por respuesta.

Y preguntándole al dicho gobernador y sus justicias que mirasen y advirtiesen de no faltar a lo que proponían, que si de toda su voluntad él y todos sus parientes querían ser cristianos y hacer pueblo, como decían, o que si era de miedo por verme a mi presente y a los soldados de mi cargo. A que respondieron que no lo hacían de miedo sino que con toda voluntad querían ser cristianos. Pues ya habían dado la obediencia a su majestad y a su padre ministro, el padre rector Adamo Gilg, en cuya presencia les di nuevos tlatoles, mandándoles que permaneciesen en paz en la obra del pueblo; teniendo paz con los cocomacagues de San Francisco Javier, obedeciendo a su padre ministro, advirtiéndoles que enviasen a llamar a los demás que hubieran quedado en las costas del mar del sur. Y que para la vuelta de mi viaje los visitaría otra vez. Y así, que sembrasen sus tierras y [e] hicieran sus casas de vivienda y limpiasen sus tierras. A que respondieron que sí.

Y me despedí de ellos. El día 16 del corriente salí marchando de dicho paraje, en compañía del reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, para la ranchería del Pit[i]quín. Y habiendo caminado como tres leguas, hice noche en la orilla del río de Santa María del Pópulo, de donde proseguí marchando el día 17, hasta el río que sale del pueblo de San Francisco Javier de los Cocomacagues donde hice noche, que dista diez leguas.

El día 18 del corriente mes y año proseguí marchando hasta llegar a la ranchería del Pit[i]quín, donde me salió a recibir el gobernador de dicha ranchería y sus justicias con muchas cruces en las manos y arcos y cruces puestas por el camino, teniendo hechas tres casas de enramadas para mí, para el reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, y para los soldados de mi cargo; y puestos en dos filas me recibieron los más de ellos de rodillas. Y habiendo llegado a dichas casas, me dieron la obediencia y por lo consiguiente al dicho reverendo padre rector. Y hallé a todos los justicias de San Francisco de los Cocomacagues y un capitán de la guerra llamado Pedro Baricuca, natural del pueblo de los Ures de la nación pima, que por la noticia que tuvo que iba yo y los soldados de mi cargo, fue a verme a dicha ranchería, donde dijo que me había estado aguardando tres días para ver lo que se ofrecía en servicio de su majestad.

A quien por ser ladino en la lengua castellana nombré por intérprete, por cuyo medio les di a entender a los de esta dicha ranchería, el fin de mi venida a su tierra de ellos, y que me alegraba de verlos todos juntos. Así mismo por medio del dicho intérprete le pregunté al gobernador y a sus justicias, diciéndoles que por el mes de febrero del presente año había pasado yo y los soldados que veían presentes para las costas del mar del sur, a sacar a los salineros por dicha ranchería. Y que no los había visto, sino que toda aquella ranchería estaba despoblada, cosa que estrañé mucho, el ver despobladas tan buenas tierras que yo había visto sembradas las primeras que los visitaron los soldados; y así, que dijeran el motivo que habían tenido para haberla despoblado, y dónde se habían estado en todo el tiempo que faltaban de dicha ranchería.

A que respondió el gobernador y todos sus justicias, que la causa del haber despoblado fue temiendo los continuos rebatos y guerras que los seris salineros les hacían. Y que se habían ido con ánimo de volver hasta que se sosegasen los dichos seris que estaban cada día amenazándoles como lo han observado siempre en su gentilidad. Y que ellos se habían estado con otros pimas, parientes suyos que están cerca de los guaymas, nación inmediata al río de Yaqui. Y luego que supieron que

se habían reducido los salineros, que se vinieron ellos a su ranchería a sembrar sus tierras y a bautizarse como se lo tienen ofrecido al padre rector Adamo Gilg. Y que no tuvieron más motivo, para haber despoblado, que lo referido, y que ahora y siempre vivirían en dicha ranchería. Y que harían pueblo en forma, agregando y llamando a otros de su misma nación, para que vivan juntos y hagan iglesia. Y esto dieron por respuesta.

A que por medio del dicho intérprete les dije gracias. En nombre de su majestad, les mandaba y mandé, que asistiesen en dicha ranchería, haciendo pueblo y [e] iglesia, pues ya habían dado la obediencia por dos veces al rey, ofreciendo lo mismo. Y así que no desamparasen sus tierras ni dejasen de hacer lo que prometían, pues era servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor. Que advirtiesen que de faltar a lo que ofrecían serían después severamente castigados por rebeldes y pertinaces. A que respondieron que no faltarían a lo propuesto porque ya los más de ellos eran cristianos, y pedían al padre rector Adamo Gilg que bautizase los restantes puesto que su reverencia se ofrecía a administrarlos.

Así mismo por el dicho intérprete les propuse paces con los salineros, que eran sus enemigos; a que respondieron, que de muy buena voluntad harían las paces para poder perseverar en su intención, sin perjuicio los unos a los otros, de que quedaron dicho día muy gustosos, advertidos que para el siguiente día hablaría muchas cosas que tenía que decirles; que por ser ya tarde dejaba de hablarles. A que dicho día se despidieron muy gustosos, atendiendo a la disposición de una ermita para que el siguiente día les dijese misa el reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, convidando algunos soldados de mi cargo para compadres y padrinos.

El siguiente día que se contaron 19 del corriente mes, les dijo misa el reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg en la dicha ermita, donde acabada la misa, rezaron todas las oraciones y la doctrina cristiana; y puestos en dos filas hombres y mujeres alabaron al Santísimo Sacramento en castilla. Y habiendo concluido esta función, les volví a dar nuevos tlatoles y asenté las paces entre los dichos de la ranchería del Pit[i]quín y los seris de Santa María del Pópulo, y los seris salineros; haciéndolos abrazarse unos con otros, mandándoles que en adelante no tuviesen guerra sino que viviesen como cristianos y que tratasen unos con otros, con ferias de la ropa de su hecho y semillas de sus siembras. A que respondieron de una y otra parte que así lo harían, dándome muchas gracias por el bien que les hacía de asentar las paces, porque días había que deseaban vivir en paz para poseer sus tierras libremente.

Y habiendo acabado con lo referido, conté por junto hombres, niños y mujeres, número de cien almas, las cuales quedan empadronados los cristianos, en número de setenta y siete, cristianos ya de mucho tiempo. Y lo restante para el cumplimiento [ilegible] siendo gentiles chicos y grandes, que dicho día bautizó los párvulos el dicho padre rector en número de doce, restando otros doce adultos para el cumplimiento de las cien personas que quedan en dicha ranchería, que quedan fijos en hacer pueblo.

De 19 a 26 de mayo, Escalante hizo una visita a varias comunidades de los pimas bajos.

Y me despedí de ellos, quedando muy contentos de los buenos tlatoles que les hice. Y dicho día en dicho real viejo de San Marcial, me propuso el padre rector Adamo Gilg y declaró la intención y motivos que tuvo su reverencia para pedir a mi general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia, la escuadra de mi cargo, diciéndome: que por razón que había tenido su reverencia de que la más parte de la gente de la ranchería del Pit[i]quín estaban revueltos con los guaymas, que están en un paraje que llaman Tacoboalco, importa mucho el ir a sacarlos de entre dichos guaymas y reducirlos a pueblo. Para cuyo fin salí dicho día, en compañía del reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg con ánimo de atravesar derecho al poniente para salir a esta dicha ranchería de Tacoboalco.

Y habiendo caminado distancia de nueve leguas, tuve razón cierta que no era posible el llegar a dicha ranchería por la derecera que llevaba con mi campo por causa de no haber agua en tres días de camino para la caballada, donde hicimos noche. Y al siguiente día que se contaron 28 de dicho mes fue de parecer el padre rector Adamo Gilg que pues nos hallamos inmediatos al pueblo de Belén, pasase con mi escuadra a dicho pueblo, para que por medio de los guaymas de dicho pueblo, se acarreasen con tlatoles a sus pueblos los que en la dicha ranchería de Tacoboalco asisten, que hay mucha gente cristiana de diferentes pueblos cristianos.

Y con este dictamen, proseguí marchando desde las dos de la tarde hasta las nueve de la noche, que habiendo caminado cosa de diez leguas, llegué a hacer noche al fin de un llano muy grande, de donde proseguí marchando el siguiente día que se contaron veintiocho de dicho mes. Y habiendo caminado como cinco leguas, llegué a un arroyo gordo, de agua y carrizales, que los indios llaman Bacatetebe en donde hallé muchos rastros de gente y caballada y ganado menor, y una ranchería con una mescalera enterrada y muchas señales de hornos de sacar vino de mescales.

Y andando rastreando vio un indio, de los que iban en mi compañía, a un indio de aquella ranchería que se iba subiendo a un cerro grande, al cual comenzó a llamar hablándole en su lengua pima. Y a muchas apersuaciones que se le hicieron, bajó el dicho indio, al cual por medio del intérprete pregunté si era cristiano, y respondió que sí y se llama Andrés; a que le pregunté por la gente de aquella ranchería, que dónde estaba, o por qué la habían despoblado. Y respondió que el día antecedente habían tenido aviso de que iban los soldados, y que como los más de ellos eran ladrones de caballos y ganados, se persuadieron a que iban los soldados a cogerlos y que eran indios gentiles de muchas partes. Que él y su mujer y sus hijos, se habían quedado allí, porque siempre vivían allí donde tienen sus tierras de siembras.

Y guiados de este dicho indio, fui a parar al medio día a otro arroyo inmediato donde tenía una milpilla sembrada; y habiendo llegado a dicho paraje, volví a preguntarle al dicho varias preguntas, a que respondió: que es verdad que en dicho paraje se van a retraer muchos indios malos, que él no los conoce por sus nombres, que sólo sabe que son pimas, y que hurtan ganado del Agua Caliente, y caballada de diferentes españoles; y que luego se vienen a hacer juntas en el dicho paraje de Bacatetebe, adonde concurren a estas juntas los guaymas cristianos y gentiles del puesto de Tacoboalco, y que allí hacen muchas borracheras y luego se retiran, y que de estos son los muchos rastros que se ven en dicha ranchería.

Y habiéndole preguntado al dicho que qué trecho estaba de dicha ranchería el pueblo de Belén, respondió que estaba cerca, que saliendo de allí a las horas del medio día, llegaría señalando el sol como a las cinco de la tarde. De allí determinó el padre rector Adamo Gilg que llegásemos al pueblo de Belén, así por solicitar la gente del Pit[i]quín, como por verse con el reverendo padre Juan María de Salvatierra. Que iba con esperanza de sacar mucho provecho para la reducción de los que viven en las costas, con la vista y comunicación de dicho reverendo padre.

Y dicho día proseguí marchando y [e] hice noche cuatro leguas antes de llegar al dicho pueblo, de donde salí el siguiente día que se contaron 29 de dicho mes de mayo. Y llegué al pueblo de Belén como a las siete del día donde me salió a recibir el reverendo padre Manuel Díaz de la Compañía de Jesús, ministro doctrinero de dicho pueblo, con todos los justicias y toda la gente puesta en dos filas, recibiendo, por la iglesia, al padre rector Adamo Gilg que llegó en mi compañía.

Aquí habiendo llegado, mandé al gobernador de dicho pueblo que juntase toda su gente, que quería hablarles; y habiéndola juntado dicho día como a las cuatro de la tarde, pregunté al gobernador Francisco de los guaymas de dicho pueblo, que si estaba toda la gente de su cargo junta. Y dijo que no, que andaban desparramados, unos sirviendo a los españoles, y otros en la costa del mar con los gentiles guaymas y pimas.

Y el gobernador pima de dicho pueblo tuvo toda la gente junta, a los cuales por medio del intérprete nombrado, di buenos tlatoles, mandándoles que viviesen en su dicho pueblo, y que hiciesen sus casas de vivienda, y que no se fuesen con los gentiles en adelante. A que respondió el dicho gobernador de los pimas que así lo haría.

Y por lo consiguiente mandé al gobernador Francisco Guayma que luego al punto fuera él y sus justicias a llamar, y sacar su gente que estaba entre los gentiles, para hablarles y preguntarles por los pimas que se vienen a vivir entre ellos; para cuyo fin les envié de mi parte en señal de paz una cruz blanca a los dichos gentiles guaymas y pimas.

El siguiente día que se contaron 30 de mayo, estuve en dicho pueblo de Belén aguardando a los dichos embajadores, los cuales llegaron el día 31 de mayo como a las cinco de la tarde en número de treinta personas, guaymas y pimas de la costa del mar del sur y rancherías (sic) de Tacoboalco, los cuales dieron la obediencia al rey, diciéndome que allí estaban ya para lo que les quería hablar y mandar; que lo harían de buena voluntad, advirtiéndome que ellos se habían criado y nacido en dicha costa y ranchería, y que por eso permanecían en ella.

A que por medio de un indio ladino en castilla y de su misma nación llamado Ignacio, les di a entender de mi llegada a su pueblo, diciéndoles que el padre rector Adamo Gilg, que veían presente, iba conmigo a buscar sus hijos pimas de la ranchería del Pit[i]quín, para llevarlos a ella que viviesen con los demás; que estaban ya haciendo pueblo en la dicha ranchería del Pit[i]quín. Y así iba a traerlos y llamarlos para tenerlos juntos, bautizarlos, y casarlos, y enseñarles la doctrina cristiana para que no se perdiesen sus almas. Y así que dijesen dónde estaban estos dichos pimas.

A que respondieron dichos indios que era verdad, que había entre ellos muchos pimas de la ranchería del Pit[i]quín y algunos cristianos de San José y San Marcial, y que los del Pit[i]quín estaban aguardando a que lloviese para irse a su ranchería, porque tienen tres días de camino sin agua y no pueden atravesar hasta que llueva, que ya ellos tienen noticia de que sus parientes hacen pueblo y que están con ese ánimo. Y dichos indios de la ranchería de Tacoboalco quedan obligados a

despacharlos a su ranchería, y no consentirlos más en adelante en sus tierras, porque ellos pretenden ser cristianos. Y esto dieron por respuesta.

A los cuales, por medio del dicho intérprete, mandé que hiciesen noche en dicho pueblo de Belén, que yo y los soldados que veían presentes, salíamos a recibir al padre rector Juan María de Salvatierra que los venía a ver y hablarles, y que el siguiente día hablaría más despacio con ellos. Y luego incontinente, mandé a los soldados de mi cargo se pusiesen a caballo; y con las armas en las manos, puestos en dos filas, salí marchando, yendo en mi compañía los reverendos padres rector Adamo Gilg y Manuel Díaz, hasta trecho de media legua de dicho pueblo, donde topamos al reverendo padre rector Juan María de Salvatierra, haciéndole la salva disparando a carga cerrada, en trechos hasta el dicho pueblo, donde le recibieron los indios del dicho pueblo, con muchos arcos hasta entrarlo en la iglesia.

El siguiente día que se contó primero de junio de dicho año, hice parecer ante mí a los dichos indios llamados en presencia del dichos reverendos padres; y preguntándoles que qué intención tenían ellos y todos sus parientes, porque yo sabía ciertamente que había entre ellos muchos indios cristianos de diferentes pueblos y muchos ladrones; que yo no entraba a su tierra de ellos a sacar y castigar los malos porque ellos no se espantaran. Y que para darles este aviso los llamaba y llamé. Y que no tenían que hacer poco caso de lo que les proponía debajo de paz, que advirtiesen que el rey, nuestro señor, castigaba los malos y premiaba a los buenos, que para castigarlos, así por la tierra, como por el mar, tenía su majestad muchos soldados, como lo estaban ellos actualmente mirando por la embarcación de Californias que estaba en la mar. Y así que dijesen su sentir y su intención.

A que respondieron que ellos se querían bautizar y vivir como cristianos, ofreciendo venirse a vivir al pueblo de Belén y dejar dicha ranchería de Tacoboalco, pues en ella no tienen tierras para sembrar. Y que ellos se obligan a no consentir en aquellas costas y ranchería, a no consentir forajidos, ladrones, ni indios cristianos de otras partes; y que para ello, les nombrase un justicia que les obligase a ello y cuidara de ellos.

Y con el parecer de los reverendos padres que se hallaron presentes les nombré al dicho Ignacio intérprete por capitán por ser ladino y acto [apto?] para ello; de lo cual me dieron los dichos, muchos agradecimientos diciendo que no faltarían a lo propuesto. Para lo cual les mandé y propuse, que para bautizarse como ellos pedían, era preciso el que se viniesen al dicho pueblo de Belén y que hicieran sus casas de terrado, para que viviendo en el pueblo, acudiesen a tarde y a mañana a la iglesia, a enseñarse a rezar para poder ser cristianos; que sus hijos párvulos [a]sí luego que vinieran al pueblo se bautizarían. A que con mucho gusto respondieron que sí se vendrían luego al punto.

Y con esta respuesta, tomó a su cargo el reverendo padre rector Juan María de Salvatierra a hacerles una plática acerca de su salvación. Y el reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, por su parte, como inteligentes en las lenguas explicándoles lo importante para sus almas, a que agradecidos y enternecidos, dichos gentiles se arrodillaron a los pies de los reverendos padres, quienes los recibían en los brazos, despidiéndose de ellos.

Hicieron el Escalante y sus soldados otra visita a la Pimería Baja de 1 a 17 de junio.

El día 18 de dicho mes llegué al pueblo de San Francisco Javier del Tucubava, donde hallé al gobernador de dicho pueblo que acababa de llegar del pueblo de los Ures, a quien pregunté que dónde estaba toda su gente. Y me respondió que ya venían de la cosecha de los Ures. Y preguntándole que porqué no habían acabado sus casas, respondió que porque el gobernador de los Ures los llevó con mucha instancia a que le ayudasen a la cosecha de los trigos. Y habiéndole ayudado con toda su gente, les hizo el dicho gobernador de los Ures mal trato. Y que no quiso proseguir ayudándoles sino que sacó toda su gente y se vino a su pueblo [a] acabar sus casas y cuidar las milpas. Y esto dio por respuesta.

A que le mandé que prosiguiese toda la gente de su pueblo haciendo su pueblo en forma y que no los consintiese andar desparramados en los cerros. Y que advirtiese que en el Pópulo dejaba dos soldados para que asistan a los seris que hagan sus casas y siembren sus tierras, y que también les mando que vean si ellos hacen lo que les mando. A que respondió dicho gobernador que así lo harían.

Y con esto me despedí de ellos dicho día, que pasé a hacer noche a la mitad del camino que dista como cuatro leguas del nuevo pueblo que pretenden a hacer los salineros. Donde llegué el día 19, hallando en dicho paraje al reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg, que me estaba aguardando en compañía de todos los salineros puestos en dos filas, habiendo puesto muchos arcos y cruces hasta llegar adonde tienen hecha una capilla de enramada y una casa de lo mismo para que parase el dicho padre rector Adamo Gilg quien llevó en su compañía al gobernador de Santa María del Pópulo por cuyo medio después de haber dado la obediencia dichos salineros, les pregunté que qué razón me daban de los salineros que se habían quedado en las Salinas, que qué decían de los tlatoles que les envié con dos indios.

A lo cual respondió el gobernador que allí estaba presente uno de los embajadores, llamado Ucadlacus, quien dijo que había dado mis recaudos a los dichos salineros según y cómo, y que no hicieron caso, diciendo que por ahora no querían venir, que si en algún tiempo les diera gana, vendrían; antes sí, que ahora tenían asentadas paces con los guaymas gentiles [ilegible]. Y así mismo los seris de las salinas son los rebeldes cuarenta y cuatro familias, y de los seris de la Isla que son veinte y cuatro familias, que también se hallan muy enojados contra los soldados, que no quieren salir hasta vengarse. Y esto dio por respuesta el dicho embajador.

A que le dije al gobernador de los salineros y a sus justicias que no creyesen las amenazas de dichos salineros y seris del Medio, que ellos procurasen estarse en su intención fabricando sus casas y [e] iglesia pues ya la tienen empezada. Y que allí les dejaba dos compañeros míos para que los defendiesen de sus enemigos. Y aquellos que no querían venir al gremio de nuestra santa fe, que el diablo los estaba engañando, para que no gozasen el bien que ya ellos tenían, pues eran ya cristianos ellos y sus hijos. Y que no dejasen de enviar a llamar a sus parientes, que viniesen sin temor, que viniendo ellos solos serían perdonados, y que de no querer venir, era preciso el seguirlos hasta matarlos a todos. De que respondieron dichos justicias que proseguirían llamándolos, y que de no venir, ellos ayudarían a los soldados para acabarlos o reducirlos.

Y dicho día me despedí de ellos, advirtiéndoles que cuidasen a los dos soldados que yo les dejaba, que quería ver si lo hacían bien con ellos. A que me respondieron que los mirarían como a sus hermanos y compañeros.

Y por haber rematado, cumplido, y dado fin a todo lo por mi general y gobernador de las armas de esta provincia, don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate ha mandado, y para que hagan mayor fe todas estas diligencias y autos de guerra, rogué al reverendo padre rector Adamo Gilg me diese testimonio verídico de lo operado en sus partidos y derroteros que en mi compañía ha tenido su reverencia; lo cual, habiéndomelo concedido dicho padre rector, arrimó a mis autos para mayor fe. Así lo firmé en dicho pueblo nuevo de los Angeles en 20 de junio de 1700.

Juan Bautista de Escalante
Don Rodrigo Osorio de los Ríos
Secretario de Guerra Nombrado.

II

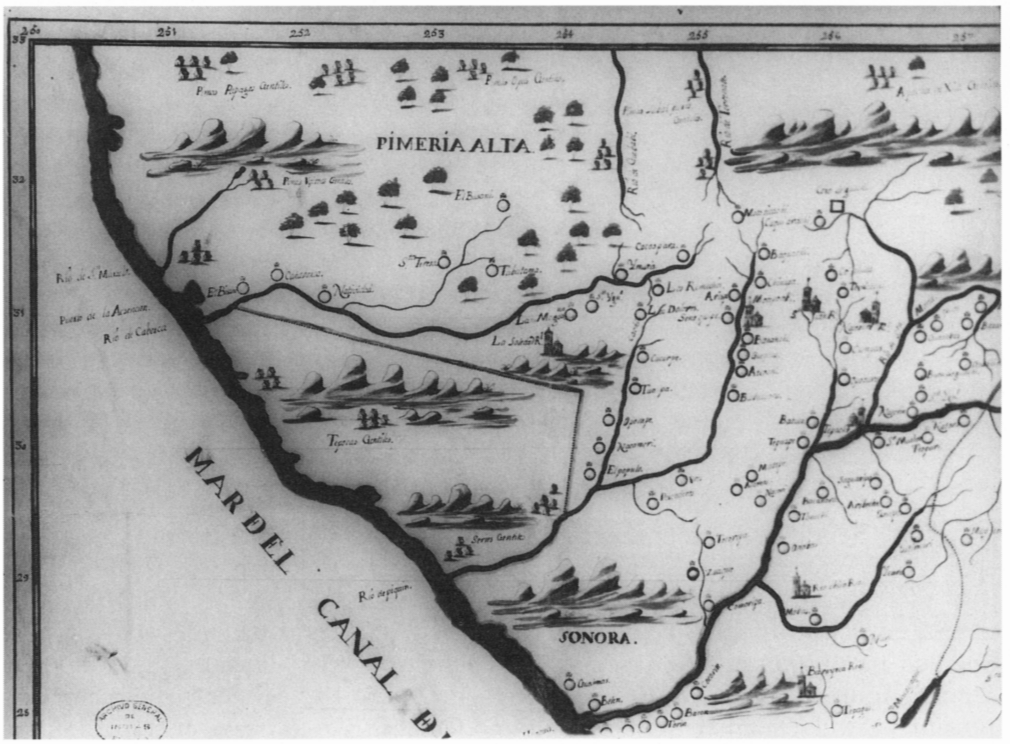
Missions and Skirmishes
(1725–1740)

The following documents reflect the growing conflict between the Seris and Spaniards during the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were still endeavoring to missionize the Comcáac. The first group of documents—"The de la Huerta Affair"—captures the bloody cycle of Spanish retaliation and Seri vengeance triggered by Seri livestock raiding. The second group of documents—"Huidobro and the Jesuits"—reflects the increasing tension between Spanish civil officials and Jesuit missionaries over control of the Comcáac. Both Seri raiding and Spanish civil-military disputes undermined the fragile and tenuous Seri mission program, setting the stage for the complete breakdown in Seri-Spanish relations by midcentury.

The de la Huerta Affair, 1725–1726

During the Jesuit mission period, the Seris extended their range and widened their ecological niche; at the same time, Spaniards were settling in greater numbers around the margins of Seri territory. As fisherfolk and hunter-gatherers, the Seris were more opportunistic than other more sedentary Indian groups. They exploited a wide variety of plant and animal resources that varied from season to season and from year to year; many Comcáac may have viewed Spanish-introduced livestock and missionary rations simply as new sources of food to be collected.

Perhaps 10 to 20 percent of the Seris settled down and planted crops in the mission communities of Pópulo and Los Angeles along the Río San Miguel. Others remained on the coast or on Tiburón and San Esteban Islands; when Escalante journeyed to the Gulf of California, he encountered Seris who had never seen Spaniards before. Nevertheless, a sizable portion of the Seri population, especially Salineros and Tepocas, straddled both worlds. They slipped in and out of the Seri missions, raiding Spanish livestock, living off their settled kinsmen, and accepting missionary rations when wild resources were scarce. The boundaries between mission life and life in el monte *(the wild) were fluid and permeable.*



A detail from Francisco Alvarez Barreiro's map of Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa, 1727. Note that the "Tepocas Gentiles" are shown living along the Sonoran coast and in the interior near a mountain range, probably the Sierra Bacoachi, north of the "Series Gentiles," who inhabit the area near Bahía de Kino north of the Río Sonora. The big range just above the word "Sonora" is probably the Cerro Prieto, modern Sierra Libre. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Mapas y Planos . . . de México, no. 123; courtesy Arizona State Museum)

Such opportunism brought the Seris into conflict with their Spanish neighbors, particularly those along the Río San Miguel. The San Miguel had been a center of Spanish settlement ever since Pedro de Perea established several haciendas *near Tuape in the early 1640s. By the 1720s, Opodepe had become a significant Spanish settlement as well as an Eudeve mission community. Spanish livestock grazing the foothills and desert plains west of the San Miguel river valley drew Seris eastward. Seris never relied upon raiding as extensively as the Apaches or Comanches did, but a pattern of small-scale Seri stock rustling did develop, with predictable results. Spanish settlers would give pursuit to recover their animals and punish the raiders. Kinsmen of the raiders, in turn, would often seek to avenge their deaths. The most notorious of these incidents was the de la Huerta affair, which began in September 1725.*

Seris and Spaniards had skirmished before, but the de la Huerta affair shocked the Spanish settlers of Opodepe and the Valle de San Miguel. In early September, rancher Salvador de la Huerta and Gerónimo Loera, joined by seventeen other vecinos and Indian allies, tracked and surprised a Seri ranchería that had stolen

some of their cattle and horses. During the ensuing battle, which took place at Chupisonora about fifteen kilometers northwest of Pópulo, de la Huerta and his companions killed three Seris and recovered their livestock.

Two weeks later, on the evening of September 29, de la Huerta hosted a fiesta at his home in Opodepe. About nine that night, nearly fifty Seris surrounded the house. Eyewitnesses heard the Indians saying, "Oh, good Huerta, look at how we are eating your fat calves!" and "Look how we are killing dogs!" as they shot arrows through the windows, set fire to the roof, and shot or clubbed those who tried to escape. Twenty-one men, women, and children died in the attack. Manuel Alvarez de la Bandera, the alcalde mayor of Sonora who investigated the assault, described it as "an invasion so strange it has never been seen or experienced before in all of this [kingdom] of Vizcaya."[1]

On September 29, the day of the assault, Alvarez de la Bandera was in San José de Mátape with Benito Crespo,[2] *the bishop of Durango, who was inspecting the missions of Sonora and the Pimería Alta. There Alvarez de la Bandera learned that Lower Pima rebels had burned two houses, shot up the missionary's mule herd, and freed some prisoners in Tecoripa. Riding all night, he arrived in Tecoripa on September 30. After consulting with Captain Manuel Valdéz,* cabo *of the presidio of Sinaloa, however, Alvarez de la Bandera decided that Spanish forces were spread too thin because of Crespo's visit to pursue the Lower Pimas. He then learned of the Seri assault and traveled to Opodepe, where he began to take the testimony of vecinos and Seris on October 8. José de Uzárraga was the first person he examined.*

Testimony of José de Uzárraga, Opodepe, October 8, 1725

Today, in accordance with the previous *auto* I, the alcalde mayor, asked José de Uzárraga[3] to appear before me in the presence of my witnesses. After I informed him of the contents of the *auto,* he swore before Our Lord God and with the sign of the cross to tell the truth about whatever he might have seen and known regarding the events referred to in the contents of said *auto.*

He said that on Sunday, September 30, around 11 A.M., Miguel de la Cruz arrived at his house and told him that the Seris were burning Salvador de la Huerta's house and shooting arrows at the people who fled from it. On receiving the news, the declarant says that he rode on horseback to Salvador de la Huerta's house, which he found burned to the ground. The governor of the town of Opodepe and

1. Manuel Alvarez de la Bandera, Tuape, October 14, 1725. Archivo Hidalgo de Parral (AHP), 1720A, ff 461v–497v. Spanish transcripts of the Alvarez de la Bandera investigation have been published in the *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación,* Tercera Serie: Tomo III, Número 1(7), Enero–Marzo 1979. Those transcripts were taken from AGN, Cárceles y Presidios, ff. 142–215.

2. Benito Crespo y Monroy was bishop of Durango from 1723 until his promotion to bishop of Puebla in 1735. A staunch supporter of the Jesuits and the northern expansion of their missions, Crespo visited the missions of Sonora and the Pimería Alta in 1725.

3. José de Uzárraga probably was the same man who became one of Agustín de Vildósola's most trusted officers in the Sonoran militia during the Yaqui rebellion of 1740.

some of its inhabitants were starting to remove the bodies from the debris. The [dead] were Salvador de la Huerta; his wife; a child of his; his maid Juana Domínguez; and ten children, the oldest of them being six years old. Those who escaped from the house only to be wounded outside and die within twenty-four hours were Gerónimo Loera, an old woman named Matilde Mariana de los Reyes, an Apache Indian woman named Teresa, and José Ramos and his daughter, and another little child, the daughter of Mariana. They were all killed outside the house. All together there were twenty-one dead, including both adults and children, as well as two wounded, who are still in this pueblo.

It has been commonly said that the Indians of the Seri nation were the cause of these deaths. The declarant said that his experience in this province has taught him to recognize the arrows used by these nations. Uzárraga recognized arrows used by the Seris of Pópulo from among the arrows that were retrieved, as well as ones used by the Salineros and Tepocas. Likewise, a Seri Indian told the declarant before several witnesses that most of the arrows were like the ones used by the Seri Indians of Pópulo, who had abandoned their pueblo. The declarant also said that he found Gerónimo Loera still alive and asked him several times whether he had recognized any of the Indian aggressors. Loera answered that he had not recognized any of the Indians, but he did say that they were Seris. Moreover, Uzárraga said that a widow and two adolescents who escaped from de la Huerta's house told him that all the Indians spoke Castilian and had taunted as they attacked: "Oh, good Huerta, look at how we are eating your fat calves!"

This is what the declarant knew and had witnessed. He was in Opodepe from the beginning to help retrieve the bodies, care for the dying, and give them all a Christian burial. Lieutenant Don Antonio de la Vega Camacho was not found in the jurisdiction at this time because he had gone to Ures to see His Lordship and Grace, the bishop. As this is what happened and what he knew, after reading over his statement, he reaffirmed and ratified it under the charge of the oath he had made. He said he was thirty-five years old and that, although the late Salvador de la Huerta was his compadre, this fact had not prejudiced the sacredness of his oath in any way. He signed the declaration before me, as I am serving as judge, as well as before the witnesses present. This I certify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera[4]
José Uzárraga
Witness, Joaquín Ignacio de Ozaeta Gallástegui
Witness, Antonio de la Vega Camacho

The following day, October 9, Alvarez de la Bandera took the testimony of his second witness, vecino Juan Barragán.

4. Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera (in some sources "Lavandera") was born in Culiacán in 1678. After living in Alamos with his father from 1697 to 1700, he moved north and settled in the *real* of Motepori. He was appointed alcalde mayor of Sonora in 1723 and served until the end of 1725.

Testimony of Juan Barragán, October 9, 1725

In accordance with the order recorded on the fourth page of these dispatches I, the alcalde mayor, asked Juan Barragán[5] to appear before me in the town of Opodepe on the ninth of this month and year. I personally made known to him the contents of the *auto* recorded on the seventh page. Being informed of this *auto,* he swore before God Our Lord and the sign of the cross to tell the truth in this *auto.*

He said that he suspects that Indians of the Seri nation are to blame for the burning of the house and for the killings. The reason for this suspicion is that a little more than two weeks before this incident, Salvador de la Huerta and Gerónimo Loera, both now deceased, had gone in pursuit of some animals that the Seris had taken from him [Huerta]. Realizing that Huerta and Loera had not come back after two days, Barragán said he went in the company of Marcos de Acuña and Gregorio Gallegos to inform the lieutenant of this jurisdiction, Don Antonio de la Vega Camacho, that the pair had been missing for two days. The lieutenant told them to gather some vecinos together and go look for the missing men.

With that order, these three joined Cayetano de Aguilar, Nicolás Granillo,[6] Agustín de Yescas, Juan Cristóbal de la Merte and his brother Francisco, Ignacio Vega, José de Mesa,[7] the Opata Miguel Soniqui, Pedro de Amaya, Lázaro de Acuña, the Yaqui Indian Calixto, the Opata Francisco, Juan Germán, and Domingo Sánchez. All together, seventeen people went to look for the missing men. They found the two men at Rancho de la Alameda. When they were coming back from this ranch, they ran across a ranchería of Seris in a place called Chupisonora, where the Seris had the animals that had been stolen from Huerta. As soon as they were detected by the Indians, they drew their weapons and fought with all the Indians there. The men attacked the Indians because they found themselves being forced into a defensive position. Three of the Seris died in this fight. On seeing this the rest of the Indians ran away, leaving behind the animals they had stolen.

After this fight, all the aforementioned people returned, bringing the animals that had been stolen with them. The declarant said that he is not sure whether the lieutenant was informed of this encounter. As to why he infers it was the Seris who carried out the killings and the burning of the house, he stated, "I was hiding very near the house they burned and saw everything. I remained motionless for fear of being discovered without any weapons, and I was also afraid that they would do the same to me as I saw them do to the other people." He heard the Indians talking Castilian to the people, "as they killed them like dogs."

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5. Juan Barragán may have been Juan Nepomuceno Barragán, the father of Manuel Barragán, a prominent settler in Tubac until he became part of the ill-fated Spanish colony along the lower Colorado River and was killed by Quechan Indians in 1781.

6. Nicolás Granillo was a descendant of Francisco Pérez Granillo, a member of Pedro de Perea's expedition to Sonora in the late 1630s. Pérez Granillo succeeded Perea as alcalde mayor of Nueva Andalucía, Perea's name for Sonora, after Perea died in 1644.

7. José de Mesa became a prominent settler in the Valle San Miguel. Deeply involved in the controversy over the silver nuggets discovered at Arizonac in 1736, he later won the enmity of the Seris in the missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles (see chapter 3, "Father Miranda on the Impact of Horcasitas, 1749"). Mesa was also placed in charge of the construction of the new presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas in 1749 (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

There were twenty-one dead, both adults and children, as well as two wounded who are now in this pueblo. Following the format that this *auto* requires, he stated that he knew nothing more than what he had already declared. This is the truth according to the oath he took. He confirmed and ratified his declaration after it was read to him. He said he was thirty years old. He did not sign it because he said he did not know how. I, the judge, signed it in the presence of my witnesses, to which I certify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Witness, Antonio de la Vega Camacho
Witness, Joaquín Ignacio de Ozaeta Gallástegui

After taking Barragán's testimony, Alvarez de la Bandera interviewed those wounded in the de la Huerta assault. One, a native of Opodepe named Andrés de Asperiqueta, told him he heard the assailants by Huerta's corral saying in Spanish, "Huerta, we see now how you eat fat calves and ride good horses and don't want to leave anything that we can eat."

Testimony of Fernando Barbón de Leyva, October 9, 1725

In said pueblo of Opodepe on said day, I, the alcalde mayor, ordered Fernando Barbón de Leyva to appear before me in order to present all the evidence that the [Seri] nation could have been the one that carried out the murders and burned the house in this Valle de Opodepe. He has been living in the pueblo of Pópulo with his family for the last four years and has been in charge of the natives and been coming and going from the pueblo for fourteen years. I had him swear before Our Lord God and the sign of the cross, and he promised to tell the truth about what he knows and what he might be asked.

First, in the presence of my witnesses, he was shown more than fifty arrows that were recovered. He was asked whether he knew where they were made or from what Indian nation they might have come. He answered that as far as he knew the arrows belonged to the Seris and that four or five of them—the big ones with the thick reed [shafts] and long feathers[8]—belonged to the *mador*[9] of Los Angeles, José de Aguirre.[10] I asked him if he had had any warning that the Seris wanted to attack any house or houses in the Valle de Opodepe. He replied that he understood that they wanted to come to attack Opodepe, but he did not know of a specific house.

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8. The common components of a Seri arrow were (1) a mainshaft made of cane (*Phragmites communis* or *Arundo donay*); (2) a foreshaft made of a hardwood such as desert wolfberry (*Lycium fremontii*); (3) a projectile point of stone, ironwood, or iron; and (4) three feathers, usually from hawks or ospreys (Felger and Moser 1985:127–28).

9. Mador is another term for *fiscal mayor* (see chapter 1, n. 46).

10. This Seri man may have been named after José de Aguirre, who served as alcalde mayor of Sonora from 1715 to 1717 and led an expedition against the Seris in the vicinity of Pópulo.

I asked him who his source of information was and when he learned of it. He answered that he heard about it from the *fiscal mayor* of Pópulo, named Tomás, and from another Tepoca Indian named Juan de Dios—I mean to say that Juan de Dios is a Pima—who heard it from the alcalde of Pópulo, Simón. I asked him whether these informants told him the date of the attack. He answered that they did not indicate a date, but he heard about all this on September 27. I asked him whether he knew in advance when they were going to attack Opodepe. He answered that early in the morning on Sunday, September 30, the *fiscal mayor* of Pópulo sent him a message. It said that on the afternoon of the twenty-ninth [of September], forty Seri Indians from Ambrosio's ranchería, and two Salineros from Nicolasillo's ranchería, had passed by on their way to attack and to burn the houses of Captain Camacho, Salvador de la Huerta, and Gaona. The *fiscal mayor* heard this news from two Salinero Indians from Nicolasillo's ranchería, which is located in the canebrakes called Metidos a la Costa. Because the declarant only received this news early in the morning on Sunday the thirtieth, he did not have time to warn Opodepe about what he knew. Even though he wrote to Opodepe, his letters were returned from the pueblo of Nacameri; the one who brought them back told him the governor of Nacameri said that they were useless because the Indians had already attacked Opodepe.

He was asked if he knew or had heard whether any Indians from Pópulo had participated in any evil deeds such as robberies and thefts, murders, and burnings of houses. If so, he was to give their names and how he knew about them. He answered that in regard to the killings and the burning of the house in Opodepe, he does not know of any cooperation from the people of Pópulo itself. What he knows is what he has heard various times from the very inhabitants of Pópulo that the attackers included Sarmiento, Antonio Quislico, El Bata and El Saya, Tomás Tuerto Buellero, and El Coyote Mondragón, Miguel Asquilit, Isnapitul, Ysacliz, and another named Miguel—the first cousin of Don Marcos, the captain that God has permitted to be there, as well as another one named Fulgencio who is Miguel's brother. He stated that in addition to the people mentioned here, other kinsmen of theirs have killed many people from their own pueblo and outside it. They have also participated in many robberies of horses and cattle. Not very long ago, in that pueblo [Pópulo], Ysacliz killed Ignacio, the *temastián*[11] from the same pueblo.

I asked him whether Tomás, the mador from Pópulo, knew the whereabouts of the aggressors who caused those deaths mentioned in the *autos* and the other deaths mentioned by the declarant. [I instructed him that] he is to tell everything he knows, including anything he has not been asked about, in order to exercise good conduct in the service of Both Majesties and for the common good and the administration of royal justice. He answered that Tomás says that the aggressors are near Siete Cerritos,[12] close to a wilderness of brush that cannot be crossed on

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11. *Temastianes* were Indians trained as catechists who conducted *doctrina*, or catechism classes, and certain prayer services in the absence of the missionary. Doctrinas were held twice a day for children and once a day—usually in the morning—for adults (Polzer 1976).

12. Los Siete Cerros is a series of low hills on the coastal plain about halfway between modern Hermosillo and Bahía de Kino. Highway 16 intersects the range near Ejido El Triunfo. In 1844, Pascual Encinas established his ranch—San Francisco de Costa Rica—west of Los Siete Cerros. About a decade later, he and his cowboys waged a devastating war against the Seris, killing perhaps half the Seri population.

foot or horseback. Even though it is not that large—about an eighth of a league long—it is so thickly wooded that it can only be penetrated through some small clearings that [the Indians] have made so they can take shelter there when they are pursued.[13] The Indians also say that if they are attacked by soldiers or vecinos and suffer four or more deaths, no settlement will be secure from their assault.

In regard to this matter, Barbón does not have anything else to add to what he has already stated under oath. After his declaration was read back to him, he reaffirmed and ratified what he had said. He stated that he is forty-five years old and that, although he is fond of the Seris and has several compadres among them, he has not been unfaithful to the oath he made. He signed it with me, the judge, and the witnesses, which I certify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Fernando Barbón
Nicolás López de Siqueiros
Witness, Juan Germán

The same day, Captain Cristóbal de León arrived from Tecoripa and was dispatched with ten soldiers to San Xavier, which is located along the Río San Miguel between Tuape and Cucurpe, to see whether he could apprehend the Indians carrying out depredations there. On October 10, Alvarez de la Bandera ordered the governor and justicias of Pópulo to appear before him. Fiscal mayor *Tomás Bertorán and three other natives of the pueblo responded to his call and told him that the governor had been absent for several days and they did not know where he was. They also said that the alcalde of Pópulo had been there when the summons arrived, but had gone to Los Angeles.*

Testimony of Tomás Bertorán, *fiscal mayor* of Pópulo, Opodepe, October 10, 1725

In conformity to what was ordered in the preceding *auto,*[14] today, in said pueblo [Opodepe], I, the *alcalde mayor,* had Tomás Bertorán, *fiscal mayor* of Pópulo and an Indian well versed in the Spanish language, appear before me and my witnesses in the presence of Fernando Barbón de Leyva. Having questioned him about his understanding of the gravity of the oath, I did not find him very well informed. Therefore, I endeavored to make him understand and to explain it to him. Once he understood, he swore before Our Lord God and the sign of the cross and promised to tell the truth about everything he knew and was asked.

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13. Most of this thick desert vegetation on the alluvial plain formed by the Río Sonora has been cleared during the past fifty years to make way for the Costa de Hermosillo, an immense zone of irrigated agriculture west and south of Hermosillo. Entirely dependent upon groundwater, the Costa at its height had about 180,000 hectares in cultivation. Today, because of falling water tables and salinization of the aquifers, about 80,000 to 90,000 hectares are being farmed.

14. The previous *auto,* not translated here, simply ordered Bertorán to appear before Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera in the presence of Barbón de Leyva.

I asked him if he knew who had committed the horrendous killings and the burning of the house in the Valle de Opodepe, and from what nation they came. He said he knew that those who did [the crimes] belonged to Ambrosio's ranchería and that they were all from the Seri nation. I asked him how he knew that the aggressors were from Ambrosio's ranchería. He answered that he was told by his uncle, who was sent to Ambrosio's ranchería to deliver a tlatole that the alcalde had earlier given in the pueblo of Ures. Outside of Tonuco,[15] on Saturday, September 29, around noon, his uncle ran into an Indian named Casimiro and another accompanying him. They told his uncle and the other people that early that morning they had left to attack Opodepe. At that point [the uncle of Tomás Bertorán] turned back and arrived in his pueblo at sunset. He advised Patricio Puyslit, who is the governor of that pueblo, to warn the residents of Opodepe. Because that was not done, early the next morning, the declarant sent a boy to inform Barbón de Leyva to warn the people of Opodepe. It was too late, however, because the previous night the attack had already been carried out.

Showing the declarant all the enemy arrows that were picked up at the scene of the attack, I asked him whether he knew to whom they belonged. He answered that he knew two of the owners. Some of the arrows belonged to an Indian named Suda Nariz from Nicolasillo's ranchería, which is located in Carrizal.[16] He knew that Nicolasillo's ranchería had joined Ambrosio's ranchería in the attack, but that outside Tonuco, the people from Carrizal had turned back saying they did not want to be involved in it. Only two of the Indians from Carrizal continued with the people from Ambrosio's ranchería. The declarant also recognized some of the other arrows, which belong to another Indian named El Isquilichi, a native of Pópulo, even though these arrows are made differently [from the ones made by the natives of Pópulo]. He did not recognize the rest of the arrows because they were recently made and were different from the ones used by the people from Ambrosio's ranchería.

I asked him how many of the natives from Pópulo had run away because they had committed the crimes of murder and theft of cattle and horses. I also asked him to name them one by one, giving their names and surnames. He replied Sarmiento, Yasquilit, his brother Cornelio Ysacliz, El Coyote Mondragón, El Matubu and his brother Pacimal, Ventura Sipjaz and his brother Tuncajo, Saiaap and his brother Asgen, Miguel (who was a cousin of Marcos), Antonio Chicopa and his cousin, Fulgencio Sicli, Crisanto,[17] and Tomás Tuerto Buellero and his brother Cazumo. All these people he mentioned do not live in the pueblo. Moreover, they wander about untamed and steal whatever they find. They have murdered some of their own kinsmen as well as some Pimas.

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15. According to Almada (1983), Tonuco is a rancho in the municipio of Hermosillo. The mining district might have been there or nearby.

16. Carrizal is the important spring called *Hax Caail,* or 'water wide' by the Seris. Still important to the Seris, it is located north of Estero de la Cruz near Bahía de Kino, and would have been one of the most important sources of permanent water for the Salinero Seris.

17. It is possible that if he was a young man in 1725, the Crisanto mentioned here was the same Crisanto who surrendered to Colonel Domingo Elizondo and became governor of the new Seri settlement on the outskirts of Pitic in 1770 (see chapter 4).

I asked him if he knew how many people were under Ambrosio's command and where they would be camped. He replied that he had heard that Ambrosio had about eighty Indian men camped about six leagues beyond Siete Cerritos at a water hole that had no name. Next to this water hole is a wild, brushy area about a quarter league long, which is somewhat narrow but very dense and thick. He had heard that [those of Ambrosio's ranchería] would try to make their escape there if they were pursued by the Spaniards. He also had heard that an individual called Ynolcus—who was from Ambrosio's ranchería and who gave the tlatole before the killings—had stated that [members of Ambrosio's ranchería] will wait to fight the Spaniards there in the place where they were hiding. They said they had nothing to lose, that they were [dressed] in skins and [living] in the wilderness like deer while the Spaniards ate well, were well dressed, and had silver. They added that they would kill them [the Spaniards], that they would join together there to wait for them, and that afterwards they would come to kill those who escaped wherever they ran into them.

The declarant said that he had nothing more to add to what he had already said. He said that he had testified with all his heart and that it would make him very happy if the [Spaniards] killed all of them [members of Ambrosio's ranchería] because they were enemies of God. Several times they have been invited [to come to Pópulo] but they have never wanted to come. On many other occasions, soldiers have brought them in, but they have turned around and left, causing great damage. On one occasion, for example, I know that they did not leave enough in the pueblo for their father minister to eat, when it would have served God to have given him some. He [the father minister] will therefore be very happy when they have all been finished off so he can live with some relief and those who remain in their pueblo will have some fear and live as Christians.

After all that he had said was read back to him, he [the declarant] swore that all that he had stated was certain and true under the oath he had taken. And even though many of the people involved were his kinsmen, he had not for that reason failed to state that which is the truth. He said he was thirty-five years old. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Barbón de Leyva signed for the declarant at the declarant's request. Barbón de Leyva was present with me, the judge, and all of my witnesses throughout all that was said and sworn. With them, he acted as the *juez receptor.* To this I certify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
At the request of Tomás Bertorán, Fernando Barbón de Leyva
Witness, Nicolás López de Siqueiros
Witness, Juan Germán

On October 11, a native of Opodepe named Francisco Mendoza told Alvarez de la Bandera that some Seris were stealing cattle belonging to the Indians and vecinos of Opodepe. Alvarez de la Bandera immediately left with eight vecinos and ten Indians from Opodepe and went in search of them. He found a great many tracks at a place called La Alameda heading in the direction of Chupisonora, at which point he decided to turn back because his force was too small. The next day, he sent out a larger squad of twenty-five to thirty men.

By October 14, Alvarez de la Bandera was in Tuape, where he called a meeting of all the vecinos in the Valle de Opodepe. Because of both Seri and Lower Pima unrest, the settlers feared that the province was in danger of being lost and requested five hundred Upper Pimas to accompany them on a campaign against the rebels. On October 16, Captain León returned and reported his battle with seven Seri men at a water hole between the Picacho de Pópulo and the Sierra de Opodepe. One Seri man, one woman, and seven children were captured and taken back to Opodepe, where Alvarez de la Bandera interrogated them. Alvarez de la Bandera learned that the Seris of that ranchería were from Pópulo and Los Angeles but probably had not participated in the de la Huerta attack.

On October 18, Alvarez de la Bandera interrogated Seri prisoners Agustín de Yescas and Policarpio Simencol, who told him that de la Huerta's assailants were Salineros from the ranchería of Ambrosio. Alvarez de la Bandera then headed to San Ignacio in the Pimería Alta to gather the Upper Pima auxiliaries after sending León to Nacameri to deliver the Seri prisoners to the Seri officials of Pópulo. The three missionaries of the Pimería Alta—Agustín de Campos, Luis Xavier Velarde, and Luis María Gallardi—requested that Alvarez de la Bandera delay his campaign until the end of November so the Pimas could plant their wheat crop. Alvarez de la Bandera agreed.

Back in Opodepe on November 8, the alcalde mayor sent ten Seri prisoners from Pópulo to the jail in Motepori.[18] *He also ordered two Seri prisoners in the Motepori jail—Gerónimo and Lucas—to appear before him.*

Testimony of Gerónimo, a Seri Prisoner, Opodepe, November 12, 1725

In said pueblo of Opodepe on the twelfth day of said month [November], I, the alcalde mayor, even though I was still sick,[19] forced myself to continue with these proceedings in order not to delay them because they demand prompt action. Because the first order of business was to take the testimony of Gerónimo, the Seri prisoner, I took him out of the jail where he was being held. When he was in the presence of me and my witnesses, I questioned him about whether he understood the solemnity of his oath. After finding that he was incapable of taking it, I proceeded to receive his confession by asking him the following questions.

I asked to which Indian nation he belonged, and he answered that he was a Tepoca. What was he doing in Pópulo? He answered that he was passing through. I asked him whether he knew who had summoned the people who came to kill Huerta and his family and to burn the houses. He answered that what he knew

18. Juan Mateo Manje founded the mining *real* of Motepori (also spelled Motepore) while he served as alcalde mayor of Sonora from 1701 to 1703. It was located west of the Opata community of Sinoquipe along the Río Sonora. According to historical geographer Robert West (1993:50), by 1720 "the new *real* had become a sizable Spanish settlement of two hundred miners, stockmen, and their workers; by mid-century it had been virtually abandoned because of Apache raids."

19. Alvarez de la Bandera fell ill after riding all night in the rain on November 6 while bringing in his Seri prisoners.

was that the *alguacil* from Los Angeles, a kinsman of Ambrosio's, was the one who gave the tlatoles. Men from several groups [*gremios*][20] gathered together at the water hole of Mezquite and from there came to the water hole of La Bura [Mule Deer Doe], where they stayed for five days while others joined them. I asked him which groups had gathered together. He answered that they were from Pópulo, Los Angeles, Ambrosio's ranchería, and Nicolasillo's ranchería, all of them Salineros. [Also present were] were El Batari, who lives below Pópulo, and the Tepoca El Becerro[21] [Male Calf] with his brother, and another one named Catiquil, who with this declarant [Gerónimo], make four Tepocas. There were forty-six all together.

I asked him the names of each one. He answered that he could not give all the names because he did not know them all, but he would give the names of all he knew and remembered, which are the following: El Becerro, his brother Domingo, Catiquil, and the declarant [Gerónimo], who are all Tepocas; Sarmiento, Ysnapitul, Clemente, and Piacuo, all from Pópulo; Ambrosio, Ysacliz, El Coyote, Sagimac, and Telitcantic from Ambrosio's ranchería; Nicolasillo with all those from his ranchería; and El Batari with some others. All of them live in the wilds and come to Pópulo only at night. Among the prisoners that were taken to Motepori, only the Tepoca and another one named Antonio did not come to burn the house, but they are still horse and cattle thieves.

Having gathered at La Bura, they planned how they would enter [Opodepe] that night and burn Huerta's house and kill everyone inside. Then they planned to move on to the other houses to do the same. With this purpose they came and entered [Opodepe] early in the evening and reached the house of José de Santos, nicknamed El Tentador [The Temptor], first. Hearing a noise, he came out and was killed by El Batari, while his daughter was killed by the alguacil from Los Angeles. Then they went to Huerta's house. The alguacil and Catuci's son killed Huerta's cooks. As Huerta was coming through the door with his musket, a Salinero named Expencas brought him down with his first arrow shot. The other attackers removed the window and began to shoot arrows at the people inside. Because they were not fleeing outside, El Batari ordered the house burned, and so the Indians commenced to burn it. The capitán de la guerra from Pópulo went up on the roof and, after removing the dirt from it, set it on fire.[22] I asked him why they did not burn the rest of the houses. He answered that it took a long time to burn Huerta's

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20. The use of *gremio* here is interesting and may refer to indigenous Seri social units below the level of bands. By the twentieth century, when limited ethnographic research began to be conducted among the Seris, the Seris did not divide themselves into clans. They did, however, recall units known as ihizitim, which were associated with specific territories (see the introduction) and may have been based on patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Unfortunately, the Spanish documentary record provides little more than ambiguous and fleeting glimpses at the ways in which the Seris organized and made distinctions among themselves.

21. Perhaps this is the same Becerro who later became a rebel leader and, mortally wounded, shot the arrow that killed Governor Juan de Mendoza during a battle in the Cerro Prieto in 1760.

22. De la Huerta's house apparently was flat-roofed. The roof probably resembled a common roof type still found in the Sonoran countryside. According to geographer Campbell Pennington (1980:342), "the roof frame is anchored to the four or six forked house posts,

house. He also said that when they were burning Huerta's house, they heard a musket shot coming from Captain Camacho's house, so they did not dare [burn any others].

Then they went to the rancho of Santa Rosa, running off all the horses and mules they came across and killing as many cattle as they could. In Batobabi[23] they talked about returning to burn the rest of the houses in this valley. Once they were finished with these, they would then move on to the Valle de Sonora to do the same. This could be done without any trouble because the houses there were spread out, like these [in Opodepe]. From there, they went back to their rancherías, saying that they would let one another know when to return.

Now, at the time when the declarant was seized, the word to return was already spreading. It was their intention to kill the Spaniards one by one, or two by two, or more, in any way they could, until they finished them off. Then they would kill the Tepocas that came through here. I asked him why they wanted to kill everyone. He answered that the Seris were very angry because the Spaniards did not let them steal cattle and horses and because the Spaniards had killed two of their kinsmen. [They were angry at the Tepocas] because the Tepocas accused them of everything, even of things that the Tepocas themselves had done, and [because the Tepocas] cultivated the earth.

He stated that this was the truth and nothing but the truth about what had happened. He did not know who burned the houses in Tuape nor who shot Uzárraga's mules with arrows. He also stated that if there were anything else he knew, he would declare it as well. He explained all of this in Castilian. What he could not explain clearly in Castilian he stated in Hegue.[24] Francisco de Acuña, who knew the Hegue language well, was the interpreter. The declarant offered to show the way to the wild places where Ambrosio and Nicolasillo were hiding with their rancherías. He did not sign this because he did not know how. He must be around twenty years old, more or less. I signed it with my witnesses. To this I testify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Witness, Antonio de la Vega Camacho
Witness, Joaquín José de Rivera

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and a number of beams are placed quite close together and anchored to the frame. *Carrizo* [cane or reed], *otate,* or branches of pitahaya [organ pipe cactus] are then laid across these beams at right angles to the beams. Another layer of material, usually *batamote* (*Baccharis salicifolia;* seep willow) or *jécota* (*Hymenoclea* spp; burrobush), is added at right angles to the previous layer. The whole is then covered with earth."

23. There is a Cerro Batobabi southwest of Opodepe. It is drained by the upper reaches of the Río Zanjón, a tributary of the Río San Miguel. Rancho Batobabi is located along one of those drainages, and there were undoubtedly springs or other sources of water there that the Seris would have known about.

24. Hegue, or Jegui, referred to the Eudeve Indians and their language. Many Seris living in or visiting the mission communities along the Río San Miguel must have spoken some Eudeve, since the Eudeves dominated the middle stretches of the river and lived in Cucurpe, Tuape, and Opodepe.

In San Xavier, on November 19, Alvarez de la Bandera heard and refused a petition signed by the vecinos of the Valle de Opodepe to execute the Seri prisoners. He argued that if the Seri prisoners were killed, their kinsmen would commit so many robberies and murders that the region would be depopulated. He also contended that as long as the Spaniards remained in control of the Seri prisoners, the aggressors would not attack for fear that the prisoners would be killed.

On December 1, Alvarez de la Bandera ordered Captain León to go to Bacoachi and another squad to reconnoiter "Saguaitubí, Batobabi, Chupisonora, Cobrisas, and other batequis" before joining up with León in Bacoachi. León retreated to Pitic[25] *(modern Hermosillo) after running into a large number of Seris. Alvarez de la Bandera then requested assistance from Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, captain of the presidio of Fronteras. Tuñón y Quirós declined, citing Apache hostilities.*

On December 28, Alvarez de la Bandera took the testimony of Cristóbal de León. León recounted that on November 13, his squad encountered a ranchería of Seris between Bacoachi and Carrizal. They killed nine Seri men and took twenty-four women and children prisoner. The next day, they ran into another ranchería at the water hole of Tenuaje, killing four more Seri men and capturing nine women and children. Against León's advice, his soldiers decided to attack Ambrosio's ranchería. His force of twenty-three marched until after dark. Finding that they were lost in the wilds, León ordered a halt. About midnight, a large number of Seris surrounded them and shot many arrows at them, wounding six and killing one. The Spaniards retreated to Carrizal and then to Pitiquí with their prisoners.

Despite these reverses, the Seri leader Nicolás and some of his companions arrived in San José de Gracia asking for peace for his ranchería and that of Ambrosio on December 31. At first, Alvarez de la Bandera informed them that peace would not be granted unless they agreed to live in the mission communities and turn over the leaders of the de la Huerta assault to be hung. The Seris did not honor those demands. Even though sixty men and more than one hundred women and children came down to Pitiquí, Ambrosio and Nicolás turned over only three Seris who had participated in the attack. Alvarez de la Bandera judiciously did not try to compel them to turn over others. He also did not attempt to take them prisoner. His concluding statement revealed a pragmatic understanding of the limitations of force the Spaniards were able to exercise on the Sonoran frontier. Throughout the whole investigation, Alvarez de la Bandera proceeded cautiously, in large measure because of the weakness of Spanish forces on the northwestern frontier.

There appears to be confusion about how the de la Huerta affair ended. Jesuit historian John Donohue (1969) claims that Manuel Bernal de Huidobro led a

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25. Pitic, also spelled Pitiquí or Pitiquín, was located just south of the juncture of the Río San Miguel and the Río Sonora. It was a ranchería of Lower Pimas in 1700, when Escalante passed through, but its broad fertile terrain and well-watered location attracted Spanish settlers who established farms there. Pedro de Rivera considered moving the presidio of Sinaloa to Pitic in the late 1720s but decided against it. In the aftermath of the Yaqui rebellion of 1740, however, a new presidio was established there in 1741 (Naylor and Polzer 1988; Polzer and Sheridan 1997). Nearly three decades later, it became the principal garrison of the Elizondo Expedition (see chapter 4).

squad of twenty-two soldiers into the Cerro Prieto to subdue the perpetrators, citing Almada (1983) and the Diario *of Pedro de Rivera. Almada says nothing about this expedition, however, while Rivera states, "Incited by the distant sounds of battle, the captain or governor of Sinaloa pacified all the rebels at Cerro Prieto, the home of the Cocomacagues, with a force of only twenty-two soldiers, and without bloodshed at that" (Naylor and Polzer 1988:155). Naylor and Polzer identify the captain as Juan de Valdéz, cabo and* caudillo *of the Sinaloa presidio. If Huidobro did in fact lead a foray into the Cerro Prieto, it may have been against the Lower Pima rebels who had sacked Tecoripa, an expedition for which he was commended by the viceroy. In all probability, then, most of the Seris who carried out the de la Huerta assault were never punished for their actions.*

Alvarez de la Bandera's Concluding Statement, Pitiquí, January 26, 1726

In the haciendas of Pitiquí on the twenty-sixth of this month [January], I, the alcalde mayor, saw to it that many of the settlers who had accompanied me in the public celebration of peace requested by the Seri nation, as the *autos* make clear, returned to their homes. They had no other goal than to insist that the principal leaders of that nation be shot. Under the pretext that they were suffering many setbacks because they were absent from their homes, they said that if I did not do as they requested, they would return [to their homes]. I told them that because the said [Seri nation] had requested peace, I could not carry out what they were urging me to do without notifying my superior first. I told them that I would arrest and hold the guilty Seri leaders in a secure place until my superior determines what is most useful for the service of Both Majesties.

In view of my decision, they decided to return to their homes. Among those who returned was the alférez I appointed for the campaign. I accepted their decision and did not make any effort to stop them, because I was afraid to precipitate any disagreement in light of the fact that fifty Indian men had already gathered and were growing more insolent. The only ones who remained in my [militia] company were those who were willing to stay. I should make it clear that, of those who did not value the *junta de república*,[26] more left than stayed in my company.

For fifteen days I have been waiting for the Seris to come down [to Pitiquí], sending them messages, treating them kindly, and doing all kinds of things to coax all the troublemakers and leaders of that nation to come down. So far only sixty-two men and a hundred and some women and children have come down, some one day and others the next. Only two governors—Ambrosio and Nicolás—have presented themselves to me. These were the same governors that I found at the haciendas when I first came here. Each has his own separate ranchería. The principal perpetrators of the crime committed by this nation, as these *autos* state, are missing. Being short of forces, I thought it best to grant them peace, even though they had not yet delivered the principal authors of the deed. Each of the governors was to hand over to me any of the guilty ones who were present among their people, with the provision that each one of them would later go to seize the other perpetrators who were missing.

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26. In this case, Alvarez de la Bandera may be using *república* sarcastically, in the sense of a council or meeting where disorder reigned (cf. Santamaría 1974).

I could not find any evidence among all of them [the Seris who came to Pitiquí] that Ambrosio or Nicolás were guilty of what had been committed, except for general rumors that those from Ambrosio's ranchería and some from Nicolás' ranchería had committed the crimes. On being accused of this, they answered that it was true, but that no one was able to say who among them had participated. [The governors said that] those who participated were those who completely lacked obedience to them, and that they would do their best to capture and hand them over to me, just as they did today when they brought me three of the guilty ones who were found among those present. They [the guilty ones] were Ambrosio's nephew Miguel, Manuel Valdez, and Francisco Tuerto. I apprehended them and decided it was best to leave the rest of the people with their governors. I assigned them the locations they requested for their rancherías, which were commonly known as Laris and Moraga. These two places are more or less four leagues downriver from the hacienda of Pitiquí. I also handed over eight families from Pópulo to Don Tomás Bertorán, the governor of that pueblo. I have found him to be very faithful and a good servant of Both Majesties. He accompanied me during the entire time I spent carrying out my duties in that place.

All the tlatoles necessary for the peace and tranquility of the community were made on my behalf by this governor, Don Tomás. Twenty-two children six years and under needed to be baptized. I asked Reverend Father Pedro Fernández[27] from the pueblo of Ures, which is approximately twenty-two leagues from this hacienda, to come and conduct this work of such great service to Our Lord God. With great compassion, he immediately got on his horse and hurried to carry out what was requested.

I feared that there was not much I could do in that place with the few soldiers with which I found myself. I also knew that this nation had committed various treacheries under the guise of peace, so I decided to leave. If I had the necessary forces at my disposal, I could have stayed in that place longer. There is no doubt that such a delay might have helped us to capture more aggressors. With all that had already been done, I decided to leave because it appeared that these natives were sufficiently peaceful and quiet after the operations I carried out among them. Every one of them received an *almud* of maize to plant.

So that it is officially recorded, I issued this proceedings in the presence of witnesses, to which I certify.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Witness, Ignacio Cordero
Witness, Baltazar Ramírez

From the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1720a, ff. 461v–497v.

27. Pedro Fernández, S.J. (1685–?) was born in Toledo and entered the Jesuit novitiate in Mexico in 1708. In 1719, he took over the mission of Ures and served there until 1729, when he apparently had a nervous breakdown or went insane. He was sent to the Colegio del Espíritu Santo in Puebla, where he was listed as "demente" in 1751.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Testimonio de José de Uzárraga, Opodepe, 8 de octubre de 1725

Dicho día, yo dicho alcalde mayor, en conformidad de lo mandado en el auto antecedente, hice parecer ante mí y en presencia de los testigos de mi asistencia a José de Uzárraga, que haciéndole saber el expresado auto le recibí juramento, que hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Santa Cruz, so cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad en lo que hubiere visto y sabido sobre el contenido, de dicho auto.

Quien dijo que el día domingo, que se contaron 30 de septiembre, como a las once del día, llegó a su casa, [del] que declara, Miguel de la Cruz, y le dijo que los seris estaban quemando la casa de Salvador de la Huerta y flechando los que salían de dicha casa. Y con la noticia expresada, dice el que declara, se puso a caballo y llegó a la casa de dicho Salvador de Huerta, adonde halló la expresada casa ya quemada en el suelo, y estaba[n] comenzando a desaterrar, el gobernador del pueblo de Opodepe, y unos cuantos hijos de dicho pueblo, para sacar los cuerpos que estaban debajo, que fueron: Salvador de la Huerta, su mujer, una criada suya y Juana Domínguez y diez criaturas, la mayor de seis años. Y los que salieron de la casa, que hirieron fuera y murieron a las veinticuatro horas, fueron: Gerónimo Loera, otra vieja llamada Matilde Mariana de los Reyes y una india apache llamada Teresa, y José Ramos, y una hija del dicho Ramos, y otra criaturita hija de Mariana, que mataron fuera de la expresada casa. Que unos y otros fueron los muertos veintiuno, chicos y grandes, y dos heridos que se hallan en este dicho pueblo.

Y que ha oído vulgarmente decir, que los que ejecutaron las muertes que lleva expresadas fueron los indios de nación seri, y dice el que declara que por el conocimiento que tiene, desde ha que está en esta provincia, en las flechas que usan estas naciones, en las que se recogieron conoce, hay flechas que usan los seris del Pópulo, y entre ellas de las que usan los salineros y tepocas. Y que asimismo un indio de su misma nación seri, le dijo al que declara, delante de varias personas, que las flechas, las más, eran las que usaban los indios seris del Pópulo que están retirados de dicho su pueblo. Y dice el declara que [a] Gerónimo Loera, a quien alcanzó vivo, le preguntó varias veces si había conocido a alguno de los indios agresores, y que le respondió que no había conocido a ninguno, que lo que sí le dijo fue que eran seris. Y que una señora viuda y dos mancebitos que escaparon de la expresada casa de dicho Huerta le dijeron que todos ellos hablaban en castilla, profiriendo las razones: "Ah, buen Huerta, mira cómo estamos comiendo tus terneras gordas!"

Y que esto [es] lo que sabe, visto como quien asistió desde el principio a desaterrar los cuerpos, [y] ayudar a bien morir a los que alcanzó vivos hasta darles sepultura en este dicho pueblo de Opodepe. No habiéndose hallado en esta jurisdicción el teniente don Antonio de la Vega Camacho, quien había ido a ver a su señoría ilustrísima, el señor obispo, al pueblo de Ures. Y que esto es lo que ha pasado y sabe, so cargo del juramento que hecho tiene, en que habiéndole leído esta su declaración, en ella se afirmó y ratificó, y dijo ser de edad de treinta y cinco años, y que aunque Salvador de la Huerta, difunto, era su compadre, no ha faltado en cosa alguna a la religión del juramento, y lo firmó conmigo dicho juez y testigos de mi asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
José Uzárraga
Testigo Joaquín Ignacio de Ozaeta Gallástegui
Testigo Antonio de la Vega Camacho

Testimonio de Juan Barragán, 9 de octubre de 1725

En dicho pueblo de Opodepe, en 9 de dicho mes y año, yo dicho alcalde mayor, en conformidad de lo mandado en el auto que consta a cuatro fojas de estas diligencias, hice parecer ante mí a Juan Barragán, a quien en su persona hice saber el auto que está a siete fojas, y enterado de él, le recibí juramento, que hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Santa Cruz, so cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad sobre el contenido de dicho auto.

Quien dijo que lo que presume del acaecimiento en la quema de casa y muertes que se ejecutaron, discurre que los que la ejecutarían serían indios de la nación seri, por razón de [que] dos semanas poco más antes de lo acaecido, había salido Salvador de la Huerta y Gerónimo Loera, difuntos, en seguimiento de unas bestias que dichos seris le habían llevado, y que a los dos días, viendo que los dichos Huerta y Loera no parecían, dice el que declara, fue en compañía de Marcos de Acuña y Gregorio Gallegos, y dieron parte al teniente de esta jurisdicción don Antonio de la Vega Camacho, de cómo había dos días no [a]parecían los ya expresados. Y que a eso les respondió dicho teniente, se juntasen algunos vecinos y los fuesen a buscar.

Y con esa orden se juntaron con los tres ya mencionados, Cayetano de Aguilar, y Nicolás Granillo, y Agustín de Yescas, y Juan Cristóbal de la Merte, y Francisco su hermano, Ignacio Vega, José de Mesa, y Miguel Soniqui, ópata. Y Pedro de Amaya, Lázaro de Acuña, y Calixto, indio yaqui. Y Francisco, ópata, y Juan Germán y Domingo Sánchez; que todos los expresados son diecisiete personas los que salieron en busca de los mencionados. Y habiéndoles hallado en el rancho de la Alameda, de torna vuelta que se venían, en un paraje que llaman Chupisonora, se toparon con una ranchería de seris, adonde tenían las bestias que le habían hurtado a dicho Huerta. Y que luego que fueron sentidos de dichos indios, echaron mano a las armas, chocando con todos los que iban, a que se vieron precisados a la defensa, acometiendo a ellos. Y en la refriega que hubo murieron tres de dichos seris; a vista de eso los demás huyeron dejando las bestias que habían robado.

Y de allí se vinieron todos los mencionados trayéndose consigo el robo que quitaron. Y dice él que declara que no sabe si de lo que ejecutaron se le dio cuenta al teniente, de adonde infiere serían seris los que ejecutaron las muertes y quema de casa, "pues desde bien inmediato a la casa que quemaron estuve oculto mirando todo lo que pasó sin atreverme a demostrarme, por hallarme sin armas y no ejecutaran en mí lo mismo que estaba yo mirando." Y que les oía a los indios en lengua castellana [que] "a los que actual [flechaban, los] estaban matando [como] a perros."

Y que los muertos fueron veintiuno, chicos y grandes, y dos heridos que estaban en este dicho pueblo. Y que en atención a lo que se previene por dicho auto que se le hizo saber, no sabe otra cosa más que lo que lleva declarado, que es la verdad, so cargo del juramento que hecho tiene. En que habiéndosele leído esta su declaración,

en ella se afirmó y ratificó, y dijo ser de edad de treinta años, y que ninguno le toca en las generales de la ley. No firmó porque dijo no saber. Hícelo yo, dicho juez y testigos de mi asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Testigo Antonio de la Vega Camacho
Testigo Joaquín Ignacio de Ozaeta Gallástegui

Testimonio de Fernando Barbón de Leyva, 9 de octubre de 1725

En dicho pueblo de Opodepe, en dicho día, yo dicho alcalde mayor, para la plena justificación de la nación que puede haber sido la que ejecutó las muertes y quema de casa en este dicho valle de Opodepe, hice parecer ante mí a Fernando Barbón de Leyva. Avecindado que ha estado en el pueblo del Pópulo con su familia cuatro años ha, y de entrar y salir en dicho pueblo y mandar a los naturales de él, como catorce años ha, a quien le recibí juramento, que hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Santa Cruz, so cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad de lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado.

Y por primera diligencia en presencia de los testigos de mi asistencia se le pusieron a su vista cincuenta y tantas flechas que se pudieron recoger, y se le preguntó si conocía el hechizo de ellas, de qué nación pudieran ser. Responde que según conocimiento que tiene, las flechas son de los seris, y que cuatro o cinco de ellas, en lo grande, grueso del carrizo, y pluma larga, son de un dueño que es el mador de los Angeles, llamado José de Aguirre. Y preguntádole si había tenido alguna notica de que los expresados seris hubiesen querido dar en alguna casa o casas de este valle de Opodepe, responde que lo que supo fue que querían venir a dar a Opodepe, pero no a casa señalada.

Y preguntádole de quién lo supo y en qué día, responde que de quien lo supo fue del fiscal mayor del Pópulo llamado Tomás, y de otro indio tepoca llamado Juan de Dios, digo pima, que a éste se lo dijo el [al]calde del Pópulo llamado Simón. Y preguntado si le dijeron qué día habían de dar, responde que no señalaron día, y que el día que le dieron esa noticia fue el día 27 de septiembre. Y preguntádole si tuvo noticia del día que dieron en Opodepe, o antes que hubieran dado si supo algo de esto, responde que [el] domingo a la madrugada, 30 de septiembre, le envió a decir el fiscal mayor del Pópulo que el día 29 en la tarde que habían cruzado cuarenta indios seris de la ranchería de Ambrosio, y dos salineros de la ranchería de Nicolasillo, que venían a dar y a quemar la casa del capitán Camacho, y la de Salvador de Huerta y la de Gaona. Y que toda esta noticia le dio [dieron] al fiscal mayor, dos indios salineros de la ranchería de Nicolasillo que está en el carrizal que llaman "metidos a la costa." Y que la noticia le llegó al que declara el día 30, día domingo a la madrugada, que no tuvo tiempo de avisar por razón de que aunque escribía a Opodepe avisando lo que había sabido, del pueblo de Nacameri se devolvieron las cartas, diciendo el que las traía, habíale dicho el gobernador de Nacameri que ya esas cartas no servían por haber ya dado los indios en Opodepe.

Y preguntádole si sabe, o ha oído decir que algunos indios del Pópulo hubiesen cooperado en semejante maldad, robos y ladronicios, muertes y quemas de casa, los exprese por sus nombres, y como que tiene conocimiento de todos ellos. Responde: que en lo que toca a las muertes ejecutadas y quema de casa en Opodepe

no sabe que hayan cooperado los del Pópulo, que lo que sabe es por habérselo oído a los mismos naturales del Pópulo variedad de veces, que es Sarmiento, Antonio Quislico, el Bata, y el Saya, y Tomás Tuerto Buellero, y el Coyote Mondragón, Miguel Asquilit, y el Isnapitul, Ysacliz y otro llamado Miguel, primo hermano de don Marcos, el capitán, que Dios aía [haya]. Y otro Fulgencio, hermano de dicho Miguel. Que estos que lleva mencionados, sus propios parientes, como lleva dicho, han hecho varias muertes en los mismos de su pueblo y fuera de él. Y han cooperado en varios robos de caballos y vacas. Y que no ha mucho tiempo el Ysacliz mató en dicho pueblo a Ignacio Temastián, de dicho pueblo.

Y preguntádole si sabe que Tomás, mador de dicho del Pópulo, sepa en qué paraje se puedan hallar los agresores que ejecutaron las muertes que de estos autos consta, y los demás que lleva este declarante mencionados, diga en esta pregunta todo lo que supiere y se hubiere pasado por preguntarle, para el buen gobierno de lo que debe ejecutar en servicio de ambas majestades y bien público y administración de la real justicia. Responde que dice Tomás, se hallan adelante de los Siete Cerritos, cerca de un monte inandable a pie, ni a caballo, aunque no muy grande, que tendrá de distancia como medio cuarto de legua, tan espeso, de manera que no se entra él si no es por unas pequeñas brechas que de propósito tiene hechas para guarecerse en él cuando fueren perseguidos. Y dicen más los dichos indios, que de ser invadidos de soldados o vecinos, y que en ellos se ejecute cuatro o más muertes, no habrá vecindad segura que de ellos no fuere asaltada.

Y que sobre el particular no tiene otra cosa que decir más que lo que lleva declarado. So cargo del juramento que hecho tiene, en que habiéndosele leído esta su declaración, en ella se afirmó y ratificó, y dijo ser de edad de cuarenta y cinco años, y que aunque es afecto a la nación seri y tiene entre ellos varios compadres, no ha faltado a la religión del juramento. Y lo firmó conmigo dicho juez y testigos de que doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Fernando Barbón
Nicolás López de Siqueiros
Testigo Juan Germán

Testimonio de Tomás Bertorán, *fiscal mayor* de Pópulo, 10 de octubre de 1725

En dicho día y dicho pueblo yo, dicho alcalde mayor, en conformidad de lo mandado en el auto de arriba, hice parecer ante mí, y de los testigos de mi asistencia presente, Fernando Barbón de Leyva, como se manda en dicho auto, a Tomás Bertorán, fiscal mayor del pueblo del Pópulo, indio ladino en la lengua castellana. Y habiéndolo examinado sobre lo que contenía la gravedad del juramento, aunque en el todo no lo hallé capaz, y en lo que ignoró, se lo di a entender y expliqué, y habiéndolo entendido, le recibí juramento, que hizo por Dios Nuestro Señor y la señal de la Santa Cruz. So cuyo cargo prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado.

Y diciéndole si sabía qué gente y de qué nación había ejecutado las muertes tan atroces y quema de casa en este valle de Opodepe, responde: que los que sabe ejecutaron esas muertes, y quema de casa fueron los de la ranchería de Ambrosio, y que son todos ellos de nación seri. Y preguntádole que cómo supo ser los de la ranchería de Ambrosio los agresores, responde: que en la forma que lo supo fue por

habérselo dicho un tío suyo, a quien enviaba a llevarle a esa ranchería de Ambrosio, el tlatole que le había dado el señor alcalde en el pueblo de los Ures. Y que más acá del Tonuco topó su tío con un indio llamado Casimiro y otro en su compañía, el día sábado como a mediodía, que se contaron 29 de septiembre; que le dijeron a su tío y a la gente, [que] aquella madrugada habían salido a dar a Opodepe, de adonde se devolvió y llegó a su pueblo al ponerse el sol. Y le avisó, dicho su tío, al gobernador de dicho pueblo llamado Patricio Puyslit, y que enviase avisar a Opodepe a los vecinos. Y no habiendo hecho caso de hacerlo, y a la madrugada, el que va declarando despachó un muchacho a avisarle a Barbón de Leyva, diesen aviso a Opodepe, y ya no tuvo remedio, porque aquella noche misma habían ya dado.

Y preguntádole y puéstole delante todas las flechas que se recogieron de los enemigos, si conocía sus dueños, responde que [de] las flechas conoce dos dueños de ellas, que son: unas de un indio que llaman Suda Nariz, de la ranchería de Nicolasillo, que está en el Carrizal. Que según supo, se había juntado esa ranchería con la de Ambrosio, y que adelante del Tonuco se volvió la gente del Carrizal diciendo que no se querían meter en eso, y que solamente cruzaron dos con la ranchería de Ambrosio. Y que conoce otras de otro que llaman el Isquilichi—aunque diferenciadas [por su hechura]—natural del pueblo del Pópulo, y que todas las demás no las conoce por haberse hecho nuevas, diferenciadas de las que usan los de la ranchería de dicho Ambrosio.

Y preguntádole cuántos hijos del dicho su pueblo del Pópulo andan ausentes que tengan algunos delitos de muertes que hayan ejecutado, y robos de vacas y caballos, los exprese uno a uno, por sus nombres y apellidos. Responde: que Sarmiento, Yasquilit, su hermano Cornelio Ysacliz, el Coyote Mondragón y el Matubu, y su hermano Pacimal y Ventura Sipjaz, y su hermano, Tuncajo, y Saiaap, y su hermano Asgen. Y Miguel primo que era de Marcos, y Antonio Chicopa, y un primo suyo, Fulgencio Sicli. Y Crisanto, Tomás Tuerto Buellero y otro hermano de Tomás Tuerto llamado Cazumo, y todos estos que lleva mencionados no asisten en el pueblo, y andan montaraces robando lo que encuentran, y [han] cometido algunas muertes entre los mismos parientes y pimas.

Y preguntádole si sabía qué porción de gente tenía Ambrosio debajo de su mando, y qué paraje asistían, responde: que lo que ha oído decir que tendrá Ambrosio, serán como ochenta gandules, y que en la parte adonde se hallan es como seis leguas adelante de los Siete Cerritos, en el aguaje que no tiene otro nombre. Y que pegado al mismo aguaje tienen un monte largo como de un cuarto de legua, algo angosto, muy espeso y cerrado, adonde ha oído decir que pretenden escaparse si fuesen perseguidos por los españoles. Y que también ha oído decir, dijo uno de ellos llamado Ynolcus, de la ranchería de Ambrosio, que fue el que hizo el tlatole para las muertes que ejecutaron, que allí en el paraje adonde se hallaban esperarían a los españoles para pelear, que ellos no tenían que perder, que estaban en cueros y en los montes como venados, y que los españoles comían bien y vestían y tenían plata. Y que más que los matasen, que allí se juntarían todos a esperarlos, que entonces los que escaparen de ellos vendrán matando a los que toparen.

Y que no tiene otra cosa que decir más que lo que lleva dicho, que se lo ha declarado con todo su corazón, y que se alegrará mucho los acaben a todos esos, porque son enemigos de Dios, y que varias veces los han llamado y no han querido venir al pueblo, y otras muchas veces los han traído los soldados y se han vuelto a ir, haciéndoles muchos daños, como sé de que no han dejado, una vez, en el pueblo para que pueda comer su padre ministro, cuando Dios fuere servido de dárselo, y

que así se alegrará mucho el que a todos los acaben para vivir con algún alivio, y que los que quedan en su pueblo tenga[n] algún temor y vivan como cristianos. Y que todo lo que lleva declarado es la verdad, so cargo del juramento que hecho tiene, en que habiendo recitado todo lo que ha dicho, dijo ser cierto y verdadero. Y que aunque muchos de ellos son sus parientes, que no por eso ha dejado de decir lo que es verdad. Y dijo ser de edad de treinta y cinco años, no firmó por no saber. Firmólo a su ruego, Barbón de Leyva, quien se halló presente a todo lo que ha dicho y declarado conmigo, dicho juez y testigos de mi asistencia, con quienes actuo como juez receptor, como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
A ruego de Tomás Bertorán, Fernando Barbón de Leyva
Testigo, Nicolás López de Siqueiros
Testigo, Juan Germán

Testimonio de Gerónimo, prisionero seri, Opodepe, 12 de noviembre de 1725

En dicho pueblo de Opodepe, en 12 días de dicho mes y año, yo dicho alcalde mayor, aunque todavía enfermo, por no detener el curso a estas diligencias que piden brevedad, me esforcé a proseguirlas. Y siendo la primera recibir declaración de Gerónimo seri, pasé a sacarlo de la prisión en que está. Y estando en mi presencia, con los testigos de mi asistencia, le examiné sobre la solemnidad del juramento, y no hallándolo capaz de él, pasé a recibir su confesión por las preguntas siguientes.

Fuele preguntado de qué nación es, y dijo ser tepoca, qué hacía en el Pópulo, y respondió que andaba paseando. Fuele preguntado si sabía quién había convocado la gente que vino a matar a Huerta y sus familias y a quemar las casas, y responde que lo que sabe es que el alguacil de los Angeles, pariente de Ambrosio, fue el que hizo los tlatoles, y que se fueron juntando de varios gremios en el agua del Mezquite, y de allí vinieron al agua de la Bura, en donde estuvieron cinco días acabando de juntarse. Y fuele preguntado qué gremios son los que se juntaron, y responde que vino gente del Pópulo, de Los Angeles, de la ranchería de Ambrosio, de la del Nicolasillo que son salineros; el Batari, que vive abajo del Pópulo, y el Becerro tepoca con su hermano, y otro nombrado Catiquil, que con este declarante fueron cuatro tepocas, y por todos cuarenta y seis.

Fuele preguntado por los nombres de cada uno y responde que no podrá decir los nombres de todos porque no los sabe, pero que a todos los conoce y que los nombres que se acuerda son los siguientes: el Becerro, su hermano Domingo, Catiquil y este declarante, tepocas. Sarmiento, Ysnapitul, Clemente, Piacuo del Pópulo; Ambrosio, Ysacliz, el Coyote, Sagimac, Telitcantic de la ranchería de Ambrosio. Nicolasillo con toda su ranchería, el Batari con otros; que todos viven en los montes y entran en el Pópulo de noche. Y que de los presos que llevaron a Motepori, sólo el tepoca y otro llamado Antonio no vinieron a quemar la casa, pero que también son ladrones de vacas y caballos.

Y que ya estando todos juntos en el dicho paraje de la Bura trataron cómo habían de entrar aquella noche a quemar la dicha casa de Huerta, y matarlos a todos, y luego pasar a las demás casas a hacer lo propio, y que con este ánimo se vinieron y entraron a prima noche, y llegaron primero a la casa de José de Santos, alias el Tentador, y que al ruido salió éste y lo mató el Batari, y a su hija, el alguacil

de los Angeles. Y luego pasaron a la casa de Huerta, y el alguacil, y el hijo del Catuci mataron las cocineras de dicho Huerta. Y que el dicho Huerta iba saliendo con su escopeta a la puerta y un salinero llamado Expencas lo derribó del primer jarazo, y la demás gente quitó la ventana y por allí comenzaron a flechar a los que estaban dentro, y que como no salían fuera, mandó el Batari que quemaran la casa, y que entonces comenzaron a quemarla. Y que el capitán de la guerra del Pópulo subió arriba del techo y apartó la tierra de él y le dio fuego, y así se consiguió la quema. Fuele preguntado por qué no quemaron las demás casas, y responde que se tardaron mucho en quemar la de Huerta, y que cuando estaban quemándola oyeron hacia casa del capitán Camacho un tiro de escopeta, y que por eso no se atrevieron.

Y se fueron por el rancho de Santa Rosa llevándose todas las bestias que toparon y matando todas las reses que pudieron. Y que en Batobabi trataron de que volverían a quemar las demás casas de este valle, y que así que éstas las acabaran, pasarían al valle de Sonora a hacer lo propio, y que allí con facilidad lo podrían ejecutar porque también estaban apartadas como éstas. Y que de allí se apartaron para sus rancherías diciendo que avisarían para cuándo habían de volver.

Y que ahora cuando cogieron a este declarante, ya se andaban avisando para venir, y que era el ánimo ir matando a todos los españoles, uno a uno, o dos a dos, o más, como pudieran, hasta acabarlos, y luego matar a los tepocas que andan por aquí. Fuele preguntado por qué querían matarlos a todos, y responde que estaban los seris muy enojados porque no les dejaban los españoles hurtar vacas y caballos, y porque les habían matado dos parientes suyos, y que los tepocas los acusaban a ellos, y enseñaban la tierra, y que hasta de lo que ellos [los tepocas] hacían les echaban la culpa a ellos.

Que esto es la verdad de lo que ha sucedido y no otra cosa. Que no sabe quién hizo la quema de las casas de Tuape, ni quién flechó las mulas de Uzárraga, y que si otra cosa supiera también lo declarara. Todo lo cual explicó en la lengua castellana y lo que no podía con claridad, en la jegui [hegue], de que fue intérprete Francisco de Acuña, inteligente en ella. Y se ofreció este declarante a enseñar los montes en que viven Ambrosio y Nicolasillo con su ranchería. No firmó por no saber. Será de edad de veinte años, poco más o menos, firmelo yo con los testigos de mi asistencia, actuando como dicho es. Doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Testigo, Antonio de la Vega Camacho
Testigo, Joaquín José de Rivera

Resumen de Alvarez de la Bandera, Pitiquí, 26 de enero de 1726

En dichas haciendas del Pitiquí, en 26 de dicho mes, yo dicho alcalde mayor, habiendo visto haberse vuelto a sus casas mucha parte de la vecindad que me había acompañado a la celebridad de paces que se me pidieron, como de los autos consta, por la nación seri, sin más motivo que instarme a que luego se apeloteasen [apelotasen] las cabezas principales de dicha nación, y pretextarme los atrasos que padecían ausentes de sus casas, y que de no ejecutarse así, se volverían, no obstante haberles replicado—debajo de haberme pedido dicha nación las paces—no podía ejecutar lo que me prevenían sin dar cuenta primero a mi superior; que las apresaría y pondría en seguro hasta que por mi superior se determinase lo más

conveniente al servicio de ambas majestades. Y en vista de mi determinación, se resolvieron a volverse a sus casas.

Y entre los que se volvieron fue mi alférez por mí nombrado en dicha campaña. Que atendida por mí la resolución no puse instancia de detenerlos, temiéndome no se originase alguna discordia a vista de cincuenta gandules que estaban ya juntos y que quedasen más avilantados. Y tan solamente quedaron en mi compañía, aquellos que por su voluntad lo quisieron ejecutar, con advertencia, que fueron los más de los que quedaron en mi compañía, de los que no hacen aprecio en junta de República.

Y habiendo quince días que he esperado a que bajasen, estando despachándoles correos, y agasajándolos, y haciendo otras varias diligencias para conseguir el que bajasen todos los malévolos y cabezas de dicha nación, y tan solamente en el término ya expresado, entre sesenta y dos gandules, y ciento y tantas mujeres, niños y muchachas que bajaron, hoy unos, y mañana otros, tan solamente estuvieron en mi presencia dos gobernadores. El uno llamado Ambrosio, y el otro Nicolás, que fueron los que hallé en dichas haciendas desde el principio que llegué; que cada uno de ellos tenía ranchería aparte, faltando los más principales agresores en la maldad, que de estos autos consta, cometió dicha nación. Tuve por bien, mirándome con cortas fuerzas, concederles la paz, aún no habiéndoseme entregado los principales motores del hecho, entregándome cada uno de dichos gobernadores los que hubiera entre la gente, que se hallara presente, más culpados en la maldad cometida, con apercibimiento, de que cada uno de ellos había de ir apresando a los demás agresores que faltaban.

No habiendo podido averiguar, entre todos ellos, tuviese culpa en lo cometido dicho Ambrosio y Nicolás, más que la voz vulgar, de que la ranchería de Ambrosio y parte de la de Nicolás lo había ejecutado. Y haciéndoles el cargo, me respondieron era así, pero que ninguno había de decir habían ellos cooperado, que los que cooperaron fueron aquellos que totalmente les han faltado a la obediencia, que a esos harán toda diligencia por cogerlos y entregarlos, como por ahora me entregaron a tres que se hallaron entre los que estuvieron presentes, que fueron: Miguel sobrino de Ambrosio, y a Manuel Valdez, y a Francisco Tuerto, los cuales aprehendí, y tuve por bien la demás gente dejarla con sus gobernadores como se estaba, señalándoles para sus rancherías los puestos que comúnmente llaman de Laris y de Moraga, por habérmelo así pedido dicha nación. Que distan dichos parajes de dicha hacienda del Pitiquí como cuatro leguas poco más o menos, río abajo, sacando como saqué, ocho familias que hallé ser del pueblo del Pópulo y entregué a don Tomás Bertorán, gobernador de dicho pueblo, quien habiéndolo hallado tan fiel y servidor de ambas majestades me acompañó todo el tiempo que estuve entendiendo en dicho paraje en las diligencias expresadas.

Y habiéndoles hecho, por voz de dicho gobernador don Tomás, todos los tlatoles convenientes al sosiego, paz y quietud de las vecindades, y bautizándose como veintidós párvulos de seis años para abajo, para cuyo efecto supliqué al muy reverendo padre ministro del pueblo de los Ures, Pedro Fernández, que dista de esta hacienda como veintidós leguas más o menos, viniese a ejercitarse en obra tan del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, quien con la mucha caridad luego se puso a caballo y se efectuó lo arriba expresado.

Y temiéndome no me sucediese alguna cosa en dicho paraje con la poca fuerza que me hallaba, y haberse experimentado en dicha nación, debajo de paz, algunas traiciones, que de hallarme con las fuerzas necesarias, hubiera mantenídome en

dicho paraje algún más tiempo, que no hay duda [de que] con la demora, se hubiera conseguido algunos más de los agresores, determiné, con lo ya ejecutado arriba, salirme; pareciéndome quedaban dichos naturales sosegados y quietos, según las operaciones que en ellos experimenté. Y se les dio a cada uno de ellos su almud de maíz para que sembrasen, ofreciéndome así lo ejecutarían.

Y para que conste, lo puse por diligencia actuando con los testigos de mi asistencia, como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Miguel Alvarez de la Bandera
Testigo, Ignacio Cordero
Testigo, Baltazar Ramírez

Huidobro and the Jesuits, 1729–1740

The de la Huerta affair revealed the weakness of both the Jesuit Seri mission program and the Spanish military force in Sonora. Seris from Pópulo and Los Angeles as well as their gentile kinsmen carried out repeated raids, and Spanish presidial and militia forces were rarely able to take decisive action against them. Alvarez de la Bandera relied as much upon negotiation as force to reduce the rancherías of Ambrosio and Nicolás, and apparently was not able to arrest more than a handful of the Seris responsible for the de la Huerta assault.

Over the next decade and a half, the missionization of the Seris was further weakened by growing conflict between the Jesuits and Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, the most powerful Spanish official in northwestern New Spain from the late 1720s until 1741. Huidobro held office—first as captain of the presidio of Sinaloa, then as governor of the new province of Sinaloa y Sonora—at a time when Spanish settlers increasingly coveted mission Indian land and labor controlled by the Jesuits. Moreover, many mission Indians themselves chafed under mission regimes and turned to civil authorities like Huidobro to complain about missionary demands on their time and control over their surpluses. The balance of power had not yet shifted decisively against the Jesuits, but Huidobro and the interests he represented were challenging missionary prerogatives. That, in turn, gave mission Indians more opportunities to pit missionaries and civil officials against one another as they pursued their own goals within the emerging structure of Sonoran colonial society.

Huidobro's initial interest in the Seris apparently had more to do with pearls than souls. One of the reasons the Seris resisted the Spaniards so successfully was the forbidding nature of their territory. There were no rivers or streams where Spaniards could establish their communities, little pasture where Spaniards could graze their horses and cows, and no gold or silver strikes to tempt gambucinos *(prospectors) to brave one of the driest stretches of desert in North America. The only source of wealth were pearls in shallow oyster beds off Tiburón Island and the Sonoran coast. Spaniards had intermittently searched for pearls in the Gulf of California since the sixteenth century. In 1723, when the Marqués de Casafuerte appointed Huidobro* gobernador político y militar de Sinaloa y teniente de capitán general en Sinaloa, Sonora y costas de la Mar del Sur, *he also granted Huidobro a license to construct a boat to look for pearls (Navarro García 1966). It is not clear how deeply involved Huidobro himself was in the pearl industry, but by 1729, Father Agustín de Campos claimed that "more than one thousand men" were already working in the pearl fisheries of San Xavier.*[28]

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28. José Agustín de Campos to Father Provincial Andrés Nieto, San Ignacio, August 24, 1729. AHH, Temporalidades (Temp.), 17, 58.

Huidobro's controversy with Campos began on July 7, 1729, when he asked the irascible old missionary at San Ignacio to send him two hundred Pimas with supplies for one month by August 25 to help him in his expedition to Tiburón Island.[29] *On July 19, Campos replied that the Pimas could not be spared because (1) Spanish officials did not protect them or their missionaries against Apache attacks, (2) the Pimas were cultivating their fields and would be harvesting their maize in late August, and (3) they could not gather enough food supplies to campaign for one month.*[30] *On July 27, Father Marcos Somoza of Cucurpe, Campos' superior, urged him to comply with Huidobro's request.*[31] *On August 1, Campos wrote Somoza and said that Pima leaders told him they had to plant beans and clean, sow, irrigate, and weed their cornfields or their families would go hungry. He also argued that since the Pimas would not be paid, they should at least be given food and mules to carry supplies while on campaign. Campos did not directly refuse Somoza's request, but he did claim that Huidobro's demands for Pima auxiliaries who had to supply their own food was untimely and unjust.*[32] *That same day, he reiterated those concerns to his father provincial in the letter that follows. On August 24, he answered his critics, especially Somoza, by stating again that the real reason Huidobro wanted the Pimas was to work the pearl fisheries of San Xavier, not to campaign against the Seris.*[33]

Campos' sarcastic correspondence with and about his superior Somoza foreshadowed more acerbic exchanges to come. In 1735, after he sided with Huidobro in his disputes with the Jesuits, Campos' superiors ordered him to apologize for his actions. Campos complied by writing Respuesta a la junta de ingenios, *"Reply to the Council of Geniuses." His insolence prompted his superiors to order his retirement from his post at San Ignacio—a post he had held for forty-two years. When Father Nicolás de Perera and Ignaz Keller went to remove him, armed Pimas began gathering in San Ignacio to defend him. Campos then fled to Imuris and took refuge with his Pima companions in the mountains. For a time, it looked as if the Pimería Alta would experience the first rebellion led by a Jesuit missionary. Then Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder rode to Imuris and convinced his old friend to step down. Campos died in Bacerác en route to the Jesuit colegio in Chihuahua on July 24, 1736 (Dunne 1941).*

*Little is known about the pearl fishery of San Xavier itself. In his initial request for Pima auxiliaries, Huidobro referred to it as "the pearl fishery [*placer*] of San Joseph, I mean, of San Xavier de los Tepocas." It was probably located on the bay formed by Punta Sargento across from the northeastern coast of Tiburón Island. Punta Tepoca is located farther up the coast just north of Puerto Libertad, while Cabo Tepoca and Bahía de Tepoca are even farther north, just below Puerto Lobos. It is unlikely that pearling in either of those locations would have caused much unrest among the Tiburón Seris, unless the pearlers were using those north-*

29. Manuel Bernal de Huidobro to Campos, Opodepe, July 7, 1729. AHH, Temp., 17, 34.

30. Campos to Huidobro, San Ignacio, July 19, 1729. AHH, Temp., 17, 14.

31. Marcos de Somoza to Campos, Cucurpe, July 27, 1729. AHH, Temp., 17, 34.

32. Campos to Somoza, San Ignacio, August 1, 1729. AHH, Temp., 17, 34.

33. Campos to Nieto, op cit.

ern locations as their base of operations but diving for pearls off Tiburón. Manuel Correa, the ship's captain who circumnavigated Tiburón in 1750, noted that "pearl fishermen knew of a spring on the north side of Tiburón called Tecomate, which was the only water on that island suitable for the sailors, because it was right next to the sea."[34] *Such knowledge suggests considerable familiarity with the north coast of Tiburón.*

Father Agustín de Campos to Father Provincial Andrés Nieto Concerning Governor Bernal de Huidobro's Request for Two Hundred Pima Auxiliaries in a Campaign against the Seris, 1729

My Father Provincial, Andrés Nieto,[35]

Your Reverence will see by his letter that the governor of Sinaloa [Manuel Bernal de Huidobro[36]] has urged me to dispatch two hundred Pima auxiliaries on an expedition. Your Reverence will also see by my replies that I do not oppose his request but only express what I judge necessary to insure the success of the expedition, and the appropriate time for carrying it out.

In his first letter, Reverend Father Somoza[37] tried to intimidate me with bluster, ultimatums, and threats that my actions will greatly displease both the viceroy and Your Reverence. In light of the gravity of his charges against me—that I have resisted the royal magistrates, my duty to Both Majesties, and the orders of His Excellency the viceroy—it would seem appropriate that he first prove some crime has actually been committed. In reply to Reverend Father Somoza's charges, I suggest he need only query the governor concerning my response to the latter's request. His Reverence would then suffer the shame of having to admit that I had behaved satisfactorily, despite what he wrote of me the day before. Such discomfort would seem quite appropriate, considering his lack of human consideration. All the circumstances are well explained in these letters—a fact that I certainly do not need to call to Your Reverence's attention—and I believe they answer all the

34. Manuel Correa, "Descripción de la Ysla del Tiburón," 1750, AGN, Jesuitas, Fichero 2–5.

35. Andrés Nieto, S.J. (1659–1750) was born in La Roda, Spain, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1675. By 1708, he was rector of the Colegio de San Ildefonso de Puebla, and he served as provincial of New Spain from 1726 to 1729.

36. Born in Burgos, Spain, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro had an undistinguished career in the Spanish army, serving in the Catalan campaign and in North Africa. In 1718, he was appointed alcalde mayor of Huejotzingo but did not cross the Atlantic to New Spain until 1720. Three years later, he became captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and governor of Sinaloa, which was still part of Nueva Vizcaya. In 1732, however, Felipe V separated Sinaloa y Sonora from Nueva Vizcaya; the following year, Viceroy Casafuerte named Huidobro *gobernador y capitán general vitalicio* of the new province. Huidobro served until 1741, when he was removed in the acrimonious aftermath of the Yaqui revolt and replaced by Agustín de Vildósola. Huidobro went to Mexico City and sued to be reinstated; the Audiencia de México supported his claim. Father Provincial Mateo de Ansaldo threatened to remove all Jesuit missionaries from Sonora if that occurred, however, and in 1744, the Conde de Fuenclara, the new viceroy, declared that another post should be found for Huidobro (Donohue 1969; Navarro García 1966).

37. Marcos Somoza, S.J. (1677–1731) was born in Guatemala and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1692. By 1727, he was serving in the mission of Dolores on the northwestern frontier. He died in Cucurpe in 1731.

objections to my conduct, or causes for reprimand, that have been brought before Your Reverence, His Excellency the viceroy, Reverend Father Somoza, or the governor of Sinaloa.

The reverend father [Somoza] tells me that I will be charged with the failure of this conquest because I refused to provide the two hundred Pimas. First, it is already proven that I did not oppose this expedition. Second, it has become apparent to everyone that neither two hundred Pimas, nor all the soldiers from Sinaloa and conscripted settlers from Sonora, nor the exhortations of Reverend Father Somoza—who I note was appointed by Your Reverence as chaplain of this expedition but then excused himself for no apparent legitimate reason—are likely to achieve the objective. Having belatedly come to this realization, they now wish to prematurely shift the blame away from themselves and make me the scapegoat.

If the Tiburón Indians are on the island as they believe, then the governor and captain of Sinaloa will be unable to defeat them, even though I have no doubt that he is a good and loyal Spanish soldier. He has never seen these red-painted Indians or their arrows in flight, and their war cries have not filled his ears. [This is] a very different kind of war requiring the greatest of agility and other strategies. The soldiers from Sinaloa presently under his command will not conquer these Indians. In the old days there were admirable soldiers I knew and saw in battle against the most valiant Apaches. The only thing that today's sad specimens can do is eat *papachis, guamúchiles, uvalamas,* squash, and cottage cheese with fresh honey.[38]

This may seem to Your Reverence to be the ramblings of a bald old man in his dotage; I submit myself to the judgment of time. May Our Lord grant that everything be achieved for His greater honor and glory and the salvation of souls. From this mission of Our Father San Ignacio de los Pimas, August 1, 1729.

The humble servant and subject of Your Reverence,
José Agustín de Campos[39]

Your Reverence will please pardon this addition; my short-sightedness caused me to omit it in making a copy. There is a great deal of pearl diving near the island, and I pray to God that the stated objectives of this conquest are not merely a pretext for pearl fishing. Ever since last year we have been hearing that the governor of Sinaloa was coming to dive for pearls, and in order to make a profit, he would willingly incite conflict in these lands.

Father Agustín de Campos

From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Temporalidades 17, 45.

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38. Papachi (*Randia echinocarpa*) is a shrub or small tree that produces an edible fruit. Guamúchil (*Pithecellobium dulce*), a tree that often grows to the height of 15 meters, is a legume whose beans are eaten. Uvalama (*Vitex mollis*) is a tree growing along arroyos which yields a cherry-sized fruit that is stewed with sugar and consumed. All three species are native to the subtropical deciduous forests of southern Sonora and Sinaloa.

39. Agustín de Campos, S.J. (1669–1737) was one of the greatest and most enigmatic Jesuit missionaries on the northwestern frontier. Born in Logroño, Spain, Campos entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1684 and came to New Spain in 1692. In 1695, he took over the mission of San Ignacio de Caburica. Surviving the 1695 Upper Pima rebellion, he served at San Ignacio until his removal in 1736. For much of that period, he was one of the few missionaries in the Pimería Alta and had to attend to Indian congregations at San Xavier del Bac, Guevavi, and Soamca as well, missions which were not staffed until 1732. Campos spoke fluent O'odham and was a staunch defender of the Pimas.

Written nearly eleven years apart, the next two documents by Father Nicolás de Perera capture the dramatic decline in relations between Huidobro and the Jesuits. The first discusses Huidobro's inconclusive expedition to the Sonoran coast to persuade the Seris of Tiburón Island to reduce themselves to Pópulo. Although Huidobro planned to cross over to Tiburón in canoes furnished by the pearl fishers, a storm prevented this from happening. Huidobro and his forces captured a ranchería of twenty-seven Seris, probably Salineros, near Carrizal. He also persuaded 151 Tiburones from the ranchería on the west side of the island to accompany him back to Pópulo. Perera's first letter praises Huidobro, but as his second letter, written in 1740, makes clear, as soon as Huidobro returned to Sinaloa the Tiburones left the mission and wreaked vengeance on the pearl fishers who had encouraged Huidobro's expedition in the first place. It was only after Captain Juan Bautista de Anza landed on Tiburón that hostilities ceased and "more than seven hundred people" settled at Pópulo. If Perera was not exaggerating the number of reduced Seris, the early 1730s represented the apogee of the Jesuit Seri mission program.

The best description of Anza's campaign on Tiburón comes from a letter written by Agustín de Vildósola, sargento mayor *of the Sonoran militia, to Huidobro on July 26, 1735. Translated and published by historian Donald Rowland, the account reads:*

> *It is well known by your Lordship that after the pacification of the Pimas Bajos, in which your Lordship took part in person with the arms of your command, and after the expedition to Tiburón Island, in which also your Lordship participated with the presidial soldiers of the company of Sinaloa, a recrudescence of war occurred (after the return of your Lordship to your presidio) on the part of those islanders allied now with all the rebel Tepoca and Salinero Seris. The burden of the war was laid on Captain Juan Bautista de Ansa [sic], who with a military force attacked said island in some canoas by means of which he ferried across the men (although not many could be conveyed) and some supplies and bridled horses. The amount of labor which he and his men, and some Yaqui Indians whom he had taken along on this expedition because they knew the sea, underwent on this occasion is incredible, and after they had returned to land they endured no less in opposing the hostilities of this so rebellious a nation, which by the burning of houses, the death of men, and the destruction of ranches, and because of arrogance over some success in attacks made, threatened the province to the excessive fright of everyone until by Divine Clemency in some encounters their state of mind was changed and they desisted in their intent. Your Lordship cooperated in the defense with one squadron of your men, aided by the citizens and the soldiers of Corodéguachi, while the reverend missionary fathers of the Company of Jesus and some of the residents made grants of food for the maintenance of the forces; in the same connection the amount which was spent by the said captain was not small, nor by myself likewise, which was paid at that time for militia in the services of the two majesties, human and divine, from our private funds. (Rowland 1969:151–52)*

Both Vildósola and Anza, whose 1735 letter to Huidobro is published in both Rowland (1969) and Polzer and Sheridan (1997), recommended that a new presidio be established at Terrenate on the San Pedro River so that both the Seris and Apaches could be contained. A revolt among the Indians of Baja California pre-

vented Huidobro from pursuing their recommendations, but in the aftermath of the 1740 Yaqui revolt, the Spanish crown approved two new presidios—one at Pitic and another at Terrenate—in 1741 (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

By then, however, Huidobro and the Jesuits had reached their breaking point. In 1734, after being named governor of the new province of Sinaloa y Sonora, Huidobro began a lengthy inspection of Sonora that continued into 1735. He also recommended changes in the administration of the missions to give the mission Indians more control over their lives. One recommendation called for the Indians, rather than the missionary, to select the three candidates for an office. Another stated that the Indians themselves should plant a communal field whose produce they, not the missionary, would control. The Jesuits saw these recommendations as an assault on the mission system itself and wrote several replies (Donohue 1969; Navarro García 1966). It was during this inspection, and in the context of this escalating dispute, that Huidobro apparently told the Seris in Pópulo that they could live wherever they wanted as long as they did no harm.

Parenthetically, Perera's letters, especially the 1729 one, are ethnographic gems. The 1729 letter provides invaluable information about the Tiburón Seris, including their reliance on eelgrass, a grain from the sea.

Father Nicolás de Perera to Nicolás de Oro Regarding Bernal de Huidobro's Expedition to Seri Territory, 1729

Pópulo, September 17, 1729

To my father visitor, Nicolás de Oro,[40]

I inform Your Reverence that I returned from the campaign on the seventh of this month. I felt rather sick and very tired from the journey, but I had the consolation of having happily succeeded in removing the Seris from the island [Tiburón] and bringing them to this pueblo. So that Your Reverence will know how well it went for us, and at the same time inform the provincial of everything, I am sending a report to Your Reverence concerning all that happened on the campaign. It is as follows:

On August 16, I left this jurisdiction in the company of the governor of Sinaloa [Manuel Bernal de Huidobro] and on the eighteenth we arrived at Bacoachi,[41] a ranchería of the Tepoca Seris. There I baptized eight little ones. Then the governor addressed the fact that the Seris could not be governed at that place, both because of the lack of water along the trail as well as because of its distance of nearly forty leagues from this pueblo [Pópulo]. In addition, the Seris had no lands which they could cultivate, as they admitted. Accordingly he [Huidobro] ordered them all to come to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo within three weeks. There, at

40. Nicolás de Oro, S.J. (1677–1742) was born in Guadalajara and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1695. By 1709, he was serving in the mission of Bacadéguachi, where he remained for the rest of his life. Oro was visitor of the Jesuit missions from 1726 to 1729 and rector of Los Santos Mártires del Japón in northeastern Sonora in 1732.

41. The ranchería of Bacoachi may have been the pueblo of Bacoachi mentioned by Escalante. It was undoubtedly located along the Bacoachi drainage between the San Miguel drainage and the Sonoran coast.

their mission headquarters, they would be able to receive not only the spiritual nourishment they lacked in the desert, but also land to cultivate. Although there was some opposition, they were convinced by that which was said to them and they agreed to come.

From this ranchería the governor sent letters to the pearl fisheries so that [the people there] would prepare canoes and cross over to the beaches of Carrizal.[42] We headed for Carrizal, and on the day we arrived, we captured a ranchería with twenty-seven people along the way. We took them with us to Carrizal, where they stayed until we brought them to this pueblo [Pópulo]. The day after arriving at Carrizal, the governor sent two natives [*hijos*] with a request for the Seris of the island [Tiburón] to come to see us. They were glad to do so. Everyone from the ranchería on the west side [of the island] came, leaving on the island only the family of a sick man, and they came later. The people of the island came to where we awaited them, and the governor received them with the affection of a loving father. With great generosity, he then ordered that [the Seris] be given provisions—both those of this ranchería and the others from the ranchería on the north side as soon as they arrived from the pearl fisheries. These are the two rancherías of which the island is composed.[43] The governor continued to sustain them until they came to this pueblo, where they remain congregated. He did this in accordance with the dispatch from His Excellency the viceroy. All the adults are being instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith in order to receive holy baptism, which I will give them. I did the same in Carrizal, where I solemnly baptized fifty-two little ones not only with the permission of their parents, but with signs of joy and happiness.

To this point I have told of the things that happened. I now go on to inform Your Reverence about the island [Tiburón]. I have had this information for more than one year; I received it when a Seri of the island came to this pueblo, and I have found that he spoke the truth.

The island is about thirty leagues in length, as we saw from a red hill on the shore of the sea nearest to it.[44] The terrain is not only rugged by nature but uninhabitable. All that one can see on it are mountains and hills without a single

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42. Probably the beaches of Bahía de Kino just west of the spring of Carrizal.

43. According to Edward Moser (1963), a linguist who lived at Desemboque among the Seris for nearly three decades beginning in 1951, his consultants told him that three different bands shared Tiburón Island. One—*tahéöjc Comcáac* ('Tiburón Island people')—occupied the northern and eastern coasts of Tiburón and later inhabited the coastal strip of Sonora opposite the island. This may have been the "ranchería on the north side" to which Perera refers. Another band—*heno comcáac* ('desert people')—lived in the center of Tiburón. A third band—*xica hast ano coii* ('they who live in the mountains')—occupied San Esteban Island and the southern end of Tiburón. Both Bahre (1967, 1980) and Sheridan (1982) have challenged elements of Moser's reconstruction of Seri bands on historical and ecological grounds (see the introduction). Nonetheless, it is possible that the last two bands described by Moser may have been the "ranchería on the west side" noted by Perera.

44. Perera overestimated the length of Tiburón, which is about 35 miles long—about 13 to 16 leagues, depending upon the length of the league Perera was using. From the following description, the Seris from Tiburón apparently were being less than honest with Perera about the ruggedness of the terrain and the availability of water on the island. According to Felger and Moser (1985), modern Seris have names for forty-three water sources on Tiburón, twelve or thirteen of which are permanent. The two water holes belonging to the "people on the point of the island facing southwest" may have been the water holes called *Tis*

plain. The report the island Seris gave us proved that this is true. They say it is extremely barren, without any piece of ground that could be cultivated. There is only some grass among the cliffs, which barely supports mule deer, jackrabbits, and squirrels. That is the only game they have to eat, along with a kind of grain [eelgrass] they get from the sea.[45] At times they suffer much hunger and are obliged to eat a handful of that seed every twenty-four hours to survive. I knew about that even before I came to the sea.

Along with the lack of food is the lack of water. On the whole island, which as I have told Your Reverence, is made up of two rancherías, there are only two water holes. They are so small that when I asked the Seris if the canoes could be supplied with water from the island, they replied that if three barrels were taken, no water would be left. These [two water holes] belong to the people on the point of the island facing southwest. The only water for those on the point facing north is what trickles down from the cliffs. I consider this to be quite true, because what the islanders say agrees with what the Indian in the pueblo told me before.

We did not cross over to the island. Although the governor made the necessary preparations for this, such as sending to the pearl fishery for some canoes, they did not get within sight of us because of a storm that caught them on the way and forced them to remain more than seventeen leagues away from us.[46] Only the boatswain and a soldier landed. After being lost for two days, they arrived in the *real* at death's door. After the boatswain had recovered, he gave his news to the governor. The governor sent him and four soldiers with supplies for the people in the canoes, who were in bad shape because they had brought along only enough food for fourteen hours. He also gave orders to proceed with the canoes to the

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Imocl Xax and *Xacacj*. Perera's informants did not mention *Xapij*, a small spring-fed stream trickling from pool to bedrock pool on the south side of the island, or *Haj Hax*, an improvedwell on Tiburón's north side. Because Tiburón was one of the Seris' most important refuges from the Spaniards, they understandably hid their knowledge of Tiburón's resources, particularly water, from the Jesuit, and described it as a sterile and barren place to keep the Spaniards away.

45. Eelgrass (*Zostera marina*) grows in shallow subtidal waters along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of North America and Eurasia. In the Gulf of California, it occurs from El Desemboque south to Sinaloa, with particularly dense meadows in the Canal de Infiernillo, the strait separating Tiburón from the mainland. Seris harvested this extraordinarily productive grass in late April and early May, and the Seri month or moon that roughly corresponds to April is known as *xnois iháat iizax* ('moon of the eelgrass seed'). The Seris call eelgrass *hatáam* while it is growing submerged in the sea. When the reproductive shoots ripen, break off from the rootstalks, and wash ashore in late April and early May, they call it *eaz*. Eelgrass seeds are labeled *xnois*. The Seris gathered these shoots, spread them out to dry on the beach, and then threshed them with wooden clubs. The seeds were then winnowed in baskets, parched, pounded, and ground into flour, which was mixed with water and sea turtle oil and eaten as *atole* (gruel). It was also mixed with the seeds of *cardón* (*Pachycereus pringlei*), the giant columnar cactus (Felger and Moser 1985). There are about fifty species of seagrasses growing in shallow waters off the coasts of the world, but Seri utilization of eelgrass represents the only documented case of a seagrass being used as a major food resource (Sheridan and Felger 1977). Sea turtles, another critical food source of the Comcáac, also feed in eelgrass meadows.

46. The Gulf of California can be a very treacherous body of water. Violent summer storms known as *chubascos* originate in the Gulf of Mexico or farther south in the Pacific. In late summer and early fall, hurricane-fringe storms that blow up from the south can also be devastating.

designated place in order to cross over to the island. That did not occur, because when the soldiers arrived at the place where the canoes had been left, they found none. According to a letter that the governor received from the pearl fisheries, the canoes had turned back when the men saw that their companions had not returned and that the storm was continuing. When the governor saw how the bad weather persisted, and that the remaining provisions were barely sufficient for the return to this pueblo, he decided to come back. That seemed quite right to me. His purpose, which was to remove the people from the island, had been accomplished. If we had stayed there any longer, there not only would have been no supplies for the trip back, but we would have risked losing most of the horseherd for lack of water as well.

The afternoon before we left, the islanders were told the purpose of our journey, which was to remove them from the island. Because they said it was their desire to become Christians, they should come to this pueblo where they could leave behind the ruggedness of the island and the hardships of hunger and thirst they suffered there. They could live as Christians, learn Christian doctrine (as they do), and have lands to cultivate. They replied eagerly that they would come.

The following day we sallied forth and brought forty-one families comprising 151 people to this pueblo. Together with the twenty-seven from the other ranchería, they are very happy. After that, my governor [the Indian governor of Pópulo] set out on orders from the governor of Sinaloa to reconnoiter the land with ten Indians from this pueblo. He captured four of the wrongdoers and brought them back. The governor determined to remove them from this land together with any others he may catch while staying in this pueblo, which he has the authority to do.

The island is not, nor has it ever been, a refuge for apostates or thieves. The inhabitants are good people, without malice and free from the wickedness of those of this shore. Given the docility of their natural disposition, I hope to the Lord that they remain in the pueblo.

I have nothing else to report to Your Reverence, except that I beg you to give orders in Ures to give me a little wheat for seed. I do not have any because I was assisting Father Pedro for two months. The day I left was the day the wheat harvest began, and I was not given what I would have been given, even though the wheat was diseased.[47] With such a long absence, I missed the summer harvest season, which is why I bother Your Reverence with this request. I hope that Your Reverence will grant it. For my part, I ask Our Lord to preserve the life of Your Reverence for many years, in whose holy sacrifices [of the mass] I commend myself. Pópulo, September 17, 1729.

Your humble subject and servant,

JHS

Nicolás de Perera[48]

From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Temporalidades, 17, 57.

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47. Wheat, the staple of the Sonoran missions, was planted in November and harvested in June.

48. Nicolás de Perera, S.J. (1696–1768) was born in Zacatlán, Puebla, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1719. In 1725 he began working in the missions of Sonora, including Cucurpe, Nacameri, Baviácora, and Aconchi, where he was stationed when the Jesuits were expelled

Father Nicolás de Perera to the Father Provincial, 1740

The father visitor general has ordered me to inform Your Reverence about what the governor of Sinaloa [Manuel Bernal de Huidobro] has done in these provinces, the ill-will he has for the Jesuits, and the anger with which he views them. I could say a great deal about the things this governor has done concerning the uprising of Cerro Prieto,[49] and the indecency with which the Pimas treated him when they made him go from Tecoripa[50] to San Pablo del Pescadero[51] to work out the peace agreements. I will omit them here, however, because Father Visitor Luis María Marciano[52] will give a more detailed account of this later, as he was minister of Tecoripa at that time. The reduction of the rebels—and their returning to live in their pueblos after they came down from Cerro Prieto—was due to [Father Marciano], not to the governor, who attributed it to himself in a manuscript I saw.

The governor of Sinaloa came to remove the Seris from Tiburón Island at the order of His Excellency the viceroy [in 1729, the expedition described in the preceding letter]. The viceroy had received a sinister report in which the shipowners of the pearl fishery of Tepoca were complaining unjustly about those Seris of Tiburón. I saw this report and read it. I accompanied the governor, as ordered by my superiors, and after making a swing by Bacoachi, we came to a place called Carrizal. We stayed there for eight days, enough time to dispatch two Indians with messages summoning the Tiburones. We managed to get only two rancherías to come over from the island. We explained the purpose of our visit to the Indians from the island, which was to remove them from there and bring them to live at

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in 1767. Cucurpe was his longest post; while he was there during the 1730s and 1740s, he oversaw the Seri visitas of Pópulo and Los Angeles, and learned to speak Seri. No other eighteenth-century Jesuit worked with the Seris as closely. Perera died in Ixtlán del Rio, Nayarit, while the Jesuits were being deported.

49. It is unclear whether Perera is referring to the uprising of some Lower Pimas during the 1740 Yaqui rebellion or to an earlier outbreak. One such episode of resistance occurred in 1726, when Huidobro won commendation from the viceroy for his handling of it. Another was the one described by Jesuit historian John Donohue (1969:85–86) in 1737. During that revolt, Lower Pimas from Tecoripa deserted their pueblo and followed a shaman named Agustín Ascuhul into the Cerro Prieto. Leading a nascent nativistic movement, Ascuhul promised his followers that the earth would open up and devour the Spaniards. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza led an expedition to the Cerro Prieto and later captured and executed Ascuhul near Guaymas.

50. San Francisco Xavier de Tecoripa was a Lower Pima mission founded in 1619. It was situated on the Río Tecoripa, a tributary of the lower Río Yaqui. Lower Pimas from Tecoripa often participated in the resistance and rebellion that flared against both Jesuit missionaries and Spanish ranchers and miners during the mid-eighteenth century.

51. San Pablo del Pescadero may have been located at or near the small settlement of San Pablo southeast of Mazatán and west of Rebeico along an arroyo draining west into the Río Mátape. More likely, it is the community of San Pablo, also known as El Cardón, just northeast of Ures along the Río Sonora. In 1719, Father Pedro Fernández, S.J., was described as taking charge of the mission of Ures and its visita, San Pablo del Pescadero, suggesting that San Pablo was close to Ures.

52. Luis María Marciano, S.J. (1689–1743) was born in Sicily and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1705. In 1721, he was serving in Tubutama. By 1725, he was residing in Tecoripa and was rector of San Francisco Borja. In 1739 he was visitor of the Sonoran missions. He died in 1743, probably in Ures.

the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo. They were reluctant at first, but they finally were convinced to leave their lands. However, they retained the hope of returning to those lands, which they did as soon as the governor went back to Sinaloa.

This removal of the Seris was the reason why they killed the shipowners in revenge for the harm they said it caused them to be removed from their island and for the deaths of their children that occurred along the way. This was the cause of the uprising which kept us all so busy until Captain Juan Bautista de Anza[53] crossed over to Tiburón Island and succeeded in making things better. Within a short time, the nation quieted down. More than seven hundred people came to live at the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo. It was a great comfort to care for them, although it was a lot of work, because it pleased me very much to see so many children gained for heaven and to see the industriousness with which most of the adults attended catechism to prepare themselves for holy baptism.

But the devil was envious of the well-being of these miserable people and upset everything. The governor of Sinaloa came with the intention of removing the ringleaders from Pópulo and carrying them off in chains, as well as punishing the rest. Learning of this, the people began to scatter and there was no chance to stop them despite all my endeavors to do so. I only hoped that they would join together again when the governor came on his inspection.

But this [inspection], which I judged to be the way to gather in those who had dispersed, was the total ruin of the [Seri] nation and the reason why they live like brutes in the hills and wild places. The governor, without any right to do so, gave the Indians their freedom, telling them publicly in Pópulo that they could live wherever they wished as long as they lived together and did not harm anyone. The governor did this after the captain general of Pópulo told him in Ures that if His Lordship gave that order, it not only would be impossible to keep the newly arrived people in Pópulo, but that the natives of that pueblo would leave as well. Many did exactly that. When these Indians ran into the squad of soldiers who were sent to lead them back, they replied that they had no orders [to do so] and that their lordship had ordered that they could live wherever they wanted. With this, everything was lost.

Concerning the [1740] Yaqui uprising,[54] and especially those things which I

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53. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder (1694–1740) was a Basque born on the Iberian Peninsula, but like many of his fellow *vizcainos*, he emigrated to northern New Spain as a young man. In 1725, after suspending the notoriously corrupt Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, Pedro de Rivera recommended that Anza be appointed captain of Fronteras presidio. Anza served in that position with great distinction, campaigning against the Apaches, Seris, and Lower Pimas. In 1736, he took charge of the mining district of Arizonac after large silver nuggets were discovered there; he declared that the silver was buried treasure rather than natural deposits, thereby reserving the discovery for the royal treasury. Anza wanted to use the silver to finance the expansion of the Pimería Alta missions and to blaze a land route between Sonora and California. Apaches ambushed and killed him on May 9, 1740, after he left the mission of Santa María de Soamca on the Santa Cruz River, but his son of the same name continued in his father's footsteps.

54. See Meredith (1975) for Jesuit Mateo de Ansaldo's contemporary analysis of the revolt from a Jesuit point of view. See Navarro García (1966) and Spicer (1980) for accounts more sympathetic to Huidobro and more critical of the Jesuits. Also see Huidobro's relation of events in Polzer and Sheridan (1997).

saw firsthand while I accompanied the father visitor general from this mission to that of Tónichi,[55] I refer you to what His Reverence says. I will only add that if anger against the Jesuits had not blinded so many people, then one would not see these provinces in such a deplorable state. I have heard this from many who say that they [the enemies of the Jesuits] are to blame, including the lieutenant of Río Chico.[56] After he said that, [he said] that he was ordered to make very superficial reports when he went to the Yaqui area to investigate the sacrilegious theft [the rebels] made in the Belén church. He was not to allow the priests to give testimony, even though they might request to do so. He added that the sufferings of the residents were a punishment from God for their having signed reports that were critical of the priests. Everyone is complaining about the governor, but since this gentleman has his office for life, it is impossible to take any kind of legal action to prove these accusations. Still, the superiors are sparing no effort to see whether they can obtain some legal instruments to send to Your Reverence.

I pray that Our Lord watches over your important life for many years, because it is a great consolation to all of your subordinates, especially the missionaries. May Your Reverence commend me in the holy sacrifices [of the mass]. Cucurpe, June 25, 1740.

Your Reverence's servant and subject,
Nicolás de Perera

From the W. B. Stephens Collection, 902, pp. 91–95, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Padre Agustín de Campos al Padre Provincial Andrés Nieto, 1729

Mi padre provincial Andrés Nieto,

Por la carta del gobernador de Sinaloa verá vuestra reverencia su empeño conmigo para que salgan 200 pimas auxiliares. Por mis respuestas verá vuestra reverencia también, que no me opongo, sino represento lo que juzgo conveniente para el mejor efecto, y logro de la salida, y en tiempo competente.

Procura el padre reverendo Somoza amendrentarme en su primera carta con amenazas, rigores, y pesadumbres con el señor virrey y usted reverendo provincial; pero debiera el padre reverendo, en fuerza de la gravedad de su oficio, mirar, y probarme primero, y despacio, delito: que yo me oponía a los reales justicias, servicio

55. Santa María del Pópulo de Tónichi was a visita of Onavas founded by Father Diego Vandersipe in 1628 among the Eudeve Indians along the Río Yaqui. Tónichi was near the cultural and political border between the Eudeves and Névomes, a Lower Pima group. By 1662, Pimas were also reported living there.

56. San Francisco de Asís de Río Chico was an important mining and political center in Ostimuri. It was located south of the Lower Pima pueblo of Onavas on the Río Nuri, also known as the Río Chico, a tributary of the Río Yaqui. Sometime between 1706 and 1727, Río Chico became the site of a parish from which secular priests ministered to the non-Indian miners of Ostimuri.

de ambas majestades, y órdenes del excelentísimo señor virrey. Y respondiéndole yo que pidiese al señor gobernador la que le respondí, padece su reverencia el rubor de confesarse satisfecho en favor mío, contra lo que el día antes me escribió. Pena merecida de la inconsideración humana. Y pues todas las circunstancias van en esas cartas bien expresadas, no tengo qué advertir a la comprensión de vuestra reverencia, que creo responderá con ellas a las objeciones, o capítulos, que ante vuestra reverencia, o su excelencia me opusieren, o el padre reverendo, o el señor gobernador de Sinaloa.

Decirme el padre reverendo que me capitularán de no haberle logrado esa conquista, por negar yo los 200 pimas. Lo primero, ya está probado que yo no me opongo. Lo segundo, están mirando ya, que ni con los 200 pimas, ni con tantos soldados de Sinaloa, y vecinos de Sonora sacados a fuerza, ni con las máximas del padre reverendo Somoza, que viniendo señalado por vuestra reverencia para capellán, se ha excusado, no teniendo de su parte algún impedimento legítimo verdadero. La han de lograr: quieren disculparse culpándome a mí, y tan de antemano.

Si los indios tiburones están en la isla que dicen, no los conquistará el gobernador capitán de Sinaloa, que será, no lo dudo, buen soldado para España, mas no ha visto todavía indios embijados, ni sus flechas disparadas, ni sus alaridos le han ocupado sus oídos. Guerra muy distinta, que necesita de suma agilidad, y otros estratagemas. Ni los conquistarán sus soldados de su comando de Sinaloa, pues sólo saben los pobrecillos de ahora (antiguos hubo admirables, y los conocí y vi en peleas con los valientísimos apaches) de comer papachis, guamúchiles, uvalamas, badeas, y requesón con miel virgen.

Y aunque a vuestra reverencia le parezca embeleso mío, y chochera del viejo calvo, a los tiempos me remito. Quiera Nuestro Señor se logre todo para su mayor honra y gloria y bien de las almas. De esta misión de San Ignacio Nuestro Padre de los Pimas, y agosto 1 de 1729.

Muy siervo y súbdito de vuestra reverencia
Joseph Agustín de Campos

Perdone vuestra reverencia esta añadidura, que ser tan corto de vista me la hizo perder en el traslado. Quiera Dios no sean los fines de la conquista pretextados para la saca de perlas, que se hace el buceo copioso cerca de esa isla. Desde el año pasado estamos oyendo que el gobernador de Sinaloa venía al buceo, y para su ganancia de perlas alborotan estas tierras.

Padre Agustín de Campos

Padre Nicolás de Perera al Nicolás de Oro, 1729

Pópulo, 17 de septiembre, 1729.

A mi padre visitador Nicolás de Oro:

Noticio a vuestra reverencia cómo el día 7 del corriente, volví de la campaña, aunque muy fatigado del camino y con algún quebranto en la salud pero con el consuelo de haberse conseguido, con felicidad, el sacar los seris de la isla y traerlos a este pueblo. Y para que vuestra reverencia sepa lo bien que nos fue y juntamente avise al provincial de todo, remito a vuestra reverencia el informe de lo acaecido en la campaña, y es como se sigue:

El día 16 de agosto salí de esta jurisdicción en compañía del gobernador de Sinaloa, y el 18 llegamos a Bacoachi ranchería de los seris tepocas en donde bauticé ocho párvulos. Y después atendiendo el dicho gobernador a que en aquel puesto no pueden ser administrados los seris, así por la falta de agua que en el camino se experimenta, como por estar en la distancia de casi cuarenta leguas de este pueblo, a lo que se junta el no tener, dichos seris, tierras en qué poder sembrar como ellos confesaron, les mandó que dentro de tres semanas viniesen todos al pueblo de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo; como a su cabecera, no sólo lograrán del pasto espiritual de que carecen en aquel desierto, sino de tierras para sembrar. Y aunque en ellos se reconoció alguna repugnancia pero convencidos de lo que se les dijo, quedaron en venirse.

Desde esta ranchería despachó el gobernador cartas a los placeres, para que a su recibo se aprontasen las canoas y pasasen con ellas a las playas del Carrizal, para donde salimos, y el día que a dicho Carrizal llegamos, se cogió en el camino una ranchería con 27 cabezas, la que se condujo hasta dicho puesto en donde se mantuvo hasta traerla a este pueblo. El día siguiente de llegados al Carrizal, despachó el gobernador dos hijos, con requerimiento a los seris de la isla, para que todos pasasen a vernos; lo que ellos ejecutaron gustosos, pasando todos los de la ranchería del lado del poniente, dejando sólo en la isla una sola familia de un enfermo, la que se pasó después. Llegaron los isleños donde los aguardábamos, y fueron recibidos del gobernador con entrañas de padre amoroso, y después mandó se les repartiese bastimento, lo que se ejecutó con grande magnanimidad, así con los de esta ranchería, como con los otros de la ranchería que cae a la parte del norte, que son las dos rancherías de que la isla se compone, luego que de los placeres llegaron. Y prosiguió manteniéndolos hasta llegar a este pueblo, donde quedan agregados, por dicho gobernador, quien conformándose con el despacho del excelentísimo señor virrey lo ejecutó así. Quedan todos los adultos instruyéndose en los misterios de Nuestra Santa Fe para recibir el Santísimo Bautismo, el cual les daré, como lo hice, bautizando solemnemente en el Carrizal 52 párvulos, no sólo con el beneplácito de sus padres, sino con señales de júbilo y alegría.

Hasta aquí lo acontecido, y paso a dar a vuestra reverencia noticia de lo que es la isla, la cual noticia había más de un año que tenía yo, con ocasión de haberse venido a este pueblo un seri de la isla, quien en lo que me informó dijo verdad.

La isla tendrá como treinta leguas de largo, a lo que reconocimos desde un cerro colorado, que está en la orilla del mar y es el más inmediato a la isla. Es por su naturaleza no sólo tierra áspera, allí sólo se dejan ver en ella, sierras y montañas sin algún llano, sino inhabitable. Y prueba el ser así, el informe que los dichos seris isleños dieron. Quienes dicen, ser sumamente estéril, sin haber en toda ella un pedazo de tierra en qué poder sembrar, y que sólo hay algún zacate entre las peñas con que se mantienen tal cual bura, liebres, y ardillas, que es toda la caza que ellos tienen para mantenerse, juntando con ella una semilla que sacan del mar. A tiempos padecen mucha hambre, y se ven obligados, para que del todo no les falte el mantenimiento, a mantenerse cada 24 horas con un puñado de la dicha semilla, lo cual sabía yo aún antes de pasar al mar.

Júntase a la falta de bastimentos, la del agua, pues en toda la isla, que como tengo dicho a vuestra reverencia, se compone de dos rancherías, no hay más aguajes que dos, tan cortos, que diciéndoles a los seris si podrían las canoas hacer aguada en la isla, respondieron, que si se sacaran tres barriles, no quedaría ninguna agua. Y estos son los de la punta de la isla que mira entre sur y poniente, y los de la

punta que mira al norte, no tienen más agua que la que destilan unos peñascos, lo cual para mí es muy cierto, por haberse conformado el dicho de los isleños, con lo que antes me había dicho a mí el que tengo en el pueblo.

No pasamos a la isla, porque aunque el gobernador dio las providencias necesarias para ello, como fue el enviar a el placer por las canoas, pero no surtió efecto el que llegaran a nuestra vista por el temporal que las cogió siguiendo su derrota, el cual las obligó a quedarse más de 17 leguas de nosotros y sólo salieron a tierra el contramaestre y un soldado, quienes después de haber estado dos días perdidos, llegaron al real, mortales y con la noticia que el contramaestre dio al gobernador luego que éste se hubo recobrado. Lo despachó con cuatro soldados con bastimentos para los de las canoas, quienes se hallaban malamente sin él, por no haber sacado de los placeres más que para 14 horas, dándole juntamente orden de que luego pasase con las dichas canoas al paraje que le había asignado, para pasar a la isla. Lo cual no surtió efecto, porque cuando llegaron los soldados al lugar donde habían quedado las canoas, se hallaron sin éstas, porque viendo éstas el que sus compañeros no parecían y que duraba el temporal, tomaron la vuelta a los placeres, donde llegaron según carta que de esto recibió el gobernador, quien viendo el que el tiempo persistía, y que el bastimento que había quedado apenas era suficiente para dar la vuelta a este pueblo, determinó el venirse. Lo cual me pareció muy acertado, por tener conseguido el fin, que era el sacar la gente de la isla, y porque de detenernos más, no sólo no habría bastimento para el camino, sino el que nos exponíamos a que se perdiera lo más de la caballada por la falta de agua.

La tarde antes de salir, se les dijo a los isleños el fin de nuestra jornada, que era a sacarlos de la isla, y que pues sus deseos, como ellos decían, eran de ser cristianos, se viniesen a este pueblo, en donde dejando la aspereza de la isla, y los trabajos que en ella experimentaban de hambre y sed, vivirían como cristianos, asistiendo a la enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana (como lo hacen) y tendrían tierras, para sembrar. Y ellos respondieron que con mucho gusto se venían.

El día siguiente salimos, y trajimos a este pueblo 41 familias que se componen de 151 cabezas, y juntas con las 27 de la otra ranchería quedan muy gustosos. Y después salió mi gobernador, de orden del gobernador de Sinaloa, a correr la tierra con diez indios de este pueblo, y cogió cuatro de los malos, los que trajo. Y dicho señor gobernador determinó sacarlos de la tierra, con los demás que se cogieren, ínterin perseverase en este pueblo, lo cual hace con facultad que para ello tiene.

La isla ni es, ni ha sido, receptáculo de apóstatas, ni ladrones, y sus habitadores es una gente muy buena, sin malicia, y ajenos de las maldades de los de esta banda. Y de la docilidad de su natural genio espero en el Señor, el que permanecerán en el pueblo.

No hay otra cosa qué noticiar a vuestra reverencia. Sólo sí, le suplico dé orden en Ures, me den un poco de trigo para semilla que no lo tengo, y por haber estado asistiendo al padre Pedro dos meses, que fue el día en que salí en el que se comenzó el corte del trigo, con lo cual no se cogió el que podía, no obstante el estar achagüistlado. Y con tan larga ausencia, se me perdieron los veranos, motivo porque molesto a vuestra reverencia con esta súplica. Espero el conseguirlo de vuestra reverencia, como de mi parte Nuestro Señor me guarde la vida de vuestra reverencia muchos años, en cuyos santos sacrificios me encomiendo. Pópulo y septiembre 17 de 1729.

Humilde súbdito y siervo de vuestra reverencia
JHS
Nicolás de Perera

Padre Nicolás de Perera al Padre Provincial, 1740

Mándame el padre visitador general, informe a vuestra reverencia de lo obrado por el gobernador de Sinaloa en estas provincias, y el desafecto que a los jesuitas tiene, y pasión con que los mira. Aunque pudiera decir mucho de lo ejecutado por el dicho gobernador en el alzamiento de Cerro Prieto, y el indecoro con que lo trataron los pimas cuando lo hicieron venir al ajuste de las paces hasta San Pablo del Pescadero desde Tecoripa, lo omito, porque el padre visitador Luis María Margianij [Marciano] (a quien se le debió la reducción de los alzados, y que bajados del Cerro Prieto vinieran a vivir a sus pueblos, no al gobernador como quiso atribuírsela en un escrito que ví) dará de esto más específica razón como ministro que era de Tecoripa en aquel entonces.

Cuando dicho gobernador vino de orden del señor virrey para sacar de la Isla del Tiburón, por un informe siniestro que a su excelentísimo se hizo en que los armadores del placer de Tepoca se quejaban falsamente de dichos seris del Tiburón, el cual ví y leí, pasé en compañía de dicho gobernador señalado de mis superiores, y habiendo dado la vuelta por Bacuachi, llegamos a un paraje nombrado el Carrizal. En éste nos detuvimos ocho días, tiempo bastante para poder despachar, como se hizo, dos indios con recados para que llamaran a los tiburones. Consiguióse sólo el que pasaran de la Isla dos solas rancherías. A éstas se les propuso el fin de la Isla, que era para sacarlas y traerlas a vivir a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, repugnaron al principio, pero por último se convinieron en dejar sus tierras, aunque siempre con esperanza de volverse a dichas, como lo ejecutaron luego que dicho gobernador fuera a Sinaloa.

Esta mudada de los seris fue la causa de los muertos que en los armadores hicieron los seris por vengar en ellos el agravio que decían les habían hecho sacándolos de su Isla y las muertes que de sus hijos tuvieron en el camino. Esta fue la causa del alzamiento que tanto nos dio quehacer, hasta que pasando el capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza a la isla del Tiburón, fue el señor servido se mejoraran las cosas, y que dentro de poco tiempo se sosegara la nación, y vinieran a vivir a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo más de setecientas personas, las que con gran consuelo mantenía, a costa de mucho trabajo, de que me era gustoso por los muchos párvulos que para el cielo se lograban, y por ver la aplicación con que los más de los adultos asistían a la doctrina, para hacerse aptos de recibir el santo bautismo.

Pero el demonio envidioso del bien de estos miserables, desparramó que el gobernador de Sinaloa venía con ánimo de sacar del Pópulo las cabecillas y llevarlas en collera, castigando a los demás. Con esta noticia se comenzó a desparramar la gente, no siendo bastantes a detenerla cuantas diligencias hice, y sólo tenía la esperanza de que entrando dicho gobernador de la visita se juntara de nuevo.

Pero éste que juzgaba yo sería el medio para recojer los dispersos, fue la total ruina de la nación y la causa de que vivan como brutos en los cerros y montes, por haber dicho gobernador, contra todo derecho, dádoles libertad, diciéndoles

públicamente en el Pópulo que como vivieran juntos y no hicieran daños, vivieran donde quisieran. Esto ejecutó dicho gobernador después de haberle dicho el capitán general del Pópulo, en Ures, que si este [a] orden daba su señoría, no sólo no se conseguiría el que permanecieran en el Pópulo los nuevamente venidos, sino que se irían también los nativos de dicho pueblo, como de justo se fueron muchos, y recurriendo a la escuadra de soldados que estaba de guarnición para que los siguieran, respondían que no tenían orden y que su señoría había mandado que vivieran donde quisieran, con la cual quedó todo perdido.

Por lo que mira a la sublevación de Yaqui, y lo que como testigo de vista vi acompañando al padre visitador general, desde esta misión hasta la de Tónichi, me refiero a lo que su reverencia dice. Añado sólamente que si la pasión contra los jesuitas no hubiera cegádolo tanto, no se vieran en tan deplorable estado estas provincias. Así lo he oído a muchos, quienes dicen tener ellos la culpa, entre estos al teniente de Río Chico, quien después de haber dicho, que se le mandó, cuando fue a Yaqui a la averiguación del sacrílego robo que hicieron en la iglesia de Bethlén [Belén], que hiciera estas diligencias muy superficiales, y que a los padres no les diese testimonio, aunque se lo pidiesen, añadiendo que lo que padecían los vecinos era castigo de Dios por las firmas que dieron en los informes que contra los padres se hicieron. Todos claman contra el gobernador, pero como este caballero tiene vitalicio el empleo, no se puede conseguir instrumento alguno con qué probar estas cosas, aunque los superiores no perdonan diligencia, ni trabajo por ver si puede haber algunos instrumentos que despachar a vuestra reverencia.

Cuya importante vida suplico a Nuestro Señor guarde para consuelo de todos sus súbditos y especialmente de los misioneros, los muchos años que deseo. En los Santos Sacrificios de vuestra reverencia me encomiendo. Cucurpe y junio 25 de 1740.

[Mente], siervo y súbdito de vuestra reverencia.
Nicolás de Perera

III

The Breakdown of Seri-Spanish Relations and the Expedition to Tiburón Island (1748–1750)

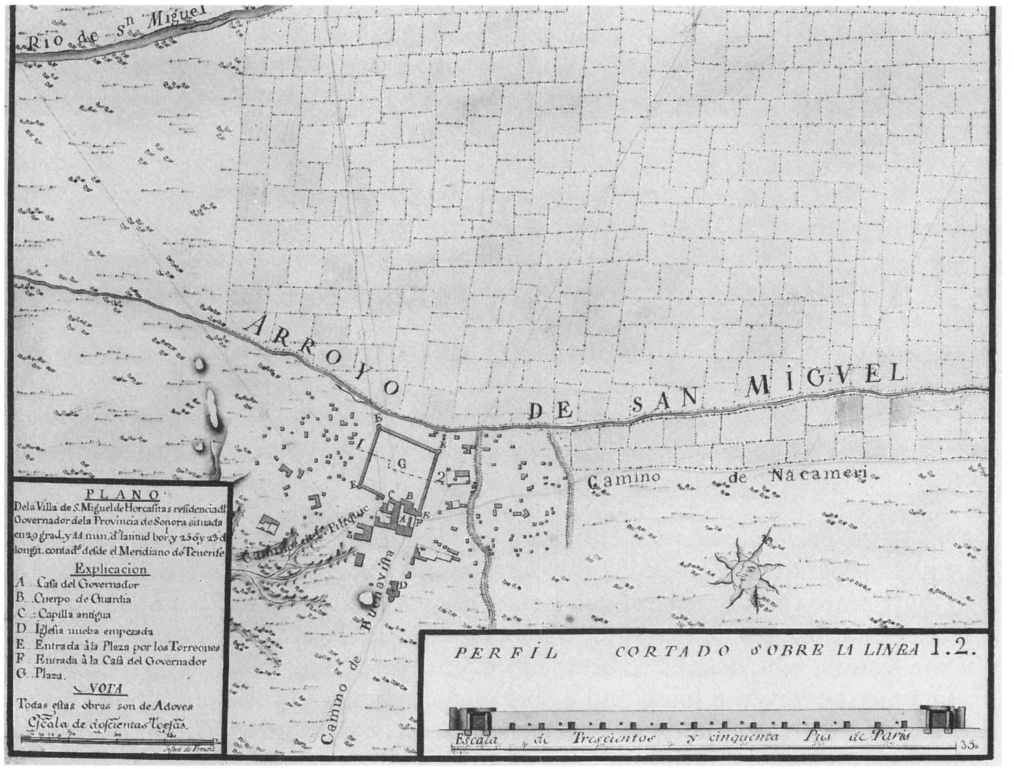
The conflict between Huidobro and the Jesuits crippled the Seri mission program and impeded the development of coherent Spanish policy toward the Comcáac. Such a state of affairs satisfied neither Spanish civil authorities, who wanted to reopen the pearl fisheries along the Seri coast, nor the Jesuits, who desired to bring more Seris into their fold.

In 1740, however, a loose and disorganized rebellion broke out among Yaqui and Mayo Indians in alliance with some Seris and Lower Pimas. While the Indians looted mining communities and ranches in the lower Yaqui, Mayo, and Fuerte river valleys, Spaniards, including Huidobro, took refuge in enclaves like Cedros[1] and Alamos[2] in the province of Ostimuri. As the revolt progressed, the Spaniards and the Jesuits imagined their control over Sinaloa y Sonora crumbling before a powerful alliance of northwestern tribes (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). Even though the rebellion was suppressed by Sonoran militia forces led by Agustín de Vildósola, the fears it engendered caused both civil authorities and missionaries to reconsider the Seris in a more brutal and cynical light.

The Spaniards' first response was more soldiers. The old mobile presidio of Sinaloa was stationed at Buenavista on the fringes of Yaqui territory. But the Spanish crown also created a new garrison and posted it at Pitic near a hacienda owned by Vildósola, who replaced Huidobro as governor of Sinaloa y Sonora in 1741. Jesuit José Xavier de Molina, missionary at Dolores, suggested the Pitic location, arguing that it would allow Spanish forces to quell future Yaqui revolts. It would also extend Spanish control over the Guaymas, the southernmost group of Seris, as

1. Cedros was located on the Río Cedros, a tributary of the Río Mayo. It lay in a valley in the rugged foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental and was a center of Spanish settlement in the eighteenth century.

2. After rich deposits of silver were discovered in 1684, la Purísima Concepción de Alamos became the most important mining community and commercial center in Sinaloa y Sonora. Located south of the Río Mayo in the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental, Alamos was the base of a powerful group of merchants and miners who resented Jesuit control over Indian land and labor in the surrounding river valleys. In 1769, a branch of the royal treasury was established there, and in 1783, Alamos became the see of the newly created Diocese of Sonora.



José de Urrutia's 1767 plan of the villa of San Miguel de Horcasitas showing the presidio with its central plaza (G). The Seri mission of Pópulo was located upstream in the direction of Nacameri. The Seri mission of Los Angeles was located downstream. (British Museum; courtesy Arizona State Museum)

well as over the Seris to the north, "who have not been returned to their villages or to their catechism lessons since they revolted years ago" (Polzer and Sheridan 1997:337).

But soldiers at Pitic soon began to complain about shortages of both land and water. Meanwhile, dissatisfaction with Vildósola himself spread across the province. In 1748, Viceroy Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas[3] appointed a prominent Mexico City lawyer named José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo[4] as *juez pesquisidor y visitador general* of Sinaloa y Sonora to investigate the charges of corruption and inefficiency leveled against the governor.

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3. Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, the first Conde de Revillagigedo, was born in Reinosa, Santander, in 1682 and died in Madrid in 1768. He was viceroy of New Spain from 1746 to 1755 following his service as *capitán general* of Cuba (1734–1746). He is not to be confused with the second Conde de Revillagigedo, Juan Vicente de Güemes-Pacheco y Padilla, who also served as viceroy (1789–1794).

4. José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo (c. 1716–1781) was born in Campeche but grew up in Mérida on the Yucatán Peninsula. He studied canon law and law at the Universidad de México and then began a lengthy career as a lawyer and public official. His *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora*, written in 1750 after he completed his inspection of northwestern New

Rodríguez Gallardo's second and more important task was to hammer out sweeping solutions to northwestern New Spain's problems. One of a series of reformers sent to the northern frontier by the Bourbon monarchs of Spain, Rodríguez Gallardo realized that political and economic changes could not be effected until Sinaloa y Sonora had been secured against New Spain's Indian enemies. In many respects, Rodríguez Gallardo was a predecessor of José de Gálvez—a visionary entranced with grandiose schemes to expand the frontier and make it prosper (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975). Unlike Gálvez, however, he did not have the resources to turn visions into realities. As a result, Sonora plunged into two decades of blood and fire.

One of Rodríguez Gallardo's first and most disastrous actions was to transfer the presidio of Pitic in March 1749 to a site on the Río San Miguel christened San Miguel de Horcasitas in honor of the viceroy (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). That placed a garrison of Spanish soldiers, and the civilians who accompanied them, right between the two Seri missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles. Three years later, Horcasitas replaced San Juan Bautista as the cabecera of the province, and in 1777, Juan Bautista de Anza made it his headquarters when he returned from his expedition to Alta California as military commander of Sonora (Officer 1987). As Jesuit missionary Tomás Miranda pointed out in a letter that follows, the transfer of Horcasitas triggered a chain of events that destroyed the Seri mission program. Soldiers and vecinos seized Seri mission lands and forced the Seris to work for them. When the Seris rebelled, Rodríguez Gallardo arrested their leaders and threw them in chains. He also betrayed, imprisoned, and deported to the workshops of central New Spain non-mission Seris like Canito. These harsh measures enraged the Seris, who carried out devastating raids along the San Miguel and as far south as the mining *real* of Aguaje northeast of Pitic (see "Relación of Father Perera, 1750"). Within a year, Rodríguez Gallardo's policies had transformed petty raiders into guerrilla fighters.

To pacify the Seris, the viceroy issued a general pardon and eighty families trickled back into Pópulo and Los Angeles. Envoys were also sent to non-mission Seris, including those on Tiburón Island (Alegre 1956–60, vol. 4). But Rodríguez Gallardo placed little faith in friendly persuasion. Over the next year, he forged a "final solution" to the Seri problem that called for a relentless war against the Comcáac. Other campaigns had failed, he wrote to Diego Ortiz Parrilla, the new governor of Sinaloa y Sonora, because Spanish commanders "had contented themselves with punishing the ringleaders, leaving the rest free when most had been accomplices or participants."[5] Rather than crowding them into the missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles, as Miranda had feared he would do, Rodríguez Gallardo decided to deport the Seris by sea. "Once secured on a boat," he proclaimed, "they will only be able to seek their freedom in their own shipwreck and ruin" (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975:11).

Spain, examines the commerce and demography of the region and proposes ambitious solutions to Sinaloa y Sonora's political, economic, and military problems. It was edited, annotated, and published by Germán Viveros in 1975. When he returned to Mexico City, Rodríguez Gallardo became *contador general de reales tributos*, a post he held for fifteen years. He resigned in 1769 and traveled to Spain to defend himself against charges of slander in a lawsuit involving the archbishop of Mexico City and the expulsion of the Jesuits. Upon his return in 1775, he resumed his post as contador. He died in Mexico City.

5. Rodríguez Gallardo to Ortiz Parrilla, March 15, 1750 (Rodríguez Gallardo 1975:102).

Jesuits such as Miranda and Father Provincial Andrés Xavier García initially protested elements of Rodríguez Gallardo's policies (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). By April 1750, however, they were ready to declare Seri missionization a failure and support Rodríguez Gallardo and Ortiz Parrilla's plans for a military expedition to Tiburón Island. They also supported the deportation of all Seris over ten years of age to the "ultramarine islands" of the Caribbean (see "Ortiz Parrilla and the Jesuits Propose to Deport the Seris, 1750"). That spring, Ortiz Parrilla tricked Pablo, the Seri governor of Pópulo, into luring many of the Comcáac into settlements along the San Miguel. Then the Spaniards arrested all the Seris they could seize in Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Pópulo. The fate of the male prisoners is unknown, but the Seri women were deported as far south as Guatemala (Alegre 1956–60, vol. 4; Spicer 1962). By late summer, Ortiz Parrilla was ready to launch the expedition to Tiburón Island (see "Pimentel's Diary of the Expedition to Tiburón Island, 1750").

Ortiz Parrilla considered that expedition a great success. His chronicler, Jesuit missionary Francisco Pimentel, even composed a "romance" extolling the valor of the soldiers and comparing the governor to Caesar and Alexander the Great.[6] But Ortiz Parrilla greatly underestimated the tenacity of his Seri foes. Most of the Indians eluded the Spaniards by breaking into small groups and crossing back over to the mainland. The Spaniards also ignored the great mountain stronghold of the Seris and Lower Pimas known as the Cerro Prieto—the modern Sierra Libre stretching between Hermosillo and Guaymas. Within a year, both Seri and Lower Pima rebels ravaged ranches and mining communities throughout central Sonora. Moreover, Luis Oacpicagigua, the commander of the Upper Pimas who fought so effectively against the Seris on Tiburón, led his own revolt against the Spaniards in the winter of 1751 (Ewing 1934; Polzer and Sheridan 1997). The Jesuit mission program, limited though it was, established a tenuous bridge between the Seris and the Spaniards. When the program was abandoned, war or withdrawal into the desert were the Seris' only alternatives. Faced with arrest, deportation, and cultural if not physical genocide, the Comcáac had no choice but to resist.

6. Pimentel, "Romance que dibuxa la entrada, y felis éxito de la Ysla del Tiburón." AGN, Jesuitas, II-5.

Father Miranda on the Impact of Horcasitas Presidio on the Mission Seris, 1749

Father Tomás Miranda, temporarily stationed at the mission of Nacameri north of the Seri missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles, was one of the last Jesuit defenders of the Seris. Along with his provincial in Mexico City, Father Andrés Xavier García, he realized that the transfer of the presidio from Pitic to Horcasitas meant the destruction of the Seri mission program (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). Whenever presidios were established near existing Indian communities, as happened at Horcasitas and, later, in Tucson, the Indians lost valuable farmland and saw soldiers and settlers divert scarce water from the rivers to irrigate non-Indian fields (Sheridan 1995). Indians also were often forced to labor for those soldiers and settlers, as Miranda describes happening to the Seri families of Los Angeles. The Seris found such abuses intolerable and rebelled, to devastating effect.

And even though he had little experience with the Seris, Miranda recognized that Spanish bravado would never subjugate the Comcáac. Although homesick for central Mexico, he expressed a grudging admiration for the Seris as well as an appreciation for the beauty of Seri women. Miranda described the Comcáac as vengeful and treacherous, but he also stated that they never harmed anyone who showed them kindness. He also noted the Seris' great hatred of José de Mesa, a prominent settler in the San Miguel Valley, who apparently seized lands belonging to Manuelillo, one of the Seri rebel leaders. His phrase—"The Seris will not be content until they make a drum of his belly"—is surely one of the most vivid images in these documents.

Miranda's comments about the futility of deporting the Seris to the workshops of central New Spain foreshadows Rodríguez Gallardo's determination to deport them by sea. Seri prisoners, like Apache prisoners, were far too resourceful; time and again, they escaped and returned to the northern frontier to wreak vengeance on the Spaniards after having been sent in chains to Mexico City or even as far as Vera Cruz. Miranda's perceptive comments contrast favorably with the grandiose designs of Rodríguez Gallardo and Ortiz Parrilla. Seri tenacity was too great, and Seri territory was too vast, too rugged, and too arid, for the relatively easy victories Rodríguez Gallardo planned and Ortiz Parrilla claimed.

One final observation needs to be made. The missionaries were human beings subject to human stresses and human frailties. Miranda's letter paints the self-portrait of an inexperienced but idealistic individual at the end of his rope. Homesick for central Mexico, frightened and frustrated by the Seris, and deeply suspicious of his fellow Spaniards and Carlos de Rojas, one of his Jesuit superiors, Miranda's letter is a wail of self-pity as well as a strong protest against Spanish abuses and Jesuit complicity in them. Miranda is attempting to do right by his Seri "children." At the same time, he is acutely aware of both Spanish scrutiny and the deep internal divisions among the Jesuits themselves. Jesuits like Miranda

and Perera opposed the establishment of Horcasitas presidio and the destruction of the Seri mission program, but they were outmaneuvered by Rojas. Reading Miranda, one can feel idealism under assault by the brutal Realpolitik *of Rodríguez Gallardo's policies.*

Father Juan Antonio Balthasar,[7]

With Nicolás Moreno and Cavanillas, I have awaited your reply to the letters I wrote to Your Reverence from Querétaro and Guadalajara. I am sure, however, that I will arrive before these letters, if they arrive at all. I also wrote another more detailed letter from Tónichi with Agustín Aguado. I expect that Your Reverence will receive this letter, so I shall not repeat myself here.

I spent Holy Week and Easter in Mátape,[8] during which time I was extremely ill. There I received from Father Visitor Rojas[9] my assignment to the Seri of Pópulo, a barbarous people, now more formidable than ever. A chief named Bielmas was in Pópulo whence he was taking to court in chains the two principal captains of the baptized Apaches, and others of the same nation. He seized them in the same presidio, even though they came in peace, and not on campaign, which cannot be spoken of here under penalty of death. [He also seized] the renowned Seri Canito, along with four others of the same nation, whom he tricked into coming there, even though Canito had offered to go and bring back the Seri wrongdoers.

I wrote to Your Reverence at length about this leader [Canito] but doubt that you will ever receive these letters; Bielmas and his five companions would do well to seek refuge in some church. Through Bielmas' carelessness, Canito and fifteen Apaches escaped in Sinaloa and have since avenged themselves well. Between

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7. Juan Antonio Balthasar (1697–1763) was born in Lucerne, Switzerland. He entered the Society of Jesus on October 27, 1712, and arrived in New Spain in 1719. Balthasar was ordained in 1723; from 1723 to 1734 he was a missionary in Topia and San Andrés. He later served as rector of the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City until he was named visitor of the northern missions in 1744. From 1747 to 1750 he served as rector of the Colegio Máximo and was provincial of New Spain in 1753. From 1755 to 1758 he was rector of the Colegio de San Andrés in Mexico City.

8. Jesuit missionaries Tomás Basilio and Francisco Oliñano first visited Mátape, the principal village of the Aibinos, an Opata group, along the headwaters of the Río Mátape, in 1622. Lorenzo de Cárdenas, S.J., formally founded the mission of San José de Mátape in 1629. It fell within the Rectorate of San Francisco Borja and was cabecera of the visitas of Santa Cruz de Nácori, La Asunción de Nuestra Señora de los Alamos, and San Francisco Xavier de Rebeico. In 1670, it was officially designated a *colegio incoado,* which allowed it to own and operate haciendas and cattle herds under both ecclesiastical and civil law. During the 1670s and 1680s under Father Daniel Angelo Marras, S.J., Mátape became an enormously productive operation, selling wheat, corn, and especially cattle throughout Sonora. Herds were driven to Jesuit properties as far south as Puebla in central Mexico. By the 1680s, however, complaints by Spanish officials forced the Jesuits to sell off many of their holdings, and the economic importance of Mátape declined (Polzer 1972a).

9. Carlos Rojas, S.J. (1702–1773) was born in Mexico City and joined the Jesuit order in 1717. He began working in Sonora in 1739 and became father visitor of the Sonoran missions in 1748, serving in this capacity until the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. He died in Puerto de Santa María, Spain.

Movas[10] and Río Chico they burned a rancho and killed eight or nine people. From there they re-entered this area and, in my opinion, they will continue to inflict as much damage as possible.

The captive Seris and Apaches were wearing old, weak, easily broken chains. None of the women prisoners wore any restraints, and all were on foot except the Apache captains who, as befitted their status, were on horseback. They were being taken away by the coastal road through the region where famine is raging, hunger is rampant, and one cannot buy a grain of food. How will the prisoners be able to survive, depending for food on whatever the residents give them? They say that the baptized one died, and I believe that all the women will die because some were old and others pregnant.

If Canito and the escapees return, it will cost much blood and silver to reduce them again. The Spaniards and others who think simplistically should weigh this well. Each says that he is a match for one hundred Seris. Yet all that I have heard, seen, and experienced are deaths, injuries, fires, thefts, and slaughter of those who make such boasts, and who tremble with fear when they hear the Seri war cry. This digression has become lengthy, so let us return to Mátape, where I received my assignment.

Upon recovering from my illness, I departed for San José de los Pimas, where Reverend Father Felipe[11] was preparing for the dedication of his church and houses. Such fashionable buildings are often seen in Mexico City, but are unknown in this province where Your Reverence knows that all are flat-roofed and crude. The dedication took place on the day of the patron saint, San José, with pomp and solemnity. There was a sermon, large altar cloths, and two Jesuits officiating—an event seldom seen in Sonora. It is a shame that Father Felipe will not stay in this pueblo nor will it remain under his administration. Only the priest who makes a great personal investment in it will take great care of it and give it the attention it requires. In two or three years it will not be the same as it is today.

It was here [San José de los Pimas] that we determined the day when we should depart for Nacameri. It was also decided that in the interim I would go to Ures to hear confessions and perform other ministries so that it would not remain completely unattended. Having accomplished this, we departed for Nacameri on May 8.

Nacameri is a small pueblo situated between the Sierra de Aconchi[12] and the other hills which surround it. It is a place of extremes: when it is hot one sweats a great deal, and in winter the cold is worse than in Puebla or other places in the

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10. Located along the Río Nuri (also known as the Río Chico), a tributary of the Río Yaqui, the mission of Santa María de Movas was founded among the Névomes Altos (Lower Pimas) in 1622 by Diego Vandersipe, S.J. Movas was cabecera of the visita of Santa Ana de Nuri in the Rectorate of San Francisco Borja.

11. Philip (Felipe) Segesser von Brunegg (1689–1762) was born in Lucerne, Switzerland, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1708. He arrived in New Spain in 1731 and was first stationed at San Ignacio. In 1732 he was transferred to San Xavier del Bac. He served at Guevavi in 1733 but was assigned to Tecoripa among the Lower Pimas after he became ill. In 1744 he became rector of the Rectorate of San Francisco Borja and resided in Ures until his death.

12. Due west of the pueblo of Aconchi on the Río Sonora, the Sierra Aconchi separates that valley from the valley of the Río San Miguel. Its highest elevation is 2,192 meters.

cold country. There are no fruit trees, nor can any be grown. There is an arroyo that comes from Dolores[13] and also a spring which, if it did not dry up so often, would be of help to the mission.

Nacameri is a watering place used by the Indians and mule trains on their way to the Pimería. It was once a large pueblo with many people, but today it is not even a rancho. The census lists only eleven men, about the same number of women, three young boys, and five school-age girls. There is no church, no houses, no vestments, nor any other necessities. The people are of the Pima nation, poor but good, and they do what they can. There have been days when the governor has been the only person left in town. Eleven men are very few to take care of the royal mail, comply with the *tapisques,*[14] serve as guides, run errands, and accomplish whatever else they are ordered to do.

I arrived in Nacameri on May 8 and we were received in the tiny room that is the priest's residence. The mission was turned over to me and, in so far as the large and small livestock and the herds of mares are concerned, they are in good condition. The seed situation is very bad because the Indians did not plant last year nor this one. They wished to plant an *almud* of corn, but this was impossible due to enemy revolts and attacks. There are neither stores of provisions nor ingredients, not so much as a chile with which to spice the beef.

Father Felipe came to mass and upon returning home sent me a package. Were it not for his charity, I don't know how we would have survived. He also sent some plates and jars because there were none here. There was neither a cook nor even a kitchen boy here either, until I brought them from Pópulo; I am teaching my Seri to be a cook. This is the state of my cabecera of Nacameri at the time I took over, as stated in the official record and witnessed by the reverend father.

Because Nacameri is located on the frontier of the Seri and Apache enemy, I am also burdened with provisioning the soldiers stationed there. This is a bitter pill to swallow; the authorities do not consider the fact that I must rely on charity and alms to sustain myself. Not only do I live in a frontier pueblo, but I am also the priest and minister for hostile Seris who, given their disposition, do not wish to support me. It is all I can do to feed and care for these six soldiers, who have been stationed here since the thirteenth of this month and will be here until the war ceases; whatever is left over I give to the Indians. I often have nothing because everything goes for the campaign. Even the pack mule was taken. There is neither a harness nor a single piece of silver with which to buy corn or wheat. May God soon exercise His justice for these poor Indians' sake. As long as this situation

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13. Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., founded Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Cosari in 1687 among the Himeris, an Upper Pima group. Dolores remained his residence and headquarters for the rest of his life as he explored northern Sonora and southern Arizona, and established missions throughout the Pimería Alta. Even though it had once been the seat of the Rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and the cabecera of the visitas of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Coágibubig and Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocóspera, Dolores was abandoned around 1745 because of disease and Apache attacks. The arroyo referred to in the text is the Río Dolores, one of the two major tributaries of the Río San Miguel.

14. In common usage the verb *tapiscar* (from the Nahuatl *tla pishcani*) means 'to harvest corn'. In the context of this document, tapisques refer to drafts of Indian labor, probably for harvesting corn or wheat, under the *repartimiento* system. Repartimiento labor drafts provided Indian workers from a community, including mission Indians, to Spanish miners and farmers on a rotational basis for fixed periods of time.

continues, one is not living but rather dying little by little because there are constant frights, surprises, and dangers.

It is under these conditions that the reverend father left me when he returned to Ures. Since my second day here I have not had a moment of pleasure or consolation. On May 10 on the outskirts of Nacameri, my Seri children killed a novice and stole all the horseherd. A few days later they killed one soldier and wounded another. The twenty-eighth was a day I shall long remember; that sad night I thought my life was at an end. Hostile Seris arrived at the small mining community five or six *cuadras*[15] from my house about eight in the evening. They killed three residents and departed haughtily. It is certain that if the Holy Virgin had not interceded on our behalf, they would not have been satisfied with those three murders and I would not be writing this nor relating this story to you now.

That same day five of the eleven Indians [men in Nacameri] had left to participate in the campaign and two others were off carrying mail. Only two stayed behind because they were sick or indisposed. The sick ones, upon hearing the Seris' war cry, came to my house with all the Indians and would not leave my side. I plucked up my courage and kept up their spirits by commending us to God and performing acts of contrition until dawn. I rested a little in between. Since that day, no one sleeps in his own house. By sunset they are all in the priest's house. Since the attack I have become captain, chief, and protector without any hope of help or relief. I did not mention this to the Indians and they did not realize how bad things were. The enemy has been within three leagues of Nacameri for fifteen days and there has been no sign of the bullies and braggarts who do not fear Indians but claim that each is worth a thousand Seris and who were going to kick their backsides.

On the advice of the reverend father, I requested in His Majesty's name that the lieutenant of the presidio of San Miguel send two to six soldiers to defend Nacameri. He sent them on the thirteenth of this month and today they are here in Nacameri. I sent the monstrance, two chalices, two portable altars, and the few old vestments that were here to the Ures[16] so that the Seris will not profane them if they attack again, as they have promised. I too am in Ures to see how things turn out and to recuperate. On the way here a mule threw me, hurting my arm and right foot so much that I am lame. With the help of poultices I am beginning to walk a bit. May His Majesty soon heal me so I can serve Him.

This is the state of Nacameri, interim mission headquarters until Pópulo quiets down. I went to Pópulo on May 18 accompanied only by two Indians. The Seris received me and visited with me. There is nothing in that mission because the twenty *fanegas*[17] of wheat sown by the previous missionary, which should have been harvested this month, were lost through the fault of those from the presidio. That occurred because [the presidial soldiers] brought [the Seris from Pópulo] elsewhere, so now we will not harvest that wheat. Regarding everything else, there is nothing, nothing, nothing!

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15. A cuadra was a town block—the distance along a street between two cross streets. It was also an approximate measure of distance generally ranging from 100 to 150 meters.

16. Here Miranda refers both to the pueblo of Ures on the Río Sonora and the Lower Pima inhabitants of the town.

17. A fanega of wheat weighed about 37 kilograms.

Pópulo itself is very pleasant and full of cottonwoods, willows, and *chinos.*[18] There is plenty of water, good land for everyone, and a delightful sky. The Indians are tall and very dark and take great pains with their appearance. They fill their hair with wildflowers, wear eight or ten earrings in each ear and a blue stone in their nose, and sport necklaces and bracelets of different colors and shells.[19] They wear garters of white deerskin on their legs and cover their private parts with only a cloth. The women are much the same, although they do not adorn themselves as much since heaven has endowed them with considerable beauty.

The Seri language is more difficult than Otomí.[20] There is no grammar book, no confessional, no dictionary, and only one priest, Nicolás Perera, knows the language. The Seris are very lazy and not much given to work, supporting themselves by hunting deer with bow and arrow. And now, because even the good Seris have been deprived of their arms, they are perishing of hunger. They are vengeful, treacherous, and desperate; whatever killing or arson the Seris threaten, they carry out. They will not harm anyone who does or has done kind things for them, but rather will watch over that person. They are very skillful, very curious, demanding, and audacious.

There are now some thirty families, not counting children, in Pópulo. Some of their land was taken away for the presidio and this greatly upset them. Furthermore, they are whipped, beaten, and forced to work as though they were evildoers. There was another pueblo called Los Angeles, which also has been handed over to the new presidio. Those fifty families, not counting children, work every day from sunup to sundown and are underfed and quite badly mistreated, even the pregnant women. These are Christian Indians, not rebels, and we must speak to the judge [José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo] and the father visitor [Carlos Rojas] on their behalf. They both want to take the Seris' fields and hand them over to the Spaniards in order to form a town. In my opinion, if the Seris have not already rebelled they will soon rebel over this matter alone, simply because they detest the name "Spaniard."

Thus far my discussion deals only with the pacified Christian Seris who live on the mainland. Regarding the [Tiburón] islanders and inhabitants of the estuaries, there are about six hundred families; they include the most heathen Seris as well as apostates of our Holy Faith and evil, perverse Christians. These are the ones who carry out the assaults, wars, and murders, although not all of them participate. The bands of Manuelillo and Canito, in particular, are those that ravage the land.

The Spaniards make no distinction between good and bad Seris. Their goal is to extinguish and annihilate the Seri nation once and for all. Some canoes were

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18. *Palo chino* is the name for *Pithecellobium mexicanum,* a tree growing along arroyos whose reddish wood is used for building furniture and whose bark is used for tanning (Turner, Bowers, and Burgess 1995).

19. Modern Seris no longer wear such jewelry and attribute these customs to mythological giants who crossed the Gulf of California from Baja to Sonora (see the introduction).

20. Otomí is a language within the Otopamean division of the Otomanguean language family. Most Otomí speakers live in or around the Valley of Mexico. Spaniards apparently had an easier time learning Uto-Aztecan languages such as Nahuatl, Pima, or Yaqui than they did languages in other language families such as Seri or Otomí.

built in Yaqui[21] for this purpose, but the plan has yet to be carried out due to a shortage of money and supplies. The Spaniards plan to travel by sea to the island called Tiburón, where the Seris live in revolt, and remove them from there in order to bring them to Pópulo and other pueblos. Such an undertaking will always be difficult as long as there is such an island and such a nation. Only if both bands are extinguished and destroyed will a remedy be achieved. Even if the bad ones are sent to *obrajes*[22] or to other pueblos, upon escaping, they will return to their dens. It would be better to establish a presidio and a settlement of vecinos on Tiburón Island. The Seris would then never return due to the hatred and loathing they harbor for the Spaniards, who mistreat them through word and deed.

As soon as I arrived [in Nacameri], the Seris of Tiburón Island sent a delegation requesting that I come to the island alone to negotiate an agreement, without any soldiers or Spaniards. I have delayed answering them until now because it seemed to be barbarous and foolhardy to take to the ocean and place myself in the midst of enemies. Now that a general pardon has been issued by order of His Excellency the viceroy, envoys have been charged with informing the Indians that, if they are afraid to go to the presidios, they may go to Nacameri or wherever I may be so that I may pardon them. I do not think that they will submit. During one campaign, Manuelillo said that he loved neither God nor priest nor political authorities and preferred to die killing. Presidial soldiers urged another Seri to visit the rebel Indians and tell them that, now that I had arrived, it would be a good time to submit and be pardoned. He responded, "Why should they go do that when they can continue to follow Canito?" The soldiers had nothing more to say, but only tried to make the idea sound better.

It is certain that unless Don José de Mesa is removed from or ordered to leave the region, the Seris will not settle down. The whole affair is directed at this poor gentleman or his belongings, yet other residents suffer harm intended for him. There is not a single Seri raid after which one does not hear, "They burned Mesa's house, they stole his horseherd, they damaged his droves of cattle, they killed his relatives." The Seris say they will not be content until they make a drum of his belly. Everyone knows this firsthand and suffers the brunt of the Seris' rage, yet Mesa still lives in the middle of Pópulo and the problem remains unresolved.

Now the presidial soldiers are awaiting the arrival of the lord judge [Rodríguez Gallardo] who is coming from Fronteras, together with the captains of the presidio, forty settlers, twenty-nine soldiers, and one hundred Pimas. They are going to combine forces at the new presidio with the companies of the presidios of Pitic[23] and Sinaloa,[24] and with more settlers who will be coming from farther south. The

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21. The port of Médano at the mouth of the southern channel of the Río Yaqui west of Potam. Many Yaquis also worked as sailors on the Gulf of California.

22. Obrajes were workshops that often used forced labor. Many were located in central Mexico, far from the northern frontier.

23. Located just below the junction of the Río Sonora and its major tributary, the Río San Miguel, Pitic was one of the most strategic locations in Sonora—gateway between the coast and the mountains and the last point along the Río Sonora where enough water for irrigation flowed along the surface of the floodplain before sinking below ground into the alluvial sands as the river made its way southwest to the Gulf of California.

24. Founded in 1595 and originally stationed in San Felipe y Santiago de Sinaloa on the Río Sinaloa, the presidio of Sinaloa moved north with the Sinaloa-Sonora frontier. During the

lord judge will be at the presidio on Wednesday. A letter was circulated to the missions of Fathers Jacobo [Sedelmayr],[25] Gaspar [Stiger],[26] and [Salvador Ignacio de la] Peña,[27] as well as those of Nacameri and Ures, requesting contributions for the campaign. In addition to horses, we are asked to contribute meat and seeds. I suppose that each will do whatever he can.

The plan is to engage the Seris and fight them on the mainland, but the Seris are not that foolish. They will not stay in the wilds [of the mainland], but will cross over to Tiburón Island. Once the Seris are entrenched there, this undertaking will be very difficult because no Spaniard will want to cross the sea on reed canoes as the [Seris] do. The objective might have been achieved by attacking them on both land and sea, but this is not feasible. Everyone thinks that with all the people who have arrived, they will easily destroy the Seri nation, but there is a great gulf between the word and the deed. I, who have not years but only a month's experience among the Seris, do not think that this campaign will turn out as expected. Nonetheless, I will be happy to see such an end achieved because then I will be able to live more securely and without risk among the Seris.

If victory is achieved, will all the Seris be put to the dagger? It seems to me that only the leaders and their accomplices should be killed. And the ones that remain, where will they live? In Pópulo? And will Pópulo and its lands be sufficient for so many people? I think not. How will they support themselves? What will they eat? Living on the island and estuaries, they do not need meat or corn because they subsist on turtles and fish.[28] In Pópulo there are no turtles or fish, nor fields to sow. I believe the Seris will return to their dens and go back to the way they were before.

1740s, in the wake of the Yaqui revolt, the garrison was stationed at both Buenavista and Baroyeca on the outskirts of Yaqui country. Around 1755, it finally came to rest at Altar in the Pimería Alta following the 1751 Pima revolt (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

25. Jacobo Sedelmayr, S.J. (1703–1779) was born in Bavaria. In 1736, he arrived in Sonora as part of the famous Jesuit "Mission" to New Spain. He was assigned to Tubutama in the Pimería Alta, where he spent fifteen years and became the most famous, and peripatetic, Jesuit explorer after Kino. Sedelmayr mounted expeditions to both the Colorado and Gila Rivers, struggling unsuccessfully to expand Jesuit missionization northward into central Arizona and eventually to the Hopis. Jesuit expansionist dreams came to an end with the 1751 Pima revolt, and Sedelmayr was transferred to Guásabas and later to Tecoripa. He died in Spain twelve years after the 1767 Jesuit expulsion.

26. Gaspar Stiger, S.J. (1695–1762) was born in Oberried, Switzerland. He arrived in New Spain in 1730, and in 1733 took charge of the mission at San Xavier del Bac. Shortly thereafter he went to Guevavi to fill in for the ailing Father Segesser and was in charge of both missions until 1736. From 1736 until his death he resided in San Ignacio de Caburica.

27. Salvador Ignacio de la Peña, S.J. (1719–1775) was born in Compostela, Nayarit. He was missionary at Cucurpe from 1750 to 1762, and also administered the missions of Tuape and Opodepe for some of that time. Peña apparently did not like mission life and was allowed to return to Nayarit in 1762 because he was not carrying out his duties and was causing much discontent among both Indians and Spaniards in the San Miguel Valley.

28. Seris living outside the missions practiced no agriculture and raised no livestock because of the extreme aridity of their territory. Sea turtles, particularly green sea turtles (*Chelonia mydas*), were a major part of their diet, as were other marine resources such as fish and eelgrass.

This was forewarned and foreseen thirty-four years ago, in the years [17]14 and [17]15, when the Seris were given the land so they would have no pretext [to rebel], and which is now to be taken away from them. This alone is sufficient reason not only for the bad Indians not to reduce themselves to mission life, but for the good ones to rebel. We have an example of this in Manuelillo, who had a little bit of land that has now been registered by Mesa. Manuelillo has been intent on revenge ever since. I have heard, but am not certain, that this is the basis of the grudge between Manuelillo and Mesa. God will resolve all.

My discussion thus far concerns the Seris. Now we must reflect briefly on the new presidio, which is a league and a half away from the [mission] church on the same lands. It is certain that this presidio will be a great obstacle for any priest who is protective of the Indians' welfare. Every so often, wars will break out among the Indians. One Indian will come to the priest and say "a soldier took my horse," another that "the soldiers will not allow me to plant," another that "the soldiers whipped me," and so on. It will be bad if the priest remains silent and worse if he defends the Indians.

The more industriously and diligently the priest protects the Indians' welfare, the less relief and rest he will have from the Spaniards, whom he also serves. The costs to the mission will be great because of the schemes and deceptions of the presidio, and the priest's every action will become the subject of stories and gossip. The poor missionary will suffer many afflictions that he will be unable to avoid through virtue, prudence, or good judgment. But what can I say? If the presidio is erected there, as is now planned, there is nothing to say. The land has already been surveyed and apportioned in order to give it to each one of those who wish to settle there. The only thing to do is tolerate it.

I have been a missionary for less than one month, and haven't even settled in Pópulo, yet not a day goes by without my hearing a complaint against the presidial soldiers. Without wishing, knowing how, or having the urge before to intervene in the affairs of a judge or a presidial soldier on an Indian's behalf, I now find myself unavoidably involved in such matters. My decision to intervene is not based solely on my judgment, but also on the advice of my father rector.[29] He approved of my decision to intervene on the Indians' behalf and suggested that I present my written protest to Don José Lauro, the official land surveyor, which I showed to the father rector before I sent it.

This is a very ticklish subject because it [the transfer of the presidio between Pópulo and Los Angeles] is something the juez pesquisidor [Rodríguez Gallardo] initiated and the father visitor [Rojas] agreed with and approved. At the outset Reverend Father Felipe [Segesser?] protested. Father Perera also wished to voice his opposition, but the father visitor stifled Perera's protest by citing a letter which he claims to have in safekeeping. I have not been able to get this letter from him, no matter how often I write to him, and I have never seen nor read it. I do not know, nor does the father rector, how the father visitor can take such liberties

29. Miranda's handwriting is cramped and difficult to read, but the abbreviation he uses—"P.R^{r}"—is probably "Padre Rector." The rector was the immediate religious superior of all the missionaries in a rectorado, which embraced several mission partidos, or districts. According to Polzer (1976:8), "In the Jesuit system, the Rector was responsible for the normal conduct of all missionaries within the rectorado; his availability to the Fathers on the mission was understood to be constant and immediate."

with something that is not his. This land belongs to the Indians and was purchased with their money, and through donations and bequests. I have kept the original deeds in my possession.

I include the two letters I wrote to Don José Lauro, which I believe will have already ended up in the possession of the lord judge. From here they would be forwarded to Arizpe[30] where I suppose they will be badly received, but they will nevertheless give me a good Christian peace. I am consoled by the fact that I did not write them of my own free will or on a whim, but at the order, advice, and direction of my father rector, who saw and approved them before they were sent to the aforementioned Lauro. The letters are lengthy, but Your Reverence may want to read them when you have some free moments, because through them you will understand and become more familiar with the state of things. Should the opportunity arise, I hope that Your Reverence will show them to the father provincial and make use of them in your governance.

I miss your country a great deal. There one lives, here one only dies. These are a different people with different customs, habits, behaviors, and ways of speaking. Here it is necessary to have a great deal of virtue and good judgment, and the greatest of prudence, and to reflect constantly on one's actions, words, and deeds. This applies not only with the Indians, but much more with the gente de razón [Spaniards and mestizos]. To them we are a spectacle, and they watch over a priest's every action in order to bring censure upon him. Many times the life I have described is simply not worth it, not worth it at all.

I have been very upset and it would cheer me to know that Your Reverence finds himself recovered and in good health. I forgot to mention that the father rector may write to Your Reverence. Father Lauria[31] is no longer the rector since the rectorate fell to Father Chavarria.[32] How am I supposed to know what is going on? In less than three months there have been the following changes in missions here: Father Pérez,[33] who was in Banámichi,[34] was returned to Guásabas;[35] Father

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30. Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Arizpe was an Opata community on the Río Sonora first missionized by Jesuit Gerónimo de la Canal in 1648. Arizpe became a cabecera of the Rectorate of Nuestro Padre San Francisco Xavier and later served as the capital of the Provincias Internas and the *intendencia* of Sonora and Sinaloa.

31. Cristóbal Lauria, S.J. (1693–1749) was born in Benevento, Italy. He joined the Jesuit order in 1709 and arrived in New Spain in 1719. Lauria served in Nayarit and reached Sonora in 1727, where he was assigned to Sahuaripa. His obstreperous temperament led Provincial José Barba to recall him to Mexico City in 1735. He returned to Sahuaripa but was forced to step down as rector of the missions of San Francisco Borja in 1748 after clashing with Father Martín Vallarta. He died in Bacerác the following year.

32. Father Chavarria may be Francisco Chavarria, S.J., who was rector of the Colegio de Parral in 1723 (Zambrano 1961–77), although he would have been quite old in 1749. None of the other standard sources give any information about this individual.

33. Tomás Pérez de la Busta (1712–1767) was born in Ubango in the Diocese of Valladolid, Morelia, Mexico, and joined the Company of Jesus in 1736. He arrived in Sonora sometime between 1745 and 1747, and served as a missionary at Guásabas from 1748 to 1752 and at Sahuaripa from 1752 until his death.

34. Located along the Río Sonora, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Banámichi was founded in 1639 among the Opatas by the Jesuit missionary Bartolomé Castaños. Banámichi was a visita of San Lorenzo de Huépac, Rectorate of San Francisco Xavier, Province of Sonora.

35. Located along the Río Bavispe, San Francisco Xavier de Guásabas (also Guásavas,

Tello,[36] who had been in Guásabas less than one month, was sent to Caborca;[37] Father Sáenz,[38] who was in Caborca, was sent to San Xavier del Bac[39] where Father Peña was headed when he was sent back to Cucurpe; Father Perera, who was in Cucurpe, went on to Aconchi;[40] and Father Toral,[41] who found himself in Aconchi, went back to Banámichi. It's a long story, as I'm sure Your Reverence is well aware.

May Our Lord allow that I remain in the service of Your Reverence for many years. I commend myself to your holy masses and prayers. San Miguel de los Ures, twelve leagues from Nacameri and nine or ten from Pópulo. June 16, 1749.

Subordinate, servant, and entirely yours,

JHS

Tomás Miranda[42]

From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, 278, 18.

Huásabas) was founded among the Opatas in 1645 by the Jesuit missionary Marcos del Río. It was part of the Rectorate of Los Santos Mártires del Japón, Province of Sonora, and cabecera of the visitas of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio de Oputo and Santa Gertrudis de Techicadeguachi.

36. Tomás Antonio Tello (1720–1751) was born in Almargo de la Mancha, Spain, but attended the Jesuit novitiate and seminary in New Spain. Ordained in 1746, he was assigned to Sonora and then the Pimería Alta, taking charge of the mission of Caborca in 1749. Upper Pima rebels killed him on November 20, 1751.

37. Eusebio Francisco Kino first baptized Upper Pimas known as Sobas in Caborca along the Río de la Concepción in 1689 and established the mission of La Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Caborca in 1693. Caborca was cabecera of the visitas San Diego de Pitiquito and San Valentín de Búsanic, Rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.

38. Bartolomé Sáenz, S.J. (1714–1768) was born in Salvatierra, Guanajuato, Mexico, and entered the Company of Jesus in 1735. He arrived in northwestern New Spain in 1747 and was assigned to the mission of Teópari. A year later, he took over Caborca but soon was reassigned to Cuquiárachi. He later served in Banámichi and Sahuaripa. He died in Tequila, Jalisco, as the Jesuits were being expelled from New Spain.

39. Located along the Santa Cruz River, Bac was an important community of O'odham (Pimas) the Spaniards called Sobaipuris. Kino first baptized Upper Pimas there in 1692 and founded the mission of San Xavier del Bac in 1700. The mission was sporadically staffed by Jesuits and often abandoned because of Apache attacks. No Jesuit remained there longer than a year until Father José Torres Perea arrived in 1740. The magnificent baroque church that stands there now was built by Franciscans between 1779 and 1797. Bac belonged to the Rectorate of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and was the cabecera of the visitas of San Cosme del Tucson and Santa Catarina del Cuytoabagum.

40. Located along the Río Sonora, the mission of San Pedro de Aconchi was founded among the Opatas in 1639 by the Jesuit missionary Bartolomé Castaños. Aconchi was the cabecera of the visita of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Baviácora in the Rectorate of Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Xavier.

41. José Toral, S.J. (1691–1763) was born in Mexico City. In 1723 he took charge of the Opata mission at Huépac. In 1749, he was transferred to San Pedro de Aconchi by Father Visitor Rojas, ostensibly because of poor health, but soon took up residence in Banámichi, a visita of Huépac, where he died a decade and a half later.

42. Tomás Miranda, S.J. (1715–1756?) was born in Oaxaca and joined the Society of Jesus in 1736. He served successively at Nacameri (1749), Sahuaripa (1750), and Cumuripa (1755), where he apparently died on January 23, 1756. Another account suggests that Miranda did not die in 1756, but left the Jesuit order and became a secular priest in Satevó.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

A mi padre Juan Antonio Balthasar,

Con Nicolás Moreno, y con Cavanillas aguardaba respuesta de las que le he escrito a vuestra reverencia desde Querétaro, y Guadalajara; porque sé que estaré llegando antes que dichas arrivando peligren. Desde Tonize [Tónichi] escribí más despacio otra con mi [ilegible] Agustín Aguado, que porque supongo entregaría a vuestra reverencia, no repito en éstas.

En Mátape en donde pasé Semana Santa y Pascua, y en donde estuve malísimo, recibí la asignación del padre visitador Rojas para el Pópulo de la nación Seri, gente bárbara, y hoy en día más formidable que nunca, aquí con un jefe llamado Bielmas, que llevaba para hacer corte en collera, a los dos principales capitanes de los apaches bautistas, y po. [para?] con otros de su misma nación, a quienes cogieron en el mismo presidio viniendo ellos de paz, y no en campaña (esto por acá no se puede decir, porque hay pena de muerte), con el célebre Canito seri a quien por engaños, y habiéndose él mismo ofrecido de ir trayendo a los seris malos, con otros cuatro de la misma nación.

Con este dicho jefe escribí largo a vuestra reverencia, pero creo que estas cartas no llegarán a manos de vuestra reverencia porque el dicho Bielmas, y sus 5 compañeros harto harán en refugiarse en algunas iglesias. Pues por su descuido se huyó el Canito, y 15 apaches en Sinaloa, los que se han vengado bien, pues entre Movas y Río Chico quemaron un rancho, y mataron unos 8 o 9, y de ahí han ido entrando otra vez por la tierra, y juzgo que harán cuanto daño les fuere posible.

Seris y apaches iban en una collera débil, vieja, y fácil de quebrarse; las mujeres todas no llevaban prisión alguna, e iban a pie. Los dos capitanes apaches iban con su señoría [?] y sólo estos dos a caballo. Llevábanlos por el camino de la costa, en donde está ardiendo la hambre, y privando la carestía, que ni por la plata se halla un grano, pues ¿qué tal la pasarán los presos, que sólo iban atenidos a lo que los vecinos les diesen para su sustento? El bautista dicen murió, y yo creo que todas las mujeres morirán, porque unas eran viejas, y otras iban preñadas.

Si mi Canito en sus campañas se vuelve con los huidos, costará mucha sangre, y mucha plata reducirlos; bien que esto lo juzgan los españoles, y los de razón fácil, pues cada uno de estos dice que es suficiente para 100 indios seris. Y lo que yo oigo, y he visto y experimentado, es muertes, heridas y quemas; hurtos y matanzas de los que tantas bravatas se han [hecho] contra los indios, y oyendo el alarido tiemblan de miedo. Esta digresión ha sido larga, volvamos a Mátape en donde recibí mi asignación.

Convalecido que fui, partí para San Joseph de los Pimas en donde estaba mi reverendo el padre Felipe previniéndose para la dedicación de su iglesia y casas, obras que puede lucir en ese México, pues está a la moda de esa ciudad, y no al ojo de esta provincia en donde sabe vuestra reverencia son todas de terrado. Esta dedicación se hizo el día del patrocinio del Señor San Joseph con toda solemnidad, y pompas; hubo sermón y manteles largos, concurrieron unos dos jesuitas, cosa que rara vez se verá en Sonora. La lástima es que el padre Felipe no se quedase en este pueblo o fuese de su administración, porque sólo al padre a quien tanto le costó, la cuidara y mirara por ella. Pero aquí [a] unos dos o 3 años, ya no será lo que [a]hora es.

Aquí pues, determinamos el día que habíamos de ir a Nacameri, y en el entretanto se dispuso que yo viniese a los Ures para lo que se ofreciese de

confesiones, y otros ministerios, y porque no quedase esto solo, así se hizo y acabada la función partimos el día 8 de mayo para Nacameri.

Es Nacameri, un pueblecito que está entre la sierra de Aconchi, y otros cerros que lo cercan, extremoso en todo; en tiempo de calor se suda muchísimo, y en invierno hace los mayores hielos que en la Puebla y otras tierras frías. Ningún árbol frutal se logra, ni se cría. Tiene un arroyo que viene de Dolores, y lo baña junto con un ojo de agua, que si no se secase frecuentemente, podía ser de alivio a la misión.

Es trajinable de indios pasajeros y recuas que caminan para la Pimería. En otro tiempo fue pueblo grande, y de mucha gente. Hoy día ni rancho es, pues sólo cuenta el padrón 11 hombres, y otras tantas mujeres, 3 niños, y 5 niñas de doctrina, razón por que no hay iglesia, ni casas, ni ornamentos, ni otras cosas necesarias. La gente es de nación Pima, buenos pobres, y que hacen lo que pueden. Ha habido día que sólo el gobernador haya quedado en el pueblo, porque sólo para correos del real servicio, tapisques, guías y otras cosas que les mandan y ocupan son pocos los 11.

Aquí entré el día 8, y en un cuartito bien pequeño, que es la vivienda del padre, fuimos recibidos: entregóseme la misión, y por lo que toca ganado mayor y menor, y manadas de yeguas, está buena. Por lo que mira semillas, malísima, pues los indios no sembraron nada el año pasado, y éste en que estamos, en que los había animado para que sembrasen un almud de maíz, no ha sido dable con las revoluciones y asaltos de los enemigos. Despensa no la hay, ni material, ni un chile con qué guisar la vaca.

Vino para misas, el padre Felipe, a la vuelta me envió una valija, y si el padre no hubiera hecho esta obra de caridad, no sé cómo nos compusiéramos. Envióme también unos platos y barros porque ni aun esto había. Cocinero y pajes no los hubo hasta que fui al Pópulo, y traje. Voy enseñando a mi seri a ser cocinero. Este es el estado de mi cabecera Nacameri, y con todo eso, y según lo que consta por el libro y tanto de la entrega, y de que es testigo el padre reverendo.

Me han invocado la píldora de que dé para sustento y manutención de soldados y guerra y esto porque ese pueblo es fronterizo del enemigo apache y seri, no considerando que yo, para mantenerme, lo he de pedir de limosnas, pues no sólo vivo en el pueblo fronterizo, sino que soy padre y ministro de los enemigos seris que estando como están, no han de sustentar a su padre. Bastante hago con estar manteniendo 6 soldados que han puesto en Nacameri para defensa [a]hora el día 13 de éste, que durará hasta que se acaben las guerras, y de darles de lo que no tengo a los indios, que me quitan para la campaña una mula de carga. No hay ni un aparejo, ni un pedacito de plata con que comprar maíz o trigo. Dios quiera aplacar su justicia y de remediar esos pobres indios, porque mientras esto durare no es para vivirse, sino estar muriendo cada rato y cada instante, porque a toda hora son sustos, sobresaltos, peligros, riesgos.

Entre estos me dejó solo mi padre reverendo cuando se volvió para su Ures y desde el 20. [segundo] día de entrado, hasta la presente, no he tenido un rato de gusto ni consuelo; pues el día 10 de mayo en los últimos términos de tierras de Nacameri, mis hijos los seris mataron un novicio y se llevaron toda la caballada; a pocos días mataron un soldado e hirieron otro, y el día 28, memorable para mí, pues fue la noche triste y en que pensé acabar mi vida, entró el seri enemigo como a las 8 de la noche en el realito que está 5 o 6 cuadras de mi casa y mataron 3 vecinos y se fueron galanes. Que si la Santísima Virgen no permite que con aquellas

3 muertes se aplacasen y retirasen, ciertamente no escribiera éstas ni lo contara ahora.

Pues aquel mismo día habían sacado para la campaña, de los 11 indios, 5 y otros dos que habían ido de correos; sólo habían quedado 2 por enfermos e impedidos. Estos, así enfermos, como todos los indios, al alarido de los seris se fueron a mi casa y no se despegaban de mí. Allí hice de tripas corazón, y los animaba encomendándonos a Dios y haciendo actos de contricción hasta que amaneció, que medio reposé un poco. Desde esa noche hasta la presente, ninguna persona duerme en su casa, al ponerse el sol ya están todos en casa del padre. Desde entonces soy yo el capitán, el jefe, y el soldado, sin tener de ninguna parte socorro ni consuelo. Viendo que esto pasaba adelante, y que de ninguna parte se daban por entendidos, y que contaba ya 15 días y que el enemigo se estaba 3 leguas de Nacameri sin que los valientes y baladrones, que no temen indios, sino que uno de ellos solo es bastante para mil, los fuesen a echar de aquella rabela.

Con consejo del padre reverendo hice un requerimiento, en el nombre de su majestad, al teniente del presidio de San Miguel para que remitiese 2 o 6 soldados para defensa del pueblo, los que envió el día 13 de éste al teniente, y se mantienen hoy en Nacameri. Yo pasé a los Ures, la custodia, 2 cálices y 2 aras, con los pocos y viejos ornamentos que hay, porque no los profanasen los enemigos, caso que otra vez asalten el pueblo como lo tienen prometido. Acá también me he venido yo, lo uno por ver en qué para esto, y lo otro para curarme, pues el día que salí para Ures me derribó una mula y me lastimé un brazo y el pie derecho, tanto que he quedado cojo; aunque ya con algunas bilmas voy asentando un poco el pie y medio ando, querrá Su Majestad sanarme para su servicio.

Esto es el estado de Nacameri, cabecera interina hasta que el Pópulo se sosiegue. Acá estuve el día 18 de mayo, y fui solo con dos indios, me recibieron los seris y me visitaron. No hay nada en esta misión, porque 20 fanegas de trigo que sembró el antecesor y se habían de coger por este mes, se perdieron por causa de los del presidio. Esto hubo porque se trajo de otra parte y ya ni esto cogeremos. En lo demás nada, nada, nada.

Es pueblo muy alegre, lleno de álamos, sauces y chinos, mucha agua, buena tierra para un todo y un cielo alegrísimo. Los indios son altos y renegridos, se componen mucho, a su usanza: el pelo lo llenan de flores del campo, traen 8 y 10 zarcillos en cada oreja, en las narices cargan una piedrezuela azul, usan gargantillas y manillas de diferentes colores y conchas, en las piernas traen unas ataderas blancas de piel de venado, y sólo un trapillo con que tapan lo vergonzoso; de la misma suerte andan las indias aunque no se componen tanto habiéndolas dotado el cielo de bastante hermosura.

La lengua es más difícil que la otomite, no hay arte, ni confesionario, ni vocabulario, sólo un padre sabe la lengua, que es el padre Nicolás Perera. Son flojísimos y poco dados a la labranza, mantiénense del arco y flecha cazando venado, y hoy en día que a los buenos les han quitado las armas, perecen de hambre. Son vengativos, traicioneros y desesperados, lo que dicen acerca de matar, o quemar, lo cumplen; al que les hace o les ha hecho algún bien, no harán daño, antes le previenen de que se libren. Son habilísimos, muy curiosos, pedidores y audaces.

Habrá en este pueblo sus 30 familias sin niños y niñas; les han quitado algunas tierras para el presidio, lo cual han llevado malamente, y los han hecho trabajar azotándolos, aporreándolos como si fueran ellos los malos. Otro pueblo tenía, que se llamaba de Los Angeles, éste lo han pasado al nuevo presidio con unas 50 familias,

sin niños y niñas, allí trabajan todos los días desde que amanece hasta que anochece, mal comidos y bastantemente maltratados, sin exceptuar a la india que está encinta. Estos son cristianos y no son alzados, por estos hemos de tener buenas historias con el señor juez y padre visitador, porque uno y otro quieren que se les quiten sus tierras, y se las entreguen a los españoles para hacer una villa. Lo que yo juzgo, que si estos no se han alzado, se alzarán sólo por esto, porque abominan del nombre de español.

Esto es cuanto a los mansos y cristianos y los que habitan la tierra. En cuanto a los isleños y habitadores de marismas son como 600 familias sin niños y niñas; los más gentiles y muchísimos apóstatas de Nuestra Santa Fe, y otros malos y perversos cristianos. Estos son los que andan haciendo asaltos, guerras y muertes aunque no todos; la cuadrilla de Manuelillo y la del Canito son las que tanto estrago hacen por la tierra.

Para acabar y aniquilar esta nación (que así dicen los españoles sin distinguir buenos ni malos) procuraron hacer en Yaqui unas canoas, pero por falta de bastimentos y platas no han tenido efecto. Estas habían de venir por mar hasta la isla que llaman del Tiburón, en donde viven rebelados [?], y sacarlos de allí para traerlos al Pópulo y otros pueblos. Esto siempre será difícil mientras hubiere tal isla y tal nación, pues sólo una y otra acabadas y destruidas tendrá remedio, pues aunque envíen a los malos a los obrajes y otros pueblos, en huyéndose han de venir a su madriguera. Allí sería bueno al presidio y la habitación de los vecinos, pues con sólo esto juzgo que no volverían más al Tiburón los indios, por el odio y aborrecimiento que tienen con los españoles, por lo mal que estos los tratan ya de palabra como de obras.

Los de esta isla, luego que llegué, me enviaron una embajada pidiéndome que fuese yo allá, pero que fuese solo, y sin ningún soldado ni español para hacer los conciertos. Entretúvelos hasta [a]hora, porque he juzgado por barbaridad y arrojo meter[me] en el océano y en medio de enemigos. [A]hora se ha publicado un perdón general por orden del excelentísimo señor virrey, y se les ha encargado a los embajadores que les digan a los indios, que si tienen miedo de bajar a los presidios, bajen a mi Nacameri, o adonde yo me hallare para que por mi medio sean perdonados. Yo creo que no bajarán, porque Manuelillo, en una campaña, dijo que ni quería Dios, ni justicias, ni padre, sino morir matando. Y otro indio delante de mí, les dijo a los presidiales que los estaban exhortando a que viesen a los malos, y que les dijesen que [a]hora con mi venida era buena ocasión para que bajasen, que por mi medio conseguirían perdón. Les respondió: "¿Para qué bajan lo mismo, que con el Canito?" No tuvieron los presidiales, que decir esto, ellos doraron el cuento, y no hubo más.

Lo cierto es que si no quitan a un don Joseph Mesa de por medio, o lo mandan salir de estas tierras, que no se compondrán los seris, porque contra este pobre caballero es toda la faena, y por hacerle daño a él, o a sus cosas, se las hacen a otros vecinos. No hay asalto de seris, en que no se oiga: "Quemaron casa de Mesa, se hurtaron caballada de Mesa, varearon sus manadas, mataron sus parientes." Y han dicho los seris, que hasta que no hagan un tambor de su barriga, no estarán contentos. Todos saben esto y lo experimentan, y Mesa en medio del Pópulo vive, y no se pone remedio.

[A]hora, horas están aguardando al señor juez que viene de Fronteras con los capitanes del presidio, 40 vecinos, 29 soldados y 100 pimas, y se han de juntar en el nuevo presidio con la compañía del presidio de Pitiquí y de Sinaloa, y más vecinos

que han de venir de por acá abajo. El miércoles estará el señor juez en el presidio. Para toda esta gente se nos ha escrito una carta circular para que contribuyan las misiones del padre Jacobo, Gaspar, Peña, Nacameri, y Ures, así de carnes, semillas, como de caballos. Supongo que cada cual hará lo que pudiere.

[A]hora se les quiere acometer y guerrear por tierra; pero los seris no son tan tontos, que [a]hora [no] se estarán en los montes, sino que se pasarán a la Isla, y una vez allí dentro, juzgo difícil la empresa, porque ningún español ha de querer pasar la mar sobre carrizos, como ellos la pasan. De una manera fuera asequible la cosa, haciéndoles por agua y tierra, guerras, pero esto no es dable. Todos piensan que con esta gente que ha llegado se acabará y aniquilará la nación Seri con gran facilidad, pero del dicho al hecho hay gran trecho. Yo acá, sin experiencia de años, sino con un mes sólo que llevo dentro de ellos, creo que no ha de ser como piensan. Yo me alegraré mucho que se consiga; con esto viviré más seguro, y sin riesgo alguno entre ellos.

Pero demos ya, que se consiguió la victoria, ¿a todos se ha de pasar a cuchillo? Paréceme que no, sino aquellos principales cabecillas, y unos cómplices. Y los demás que quedaren, ¿en dónde han de vivir? ¿En el Pópulo? ¿Y será suficiente este pueblo y sus tierras para tanta gente? No me parece, ¿pues con qué se mantendrán? ¿Con qué se sustentarán? Pues ellos en la Isla y marismas no necesitaban de maíz, ni carnes, pues allí era su sustento pescado y tortugas, esto no hay en el Pópulo, ni tierras en qué sembrar. Luego se volverán a lo que eran antes, y a su madriguera.

Esto fue lo que se advirtió, y notó[?] [a]hora 34 años, por los años de 14 y 15, y por eso se les dieron tierras para que no tuviesen ese pretexto, y [a]hora se les quieren quitar. Sólo esto es bastante, no sólo para que no se reduzcan los malos, sino también para que los buenos se alcen. Ejemplo tenemos en Manuelillo, que tenía una poca de tierra y se la registró Mesa, y desde entonces a [a]hora lo está vengando Manuelillo. Esto he oído decir, no sé lo cierto, ni de dónde tiene origen la ojeriza de Manuelillo con Mesa. Dios lo remedia todo.

Esto es cuanto a los seris, hagamos una poca de refleja cuanto al presidio nuevo, que está legua y media de la iglesia en las mismas tierras. Es cierto que para cualquier padre celoso del bien de los indios, ha de ser este presidio de grande embarazo, porque cada rato serán guerras de los indios, uno vendrá con que el soldado me quitó el caballo, otro con que no me deja sembrar, otro que me azotaron, y aquí de otras cosas. Si el padre entonces calla, malo, si los defiende, peor.

Entonces por harto trabajoso y penoso será el padre, cura de los españoles, y para más alivio y descanso del padre, no, sino sólo de los indios. Los gastos han de ser en la misión mayor, por el trajino al dicho presidio, y en una palabra se arderá todo en cuentos y chismes, y tendrá el pobre misionero hartas pesadumbres, que no podrá evitar ni con su virtud, ni con su prudencia, ni con su juicio. Pues ¿qué diré? si se funda de ella allí mismo, ¿cómo tienen ideado, y para eso, medidas las tierras y hechas las calculadas porciones para dar a cada uno de los que se quieren avecindar? ¿Qué he de decir? Sino tolerar.

Yo no cuento un mes de misionero, ni vivo de asiento en el Pópulo, no hay día en que no me venga una queja contra los presidiales, sin querer, ni saber, ni haber instado antes con juez ni presidiales, ya me ha sido necesario meterme. Bien que no lo he hecho por mi juicio sólo, sino consultado de mi padre rector quien me aprobó, y me dijo hiciese una protesta a un don Joseph Lauro nombrado medidor de tierras, la que hice y vio el padre rector antes de mandársela.

Es punto éste, bien peliagudo, porque es cosa que el juez pesquisidor ha procurado, y que el padre visitador ha probado y condescendido. En sus principios, hizo el padre reverendo Felipe, su protesta, el padre Perera se quiso oponer, pero le atajó el padre visitador con una carta que guarda dicho padre, segura, dice para su resguardo, yo no se la he podido quitar por más que le he escrito, ni siquiera la he leído, ni visto. ¿Cómo el padre visitador pueda dar semejante licencia para cosa que no es suya, sino de los indios y que compraron con sus dineros, y de donaciones y legados, que todos guardo originales en mi poder? No lo sé, ni lo sabe el padre rector.

Van hoy inclusas las dos cartas que he escrito al don Joseph Lauro, las que creo habrán parado ya en poder del señor juez, y que de aquí pasen a Arizpe, en donde juzgo serán mal recibidas, y que por ellas tendré yo un buen Pax Xpte [Christe], pero me consuela que no lo he hecho por mi voluntad y antojo, sino por orden, consejo y dirección de mi rector, y que una y otra, antes de remitírselas al dicho Lauro, las ha visto y aprobado dicho mi superior. Largas son, en ratos perdidos puede vuestra reverencia leerlas, por ellas conocerá y sabrá el estado de las cosas, y suplico a vuestra reverencia que en ofreciéndose ocasión, se las comunique y enseñe al padre provincial y también si se ofreciere a la consulta para su gobierno.

Yo echo mucho menos sus tierras, porque sólo ahí se vive, y por acá sólo se muere. Es otra gente ésta, otras sus costumbres, otros sus procederes, otros sus tratos y comunicaciones. Es menester acá mucha virtud, mucho juicio y grandísima prudencia y refleja en sus acciones, en sus palabras y en sus obras, esto no sólo para los indios, sino mucho más para la gente de razón de quienes somos el espectáculo, y quienes andan tras los movimientos del padre para censurarlo, y muchas veces, aún teniendo uno la vida que llevo dicho, no vale, no vale.

Ya yo he estado molestísimo, me alegraré mucho que vuestra reverencia esté mejor de la vista y con cabal salud. Se me olvidaba, pero puede ser, el padre rector, le escriba a vuestra reverencia. El padre Lauria ya no es rector, pero le vino al padre Chavarría el rectorado. Qué sé yo cómo andará la cosa. Acá en menos de 3 meses ha habido mudanzas de misiones, que son así: el padre Pérez que estaba en Banámichi lo volvieron a su Guásabas, el padre Tello que estaba en Guásabas no había un mes, lo pasaron a Caborca, el padre Sáenz que estaba en Caborca lo despacharon a San Javier del Baca [Bac], adonde iba el padre Peña, y devolvieron a éste para Cucurpe, el padre Perera que estaba ahí, pasó a Aconchi, y el padre Toral que se hallaba en Aconchi, se volvió para su Banámichi. Son cuentos largos, allá lo sabrá vuestra reverencia.

Nuestro Señor me guarde a vuestra reverencia muchos años, en cuyos santos sacrificios y oraciones mucho me encomiendo. San Miguel de los Ures, 12 leguas de Nacameri y 9 o 10 del Pópulo, y junio 16 de 1749.

Súbdito, siervo, y todo de vuestra reverencia,
JHS
Tomás Miranda

Relación of Father Perera, 1750

No other Jesuit missionary had more experience with the Seris than Nicolás Perera. He began working with them in the 1720s; as Father Miranda noted in the preceding document, he was the only priest who spoke their difficult language. In the following letter, Perera describes the immediate events leading up to Rodríguez Gallardo's "final solution" to the Seri problem and some of the Spanish betrayals that caused most of the Comcáac to rebel.

Perera also returns to a favorite topic: the irresponsibility of Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, former governor of Sinaloa y Sonora (see "Huidobro and the Jesuits" in chapter 2). After his jurisdiction was expanded to include Sonora in 1734, Huidobro held hearings in Mayo and Yaqui communities at which he encouraged Indian neophytes to express their grievances against the missionaries and exercise more autonomy in their communities (Crosby 1994:119). He apparently did the same among the Seris. Representing many miners and ranchers in Sinaloa y Sonora, Huidobro was trying to pry Indian labor away from Jesuit control. After the Yaqui revolt of 1740, Jesuit complaints against Huidobro reached a crescendo. Perera was a missionary during the Huidobro era and still held Huidobro responsible for diminishing Jesuit authority over mission Indians in Sonora even though Huidobro was replaced as governor by Agustín de Vildósola, the Jesuits' ally, in 1741 (see Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

A brief summary of what has happened in the Seri uprising of September of last year, 1748.

I received a letter from the juez pesquisidor [José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo] in which he asked me about the state of the Seris and why, with the exception of a few families who live in the pueblo of Pópulo and the *puesto* of Los Angeles, the rest live in rancherías under the command of Canito. I responded to his letter in October and said that in my opinion it was due to the freedom Governor Huidobro gave them when he made his visita general in 1735. He told them publicly that as long as they lived together in one place and did no harm, they could live wherever they pleased. I informed Father Mateo Ansaldo[43] of all this because he was the provincial at the time.

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43. Mateo Ansaldo y Ferrari, S.J. (1699–1749) was born in Genoa, Italy, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1707. Originally destined for the province of the Philippines, Ansaldo went to Mexico in 1708 and remained there for the rest of his life, serving as an educator in Mexico City, Puebla, Oaxaca, and Tepozotlán. He was named provincial of New Spain in 1739.

The Seris complied and did no harm until last September when a gang of nine Indians rose up and began to kill cattle and steal horses in the Valle de Opodepe. I reported these events to the previously mentioned lord judge, telling him that if these damages were not halted by capturing the leaders of this uprising, I feared there would be unrest in the Seri nation. In response to this notice the lord judge returned from Soyopa[44] to [meet with] the lieutenant of the military company of Pitic and placed Don José de Mesa, who is well acquainted with the Seris, in charge of capturing their leaders.

[José de Mesa] sent messengers to Bacoachi[45] to summon these Seri leaders. They did not come. He sent a second group of messengers, and the principal ringleader, who is Manuel, sent his two nephews with a reliquary, saying that he would come and that he was sending the reliquary as a pledge so that they would believe him. The soldiers disarmed Manuel's two nephews, and when they saw how Manuel kept delaying his arrival, they sent the nephews back for him a third time. The nephews asked for their weapons, but the soldiers did not give them back. This action irritated Manuel and his followers. Instead of coming in response to Mesa's summons, they fell upon his ranch of Chupisonora where, after killing eleven people, they burned the houses and carried off his broken horses. All of this was done in order to satisfy the hatred they already had for Mesa.[46] Soldiers and settlers went to recover the horses, but they were unable to accomplish anything. As a result, the Seris became bolder and proceeded to attack the ranch of La Alameda, where they killed another person. They could do no more harm because of the resistance they encountered there.

I quickly informed the lord judge, who was then in Oposura,[47] that the rebels were increasing in number so that he might take suitable measures against them. In the meantime Canito sent word asking to be admitted into the pueblo with his people and said he would help capture Manuel. The soldiers agreed to this, and as soon as Canito arrived, the sergeant of Sinaloa[48] and Mesa took him prisoner and put him in chains. As a result of his imprisonment, the greater part of the [Seri] nation rebelled and began to cause more havoc and ruin. They ran off the soldiers' horseherd from the presidio of San Miguel. Then they headed for Chupisonora,

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44. Located on the Río Yaqui at one of the best fords of the river, Soyopa lay within the southern enclave of the Eudeve Indians. It was part of a mining district that boomed later in the decade when thousands of miners worked the gold placers of Soyopa and San Antonio de la Huerta.

45. Bacoachi, which according to Gary Nabhan (personal communication, 1997) means 'wetland in the wash' in O'odham, was located along the Río Bacoachi west of the San Miguel drainage. Poorly understood both archaeologically and ethnologically, the drainage may have been a frontier between the Comcáac and the O'odham.

46. See "Father Miranda on the Impact of Horcasitas, 1749" for reasons why the Seris, especially Manuelillo, hated Mesa.

47. Oposura is now called Moctezuma. Located on the Río Moctezuma, it was founded as the mission of San Miguel Arcángel among the Opatas in 1644. The *real* of San Juan Bautista, the most important mining district in Sonora during the seventeenth century, was northwest of Oposura, so the region had long been a center of Spanish settlement.

48. The wandering presidial company of Sinaloa, which moved northward until it came to rest in Altar in the mid-1750s (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

where they killed an even larger number of cattle and horses and did whatever else they pleased, including driving off a considerable number of livestock with them as they left. The soldiers followed and caught up with them in Policarpio Canyon but suffered the misfortune of seeing their lieutenant wounded, so they retreated to the presidio. The soldiers set out a second time and found the [Seris] in the same canyon, but the Indians killed a soldier and the soldiers accomplished nothing.

The Indians became bolder after this encounter and descended upon the Río Nacameri,[49] where they killed one Spaniard and two Opata Indians. They attacked the ranch of La Alameda a second time and killed a Spaniard they found there. While the lord judge was in the pueblo of Tuape on April 16, 1749, the Seris attacked the *real* of Soledad[50] only seven leagues away. They killed six of the Pimas who were living there, and ran off and killed more than three hundred head of horses and cattle. They attacked a second time, but God did not want them to succeed in burning the house of Don Luis Federico, so the Indians only managed to run off the livestock. On August 5 the rebels killed an Indian from Tuape near San Xavier.[51] On September 18 they attacked and killed forty-three people in the *real* of Aguaje.[52] They burned the houses after looting them, desecrated the church, poured out the holy oils, and with infernal fury, lanced the painting of Our Great Mother and Lady of Guadalupe nine times. They carried off two bundles of supplies and the holy vestments, which they burned after having eaten off them. A detachment of soldiers set out in pursuit of the attackers. When the detachment caught up with them, the Seris killed the captives they had with them and faced the soldiers, capturing some of their muskets.

Some soldiers and settlers set out for Tonuco, prospecting for mines. The Seris attacked them, killing one soldier and running off the party's mules with all their equipment and supplies. The Seris also attacked Pitic, where they killed two people, did a great deal of damage, and ran off mules loaded with supplies. The soldiers, settlers, and Pimas there set out after them. When they caught up with the Seris, they fought for a long time. According to the report of witnesses, a single Seri wounded seventeen soldiers. In this battle, like the one at Pitic, some Seris were killed and their heads were displayed in various pueblos. In Nacameri the inhabitants were ordered to dance with the head. While the [Pimas] were dancing with the head on December 28, the Seris cudgeled a Pima. Up to now, January 6, 1750, it is known only that one of the injured soldiers has died.

Our forces finally left on campaign against these Seris and attacked a ranchería where they killed twenty-nine Seris. Settlers on the other side of the ranchería

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49. The stretch of the Río San Miguel where Nacameri (modern Rayón) is located.

50. The *real* of Soledad was located northwest of Tuape along the Arroyo El Purgatorio, which drains southwest from the Sierra Cucurpe. There are numerous abandoned mines in the area.

51. The small settlement of San Xavier is located along the Río San Miguel between Cucurpe and Tuape.

52. The *real* of Aguaje was located between the Río Sonora and the Río Mátape. According to geographer Robert West (1993), it possessed five mines, three smelters, and ten stores in 1717.

killed five more Seris and brought in some women and children alive. These rebellious Seris support themselves by causing harm through their robberies.

This report was written by Father Perera.

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DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Breve resumen de lo acaecido en el alzamiento de los seris por septiembre del año pasado de cuarenta y ocho.

Recibí carta del señor juez pesquisidor en que me pregunta el estado de los seris y que cuál pueda ser la causa de que, a excepción de pocas familias que viven en el pueblo del Pópulo y puesto de los Angeles, los demás vivan en rancherías, comandados del Canito. A ésta respondí, por octubre, que a mi ver fue la libertad que el año de treinta y cinco se les dio en la visita general que hizo el señor gobernador Huidobro, quien públicamente les dijo que, como viviesen juntos y no hiciesen daño, vivieran donde quisieran. De todo informé al padre Mateo Ansaldo siendo provincial.

Cumplieron el no hacer daño hasta que por dicho mes de septiembre se levantó una cuadrilla de nueve indios que comenzaron a matar ganado y hurtar caballada en el valle de Opodepe. Di aviso a dicho señor juez diciéndole que, de no atajarse el daño procurando coger los cabecillas, temía conmoción en la nación seri; con este aviso volvió dicho señor juez de Soyopa al teniente de la compañía del Pitiquí, encargando a don José de Mesa hiciese, como práctico en el conocimiento de la nación, diligencia de cogerlos.

Despachó correos a Bacoachi llamándolos; no vinieron. Repitió segundos correos, y el cabecilla general, que es Manuel, envió sus dos sobrinos con un relicario, diciendo que se vendría y que lo enviaba por prenda para que lo creyeran. Despojaron de las armas a los dos sobrinos de Manuel y, viendo que el dicho se demoraba, los enviaron por tercera vez. Pidieron sus armas, no se las dieron, con lo que, irritados, en lugar de venir al llamado de Mesa, vinieron a dar a su rancho de Chupisonora en donde, después de haber matado once personas, quemadas las casas, llevádole antes su caballada mansa para saciar el odio que ya de antemano le tenían, salieron al reparo soldados y vecinos, pero no pudieron conseguir nada, con lo que, insolentes los seris, dieron en el rancho de La Alameda, en donde mataron otro, no pudiendo hacer más daño por haber hallado resistencia.

Luego di pronto aviso al señor juez que se hallaba en Oposura, diciéndole cómo se iba aumentando el número de los alzados, para que diera providencia. En el intermedio envió el Canito a pedir lo admitiesen en el pueblo con los suyos, que ayudaría a coger a Manuel. Respondiéronle que sí, y luego que llegó lo aprehendieron y pusiéronle prisiones, el sargento de Sinaloa y Mesa. De esta prisión resultó el alzamiento de la mayor parte de la nación; comenzando hacer mayores daños y estragos dieron en la caballada de los soldados en el presidio de San Miguel, y se la llevaron toda. De ahí tomaron el derrotero para Chupisonora en donde mataron crecido número de ganado y caballada e hicieron cuanto quisieron, arreando por

delante no poco número. Los soldados que los siguieron y alcanzaron en el cajón de Policarpio tuvieron la desgracia de que luego les hirieran al teniente, con lo que se retiraron al presidio, de donde salieron segunda vez y, hallándolos en el mismo cajón, les mataron un soldado, no habiendo ellos podido conseguir nada.

Insolentes, con este hecho se bajaron al río de Nacameri, y allí mataron a un español y dos indios ópatas. Dieron segunda vez en el rancho de La Alameda y mataron a un español que toparon en él. El día 16 de abril de 1749, estando el señor juez en el pueblo de Tuape, distante siete leguas del Real de la Soledad, dieron los indios en dicho Real y mataron 6 pimas de los que estaban en él rancheados, se llevaron y mataron más de 300 cabezas de ganado y caballada. Repitieron por segunda, y quiso Dios no conseguiesen el quemar la casa de don Luis Federico, y solo padeció la caballada que se llevaron. En 5 de agosto mataron a un indio de Tuape cerca de San Xavier. El día 18 de septiembre dieron y mataron 43 personas en el Real del Aguaje, quemaron las casas después de saqueadas, profanaron la iglesia, derramaron los santos óleos y, con furia infernal, dieron 9 lanzadas a un cuadro de Nuestra Gran Madre y Señora de Guadalupe, lleváronse dos atajos de bastimento, los ornamentos sagrados, los que, después de haber comido sobre ellos, quemaron. Salía una escuadra en su seguimiento, y luego que los alcanzaron mataron los cautivos que llevaban, hicieron rostro a los soldados y les llevaron algunas escopetas.

Salieron para el Tonuco soldados y vecinos en solicitud de unas minas; diéronles los seris, mataron un soldado y les llevaron la mulada con todos los aperos y bastimentos. Asaltaron el Pitiquí en donde mataron dos, hicieron mucho daño, llevándose asímismo las mulas cargadas de bastimento. Dieron los soldados, vecinos y pimas tras de ellos y, alcanzados, pelearon por largo espacio de tiempo, en que un solo seri, según el dicho de los que se hallaron presentes, hirió 17 soldados. Así en esta función como en el Pitiquí murieron algunos seris, cuyas cabezas se fijaron en varios pueblos, y en el de Nacameri, en donde mandaron se bailase. El día 28 de diciembre, estando bailando dicha cabeza, varearon un pima, y hasta hoy, 6 de enero de 50, solo se sabe haber muerto uno de los soldados vareados.

Últimamente salieron a campaña nuestras armas y dieron en una ranchería que mataron 29 seris, y los vecinos por otro lado mataron cinco y trajeron algunos vivos, mujeres y muchachos. Mantiénense los seris alzados haciendo daños de robos.

Esta relación la hizo el padre Perera.

Decree of Governor Ortiz Parrilla Ordering the Expedition to Tiburón Island, 1750

If Rodríguez Gallardo was the architect of the Spanish Empire's "final solution" to the Seris, Ortiz Parrilla was its executioner. In this decree, the new governor of Sinaloa y Sonora outlines his plans to lead an expedition to Tiburón Island and deport its inhabitants to the workshops of New Spain. He also states his desire to meet with Jesuit officials and older, experienced missionaries. In the aftermath of the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion led by Ortiz Parrilla's protégé, Luis Oacpicagigua of Sáric, the Jesuits later came to despise Ortiz Parrilla even more than they despised Manuel Bernal de Huidobro. In the spring of 1750, however, a brutal consensus regarding the Comcáac among both missionaries and civil officials was being sought and formed.

On April 12, 1750, at the royal presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sergeant Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, lieutenant colonel of the royal forces and captain of the Vera Cruz dragoons, commander of the detachments in the city of Los Angeles [Puebla], governor and captain general of these provinces of Sinaloa, its presidios, frontiers, and coastlines along the southern sea [stated the following:]

It is his duty to free the province of Sonora by the most efficacious and advantageous means from the vigorous and constant warfare resulting from the attacks and invasions of the many heathen, rebel, and indomitable Apaches and the treacherous, arrogant, incendiary, and apostate Seris. To that end, and with the particular endorsement of His Excellency the viceroy, Governor Ortiz Parrilla has taken it upon himself to expel and dislodge the inhabitants of Tiburón Island. Some of these individuals have allied themselves with the Seris of these frontiers, allowing the latter onto the island and giving them shelter and support. Moreover, they have united with the [mainland] Seris to invade and attack this frontier. They have done so with such impiety and severity that their inflamed desire is not satisfied with the supply of meat provided by the vecinos' livestock. They malevolently slaughter all cattle and horses that they encounter. Through such diabolical means, they attempt to annihilate the ranchers or drive them from these lands in order to freely penetrate other regions until they lay waste to the Spaniards. This is not a rash judgment. In addition to the aforementioned hostilities, when the settlers lowered their guard, the [Seris] took advantage of opportunities to set fire to their houses, consuming them in flames; those [inhabitants] who flee face the venom of the [Indians'] arrows.

His Excellency realizes that neither the expulsion of the inhabitants of Tiburón Island nor the reduction of the other Seris to villages will bring such hostilities to

an end, as these measures have been tried other times and recently lamented. They do not wish to subject themselves to anyone. Because of their bad faith, the perfect peace and serenity so needed in these lands cannot be expected. Contained and reduced in such fashion, the Seris will easily be able to rebel and occupy the island, committing worse murders and hostilities and bringing about new and grave costs.

The expenses of such continuous wars are already intolerable to the royal treasury. The crown has held its ground for many years against European and American enemies. Recently it has apportioned five thousand pesos for the expedition to Tiburón Island, part of which has been spent by the juez visitador [Rodríguez Gallardo] to maintain auxiliary troops as well as the same Seri prisoners [see "Father Miranda on the Impact of Horcasitas"]. His Excellency has spent a similar amount to prevent these Seris and others who wish to join them from seizing the opportunity to cross over to the island [while the expedition is being planned]. Given the difficulties of thoroughly searching the entire island and expelling all of its inhabitants at one stroke, His Excellency doubts that the five thousand pesos allocated for this purpose will be sufficient.

When judged expedient, it would be far better not only to expel the Tiburones, but to remove them and the other Seris to the workshops of New Spain. This is what His Excellency has resolved to do in conformity with the opinions of the *auditor general de la guerra.* Costs, of course, will inevitably increase. So that such efforts do not fail for lack of money, as has happened in the past, and in order to deal with the obstacles that may arise during expulsion and deportation with the greatest savings to the royal exchequer, His Excellency has decided to proceed in accord with the reverend father missionaries of the Society of Jesus. Because of their ministry, they have greater experience in the ways of the Indians of the province. They will be able to take the pulse of the province, identifying the difficulties presented by such removal, proposing the means to overcome them, and helping to carry out such means if appropriate. Similarly, they will be able to determine what methods will help or harm the Spanish inhabitants, what places will be suitable for detaining the enemies, and how the interests of the settlers can be protected, a concern with which His Lordship [Rodríguez Gallardo] is particularly charged.

This year on the tenth of January, the governor received a dispatch from His Excellency placing him in charge of this affair. In order that these and other matters might be resolved, the governor wrote a letter to Reverend Father Visitor Carlos de Rojas expressing his desire to meet with His Reverence and other, older missionaries. The governor suggested that he choose a convenient location for the meeting. The father visitor replied accepting the proposition, selecting the mission of San Miguel de los Ures, and agreeing to be present there with the other priests on the twentieth of this month. In light of this information, the governor is preparing for the conference to ensure that all these matters may be presented, that doubts may be resolved, and that the resolutions and opinions be recorded.

By your order and mine, this decree is drafted to serve as an introduction to the assembly. By request and commission, it notifies the father visitor and the other priests of the meeting, making them aware of the aforesaid dispatch so that all will be in agreement.

I attest that this *auto* was prepared, enacted, and signed by the governor before me, the notary in attendance.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla
Before me, Joaquín José de Arvera

From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Temporalidades, 972, 1.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

En el real Presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas en doce días del mes de abril de mil setecientos y cincuenta años, el sargento don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, teniente coronel de los reales ejércitos, capitán propietario de dragones en la Vera Cruz, comandante de los destacados en la ciudad de Los Angeles, gobernador y capitán general de estas provincias de Sinaloa, sus presidios, fronteras, y costas del mar del sur.

Dijo que siendo de su cargo poner los medios más eficaces, y convenientes para libertar esta provincia de Sonora de la vigorosa, y continuada guerra con que la hostilizan e invaden los numerosos gentiles, rebeldes, e indómitos apaches, y los apóstatas alevosos traidores, e incendiarios seris, y con especial recomendación del excelentísimo señor virrey, y se ha encargado expeler y desalojar a los naturales de la Isla del Tiburón. Porque siendo unos con los seris de esta banda les admiten, amparan, y abrigan en dicha isla, incorporados con ellos, salen a invadir, y hostilizar esta frontera con tanta impiedad y tiranía, que no sacian su enconado ánimo con el abasto de carne que logran de los ganados de los vecinos. Sino que de la malevolencia dejan las reces y caballadas que encuentran, solicitando con este diabólico arbitrio aniquilar a sus dueños, o [u] obligarlos al retiro de estas [estos] países para lograr con libertad internarse a otros hasta asolar los españoles. Juicio nada temerario, pues a más de la expresada hostilidad principalmente ponen todo su cuidado en el descuido de los pobladores para incendiarles sus casas, y consumirlas al rigor del fuego, y a las que salen de ellas al veneno de sus flechas.

Como otras veces se ha experimentado, y recientemente se está llorando, y considerando su señoría que no sólo basta la expulsión de los naturales de la Isla del Tiburón, ni la reducción de los demás seris a pueblo porque no habrá ninguno a que quieran sujetar, y que de su mala fe no se puede esperar la perfecta paz y serenidad, que necesitan estos países para su quietud porque fácilmente se sublevaran y tomaran la isla, cometiendo mayores homicidios, y hostilidades, y causando nuevos y más graves costas.

En su contención y reducción; los que ya se hacen insoportables a la real hacienda por los muchos que ha hecho en las continuadas guerras, que a tantos años mantiene la corona contra enemigos europeos y americanos y que nuevamente ha erogado cinco mil pesos esas para la expedición de dicha Isla del Tiburón, y que de ellos ya se ha gastado parte por el juez visitador en manutención de auxiliares, y de los mismos seris presos y que por su excelencia se está gastando en lo mismo; precaviendo estos, y los que acrecer se pueden ínterin llega la oportunidad de pasar a la isla, y las dificultades que ofrecerse pueden para registrarla íntegramente, y expeler de una vez de ella a sus naturales, le queda a su señoría la duda de que sean bastantes los cinco mil pesos erogados.

Mayormente cuando juzga conveniente no sola la expulsión de los Tiburones, sino extracción de ellos, y los demás seris de esta banda a los obrajes de Nueva

España (en conformidad de lo resuelto por su excelencia sobre expuestos dictámenes del señor auditor general de la guerra) en que precisamente se han de aumentar muchos costos, y para que no se malogren los comenzados por falta de dinero (como otras veces ha sucedido) y tratar los inconvenientes que se puedan advertir de dicha expulsión, y extracción y del mayor horro de real erario, resolvió su señoría proceder de acuerdo con los reverendos padres misioneros de la Compania de Jesús, quienes por su ministerio y mayores experiencias, en él adquiridas de los indios, y de la provincia pulsaron los inconvenientes, que para dicha extracción se ofrezcan, y prepondrán los medios de vencerlos, o facilitarlos si conviniere; como así mismo los que se les ocurran favorables; o adversos cerca de los pobladores de españoles, en proporcionados, y útiles parajes para contención de los enemigos, y comodidad de los pobladores, de que su señoría está particularmente encargado.

De su excelencia por despacho de diez de enero de este corriente año, y para que de unos y otros asuntos se tome resolución, escribió carta misiva al reverendo padre visitador Carlos de Roxas insinuándole los deseos de concurrir con su reverencia y otros de los reverendos padres más antiguos, que le pareciere congregar en lugar cómodo para el congreso y en respuesta aceptando la proposición el reverendo padre visitador señaló la Misión de San Miguel de los Ures, y el día veinte del corriente, en que concurría con otros reverendos padres. En cuya inteligencia se apresta su señoría a la concurrencia, y para tratar en ellos todas proposiciones, que van asentadas, y que allí puedan ofrecerse, que se decidan las dudas, y consten las resoluciones, y pareceres.

Mandaba, y mando, se forme este auto, que sirva de introducción de la asamblea y que de ruego y encargo se notifique en ella dicho reverendo padre visitador y demás reverendos padres del concurso haciéndoles constar en el precitado despacho para que sobre todo hallan su acuerdo.

Así lo proveyó, mandó, y firmó su señor gobernador ante mí el presente escribano de que doy fe.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla
ante mí, Joaquín José de Arvera.

Ortiz Parrilla and the Jesuits Propose to Deport the Seris, 1750

The following document is the tombstone of the Jesuit Seri mission program—a program that had begun seventy years earlier in 1679. In it, six experienced missionaries agree to what amounts to a campaign of cultural genocide against the Comcáac: the deportation of all Seris over the age of eight or ten years to the "ultramarine islands" of the Caribbean and the distribution of Seri children among Spanish settlers on the Apache frontier. The decision must have been a painful one; the wording in the second paragraph suggests there were doubts raised during the "mature deliberation" that took place. But Jesuit frustration with the Seris is palpable. After seventy years, they had not been able to mold the Comcáac into their own image or to "restrain their arrogance and brutish inclination for the wilds." The enormous cultural chasm between the missionaries and the Seris still yawned, so the Jesuits agreed to support a policy that sought to destroy the Seris as a people and remove them bodily from the Sonoran frontier.

The document also addresses a problem that became an obsession in the nineteenth century after Mexico won its independence from Spain: the need to populate the northern frontier (Weber 1982). Ortiz Parrilla and the Jesuits propose to distribute Seri children among colonies of Spanish and mestizo immigrants from the kingdoms of New Spain and Nueva Galicia in central and western Mexico. The practice of giving settlers captive Indian children as wards cum household servants was an old one—one that survived in New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico until the late nineteenth century. In this case, however, the settlers would be newcomers who would repopulate the depopulated Apache frontier. The Jesuits were even willing to countenance the seizure of Indian, presumably Opata and Pima, mission lands if those lands were needed for the new colonies.

Tomás Miranda had protested the establishment of Horcasitas presidio and the abuses of the Seris that followed. Now his superior, Carlos de Rojas, and five of his colleagues were admitting that the Seri mission program was a failure. They also were calling for the dispossession of other mission Indian lands, if necessary, across northern Sonora. No longer defenders of the Indians, the Jesuits were collaborators in a "final solution" to destroy Seri society. This document therefore represents the nadir of Jesuit missionary efforts in northwestern New Spain.

In the pueblo of San Miguel de los Ures, on April 20, 1750, by power of the preceding decree, [a meeting of the following people] convened in a room of the rectory of this mission: the lord governor and captain general [Ortiz Parrilla] of [Sonora]; Carlos de Rojas, visitor of the missions of this province of

Sonora; and Reverend Fathers Felipe Segesser, rector of the missions of San Francisco Xavier, Joseph Toral, Nicolás de Perera, Juan de Zerguera,[53] and Francisco Antonio Pimentel.[54] All the priests are members of the Company of Jesus and ministers of doctrine in the missions of this province. I, as scribe, swear that I know them all. By entreaty and commission, I made them aware of the contents of the aforesaid decree, and made known the determination that is expressed in it.

In a manner both intelligent and wise, the priests sequestered themselves and reached their decision. After contemplating their particular circumstances and conditions, the priests returned to the presence of said lord governor to confer about the doubts that occurred to them with regard to the principal points of the decree. The reverend father visitor and the other priests of the congress pondered with mature deliberation the responses His Lordship gave to their doubts, and raised other lesser and more specific concerns in verbal addenda. Afterwards, they were of the unanimous opinion that the removal of the Seris referred to as Populeños, Salineros, Tepocas, and Tiburones is not only necessary but requisite and urgent. Although distinguished by names taken from the different places they inhabit, all this multitude is of the same nation with the same nature, propensities, and inclinations. They are an arrogant and untamed people who from the time the use of reason is lit within them are used to handling their customary weapons and eating what they hunt, both wild animals and nearby livestock raised by neighboring Spaniards and people of reason.

And although we have endeavored to reduce them to a civil and social way of life by force of royal arms and the kindness of His Majesty, who has granted them abundant and fertile lands for their subsistence and assigned them ministers of doctrine so they might be catechized and instructed in the mysteries of our holy faith, it has not been possible to accomplish their complete reduction in more than seventy years. During this time the preaching of the Holy Gospel was introduced by ministers who were very active and zealous for the good of their souls, seeking only to convert them. They excused them from the work necessary for their subsistence and for the construction of churches and were satisfied if the Seris merely sowed enough seeds to meet their needs. They did this in order to acquaint the [Seris] with work so that with time, they would perceive its utility and become more industrious. In order to restrain their arrogance and brutish inclination for the wilds, the ministers supplied the Indians with the necessities of life from their own stipends and were obliged (as is well known) to ask for charity among the other missions in order to support the Seris.

Neither the aforementioned tenderness nor force of arms have been sufficient to subdue the Seris because they aspire only to enjoy the desires that they have, freed from their consciences. For this reason, they have risen in revolt very many times, treacherously and traitorously attacking their neighbors, burning their

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53. Juan de Zerguera, S.J. (1715–1751) was born in Trinidad, Cuba, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1734. In 1746, he was assigned to the mission of Bacerác in Sonora.

54. Francisco Antonio Pimentel, S.J. (1716–1759) was born in Havana, Cuba, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1733. By 1745, he was working in the missions of Sonora, serving in Bacadéguachi in 1748 and Tecoripa in 1751. He served as chaplain of the 1750 expedition to Tiburón Island (see the following document). Pimentel is believed to have died in 1759, at the Colegio de Zacatecas.

houses, taking their lives, and running off their livestock, as the aforementioned decree states and of which reverend fathers have abundant experience. Yet even though the Seris have sometimes been forgiven with mercy, and rigorously punished at other times, they have remained contumacious and rebellious as a result of their bad faith. At the slightest carelessness of the forces appointed to watch over them, they abandon the comforts of town for the brutish life in the wilds. Their acts of revenge spring from the punishments they have received for these acts. The gravest and most treacherous tyrannies are now being suffered. In the past they have stolen the cattle and horses they needed while setting the rest free. Now, after supplying themselves with meat, the Seris kill and leave to rot whatever they encounter, in order to destroy the settlers or force them into retreat.

They [the undersigned] presume or infer that these more serious attacks are a result of those who lead them. It is publicly and generally known that those who commanded the troop of rebels were Manuel El Querétaro and his son Marcos. They were deported to the workshops of Querétaro[55] whence they fled. Returning to join forces with those of their nation, they have become the worst enemies [of the Spaniards]. For that reason, after the removal of the Tiburones and others of the Seri nation who live on this coast has taken place, they [the undersigned] judge it necessary to deport them, not to the aforesaid workshops, but to the ultramarine islands.[56] His Excellency the viceroy believes this will provide greater security and ensure they do not return to infest this province. All those below the age of eight or ten years could be left behind to repopulate the pueblos of the Opata nation, which have been exhausted of people and are necessary for containing the Apache enemy.

They [the undersigned] do not doubt that such removal will result in much benefit and utility to the province. Nor do they doubt that the inhabitants of the province cannot but understand this and will enthusiastically contribute to its attainment with their own wealth, much to the benefit of the royal treasury. To that end, the reverend fathers believe the [settlers] should be obliged to contribute whatever they can to effect the capture of the Seris. On behalf of the missions, the priests offer five hundred fanegas of provisions and some number of cattle, which they will deliver to whomever the governor designates in each mission once the father visitor determines each mission's share.

They [the undersigned] also do not doubt that the Spaniards or people of reason among whom they intend to place the Seri children will not only agree to it but wish for the children to help them contain the enemy Apaches. Members of the Company [of Jesus] agree with the proposition, with the stipulation that the people

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55. Near the rich agricultural region of El Bajío, the city of Querétaro northwest of Mexico City developed into a major colonial industrial center. By the late eighteenth century, its tobacco factories alone employed about 7,000 workers (Meyer and Sherman 1979).

56. The islands of the Caribbean. As this and the previous document make clear, the earlier practice of deporting Indians to the workshops of central Mexico often backfired when the Indians escaped and returned to their northern homelands. According to Weber (1992:232), "By the 1790s it was common to ship Apache prisoners of war, including women and children, from New Spain to Havana, so they might never escape and return to their people as earlier deportees to Mexico City had done. Shackled, incarcerated en route, and exposed to new diseases, most failed to survive the ordeal of the journey to the Caribbean. Those who did generally spent the remainder of their lives in some form of forced labor."

must be from the kingdoms of New Spain and New Galicia, which His Lordship prudently anticipated in the aforementioned decree. After exploring the difficulties of populating the uninhabited lands, and noting the depopulation of the small settlements that already compose this jurisdiction, they [the undersigned] do not doubt that forming settlements of outsiders will be useful in containing the enemy [Apaches] if they are situated in advantageous locations. There are many such places that could be designated as fortresses against the enemy Apaches such as the Valle de Bacanuchi,[57] Terrenate[58] and the Pimería Alta, and Cuchuta.[59] The fertility and abundant lands of these areas provide the resources the settlements need for their preservation and growth.

Nevertheless, [settlements at] other places may be necessary for restraining the enemy [Apaches], even if they are on mission lands. If so, these lands should quickly be handed over to formal and properly founded settlements. According to municipal laws dealing with this matter, those are the only circumstances under which the Indian owners of such lands can be reimbursed for their just value and for what the owners have paid to His Majesty through royal edict and through the *media anata.*[60] And if Your Excellency agrees that these settlements should be founded and orders the royal treasury to support the transport of the settlers, the missionaries will not excuse themselves from contributing or assisting whatever they can to preserve and advance the settlements.

At present, the missionaries believe it is advisable, achievable, and easy only to repopulate the Valle de Bacanuchi with more people who have an interest in the cultivated fields that are there. The owners, who are now dispersed across the province, should be obliged to take possession of their lands and establish a formal settlement or place. Because they enjoy a superabundance of lands, however, they should allow others who are not owners and desire to live there to cultivate fields as well. They should be given possession of fields they clear or improve with the obligation that they settle on them. In such fashion, they will unite with one another and increase the number of settlers. Because they are located between the

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57. The Bacanuchi Valley is located along the Río Bacanuchi, the northwestern tributary of the Río Sonora, north of Arizpe and south of Cananea. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was a center of Spanish ranching and mining on the northern frontier. Apache attacks forced its abandonment in the late 1700s.

58. San Felipe de Gracia Real de Terrenate was one of two new presidios established in 1742 in the aftermath of the 1740 Yaqui revolt. It was located on a tributary of the San Pedro River south of the Huachuca Mountains. In 1775, it was transferred north and downriver on the San Pedro (north of the nineteenth-century Anglo mining community of Fairbanks), where it was called Santa Cruz de Terrenate. In 1780, however, Apache attacks drove the garrison back south to Las Nutrias, not far from its original site. In 1787, the presidio came to rest for the final time at the abandoned mission of Santa María Soamca. Because of the presence of the garrison, the community became known as Santa Cruz and the river, formerly the Santa María, came to be called the Santa Cruz.

59. San Francisco Xavier de Cuchuta was one of four Opata communities along the headwaters of the San Pedro River missionized by the Jesuits in 1653.

60. The media anata was a tax amounting to half one's annual income or salary. In the late 1600s and early 1700s, the Spanish crown required all *encomenderos* to pay half the yearly income of their *encomiendas* for various periods of time. Many Spanish officials were required to pay half their first year's salary. In this case, the media anata may have represented half the yearly income or yields from the lands themselves.

presidios of Fronteras and Terrenate, the [settlers] will form one of the principal safeguards to restrain the Apaches.

It is necessary to observe, however, that these settlers are always needing to travel back and forth to their mines, fields, and other businesses in order to support themselves. So they can do this freely and with some security, a detachment of fifteen soldiers with one vigilant and active cabo must be stationed there from the presidio of Terrenate, which is located about twenty leagues from this valley. The detachment will need to continually patrol that land and communicate promptly with that presidio or Fronteras, as well as with other neighboring districts, wherever they observe the entry of the enemy. They should arrange those patrols so they can always return to the settlement at night in order to maintain their sentries there and observe all military regulations. Their captain should supply all their provisions so they will not be forced to abandon their posts.

Among the settlers, a man of justice should be named to govern the settlement. He should make sure they live together and build their houses with the security the country, and their means, offer: within four towers so they can defend themselves. He should also make sure they provide themselves with weapons and likewise assist the cabo and commissioned officer during times of danger or emergency. The officer must always fulfill his duties; if he does not, the justicia must inform his captain that he has not carried out his aforesaid duties. If all is carried out in the prescribed fashion, the valley will not experience the bold raids of the Apaches that it has in the past. Nor will the fifteen soldiers be missed from their presidio because they should be considered to be still there, and still useful on the frontier.

In this, as in all other matters in this *auto,* the priests readily concur and will expedite whatever they can. They also agree with the verbal propositions of the governor that seek the benefit and common good of this province in the service of God and the king. They gave this as their response when they signed with His Lordship. This I swear.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla
Carlos de Rojas
Felipe Segesser
Joseph Toral
Nicolás Perera
Juan de Zerguera
Francisco Antonio Pimentel
Joaquín Joseph de Rivera, secretary of government and war

From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Temporalidades, 972, 1

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

En el pueblo de San Miguel de los Ures en 20 días del mes de abril de 1750 años, en virtud del auto que antecede, se congregaron en una pieza de la casa de esta misión: el señor gobernador y capitán general, el reverendo padre Carlos de Rojas visitador de las misiones de esta provincia de Sonora, los reverendos padres Felipe Segesser rector de las [misiones] de San Francisco Xavier, Joseph Toral, Nicolás de Perera, Juan de Zerguera, y Francisco Antonio Pimentel,

todos de la Compañía de Jesús y ministros de doctrina en las misiones de esta dicha provincia, a quienes yo, el escribano, doy fe que conozco. Y de ruego y encargo les hice notorio el contenido del precitado auto, e hice saber el despacho que en él se expresa.

Y de uno y otro inteligentes y advertidos, se apartaron, y hubieron entre sí su acuerdo. Y habiéndolo tenido con particular especulación de sus circunstancias y cláusulas, volvieron a la presencia de dicho señor gobernador a conferir las dudas que se les ofrecían, las que decididas por su señoría y hechas otras más menudas y particulares proporciones, verbalmente anexas, y concernientes a las principales del auto, y acordadas y reflejadas [reflecionadas] por dicho reverendo padre visitador y demás padres del congreso, fueron de común sentir y opinión que la extracción de los seris que llaman populeños, salineros, tepocas y tiburones no sólo es necesaria, sino precisa y urgente; porque todo este número, aunque distinguido en nombres que han tomado de aquellos parajes de su habitación, es toda una misma nación con una misma naturaleza e igualdad de propiedades e inclinación, que es toda gente altanera y montaraz, hechos aquí desde que les alumbra el uso de la razón, han de manejar las armas de su uso, y comer de lo que cazan, así de animales silvestres como de los reducidos ganados que crían sus circunvecinos españoles y gente de razón.

Y que aunque se ha procurado reducirlos a vida política y sociable por medio de las armas reales y benignidad de su majestad, destinándoles abundantes y fértiles tierras para su manutención, y asignándoles ministros de doctrina que los catequicen e instruyan en los misterios de nuestra santa fe, no se ha podido conseguir su perfecta reducción en más de setenta años que ha[ce] que se les introdujo la predicación del Santo Evangelio por ministros tan activos y celosos del bien de sus almas, que procurando sólo su conversión, les libertaban de aquel necesario trabajo para su manutención y para la fábrica de sus iglesias, contentándose conque sólo sembrasen aquellas semillas que fuesen bastantes, a imponerles en el trabajo, para que con el tiempo conociesen la utilidad, y fuesen mejor aplicados supliendo con sus mismos sínodos las necesidades de dichos indios, y obligándose (como es público) a mendigar entre las demás misiones para mantenerlos, a fin de impedir su altanería y brutal inclinación a los montes.

Y ni el amor predicho, ni el rigor de las armas han sido bastantes a sujetarlos porque sólo aspiran a gozar los deseos que tienen de la libertad de sus conciencias, por cuyo objeto tantas veces han sido sublevados acometiendo alevosa y traidoramente a sus circunvecinos, quemándoles sus casas, quitándoles las vidas, e invadiendo sus ganados, como el mismo auto expresa y de que sus reverendos padres tienen sobradas experiencias. Y por consiguiente de su mala fe, pues aunque han sido perdonados benignamente, y otras veces castigados con rigor, han permanecido contumaces y rebeldes, pues al menor descuido de las armas que para su guarnición se destinan, dejan las comodidades del pueblo por la brutal vida de los montes; de lo que se sigue la venganza de los castigos que se les han hecho con más graves alevosas tiranías, como hoy se ha experimentado pues lo que antes hacían era robar los ganados y bestias que necesitaban y dejar libre lo demás y o a más de abastecerse, matan y dejan perder cuanto encuentran a fin de destruir a los vecinos, o retirarlos.

Que también suponen o infieren ser efecto del que los gobierna. Pues siendo constante, público y notorio que los que han comandado la tropa de sublevados han sido Manuel el Querétaro y su hijo Marcos, porque estos fueron extraídos a los obrajes de Querétaro de donde se huyeron. Y vueltos a incorporarse con los de su

nación han sido los peores enemigos. Por lo que juzgan conveniente que de verificarse la extracción de los tiburones y demás de su nación que habitan en esta banda, no sea para dichos obrajes, sino para las islas ultramarinas, si al excelentísimo señor virrey parecieron [pareciere] de mayor seguridad, para que no vuelvan a infestar esta provincia. Y que todo lo que fuere pequeño hasta edad de 8 a 10 años, se deje para repoblar aquellos pueblos de la nación opata, exhaustos de gente, y necesarios para contener al enemigo apache.

Que de dicha extracción no dudan que resulte mucho beneficio y utilidad a la provincia, ni que sus moradores dejen de conocerlo, y gustosos, concurrir con lo que sus posibles alcanzaren, para el mayor ahorro de la real hacienda, por lo que les parece a sus reverencias ser necesario, que hecha la presa de los Seris que puedan remitirse, se les obligue a la contribución. Y que por parte de las misiones, desde ahora ofrecen 500 fanegas de bastimento, y otras tantas reses que entregarán, a quien dicho señor gobernador ordenare en cada misión, aquellas que por el padre visitador se prorratearen.

Que las poblaciones de españoles o gente de razón que se intentan poner para que sirvan de contención al enemigo apache, no sólo las aprueban, sino que las desean, y se han propuesto convenientes por los mismos de la Compañía, con la calidad de que la gente haya de ser de los reinos de la Nueva España y Galicia como cuerdamente lo previene su señoría en el auto que se les ha notificado. Pulsando los mismos inconvenientes que han advertido los misioneros de querer poblar los desiertos, despoblando los cortos vecindarios de que se compone la gobernación, que no dudan que las poblaciones que se hicieren con gente de afuera sean útiles para contener al enemigo, si se sitúan en parajes a propósito para ello, pues son muchos los que se pueden destinar para antemurales del enemigo apache tales como el valle de Bacanuchi, Terrenate y Pimería Alta y el de Cuichuta [Cuchuta] que estos por su fertilidad y abundantes tierras preparan aquellas utilidades que necesitan las poblaciones para su conservación y aumento.

Sin embargo de que si otros cualesquiera parajes fueren necesario[s] para poner freno al enemigo, aunque sea en tierra de las mismas misiones, estén prontos a entregarlas como sea para formal, y bien fundamentada población, con las circunstancias de que sólo se les haya de reintegrar a los indios dueños de ellas su justo valor como ellos lo han pagado a su majestad, por su real ordenamiento y el de media nata [anata], que conforme a lo prevenido en leyes municipales que sobre este asunto tratan. Y que conviniendo su excelencia en la formación de poblaciones y dando providencia de que de cuenta de la real hacienda se conduzcan los pobladores, no se excusarán los misioneros de concurrir o coadyuvar en cuanto de su parte estuviere para efecto de su conservación y adelantamiento.

Que por la presente sólo les parece conveniente, asequible y fácil, la repoblación del valle de Bacanuchi con más de los interesados en las tierras de labor que en él hay, y que andan dispersos en esta provincia, obligándoles a poseer sus tierras, haciendo formal población o lugar. Y a, que de las superabundantes tierras que gozan, permitan que se cultiven por otros que no sean dueños y desean vivir allí, dándoles propiedad en aquellas labores que abriesen o beneficiaren con obligación de radicarse en ellas, porque de esta suerte unidos unos con otros, y aumentado el número de vecinos, será uno de los principales antemurales para contener a los apaches, por ser medianía entre los presidios de Fronteras y Terrenate.

Pero, que se debe advertir, que estos vecinos siempre estarán necesitados a salir al trajino de las minas, al uso de sus labores, y otros comercios precisos para su manutención. Y para que lo cual puedan hacer libremente y con alguna seguridad,

es necesario que del presidio de Terrenate, que está como 20 leguas de dicho valle, se les ponga un destacamento de 15 soldados con un cabo activo y vigilante, para que continuamente recorran aquel terreno y comuniquen prontos avisos a aquel presidio, o al de Fronteras, y a los demás lugares comarcanos por donde observaren entre el enemigo. Y que las correrías que hicieren, las proporcionen de manera que siempre puedan de noche regresarse a la población, y mantener en ellas sus centinelas, guardando todas las reglas militares. Y que su capitán providencie allí los avíos de su manutención, para que no por falta de lo necesario desamparen la guarnición.

Y que así mismo se nombre, de dichos vecinos, uno de justicia para el gobierno político, y para que los arregle a vivir unidos, y a que hagan sus casas con la seguridad que ofrece el país, y sus posibles: dentro de cuatro torreones que puedan defenderlas, y que tenga cuidado de que se provean de armas, y así mismo, de auxiliar al cabo y oficial en las ocasiones o urgencias. Y de que el dicho oficial, en todas cumpla con su obligación, y le tenga él justicia de dar cuenta a su capitán si no cumpliere con lo que va referido. Que practicado todo en la forma predicha, no se experimentarán los arrojos del apache en dicho valle como otras veces ha sucedido, ni los dichos quince soldados harán falta en su presidio porque se deben considerar como si en él estuvieran, y siempre útiles a la frontera.

Que así en esto como en todo lo demás del contenido del auto, y proposiciones que verbalmente se han tratado por dicho señor gobernador en beneficio y utilidad común de esta provincia, servicio de Dios y del rey, están prontos a concurrir, facilitando de su parte cuanto les sea facultativo. Esto dieron por su respuesta cuando firmaron con su señoría. De que doy fe.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla
Carlos de Rojas
Felipe Segesser
Joseph Toral
Nicolás Perera
Juan de Zerguera
Francisco Antonio Pimentel
Joaquín Joseph de Rivera, señor secretario de gobernación y guerra

Pimentel's Diary of the Expedition to Tiburón Island, 1750

The following diary of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla's expedition to Tiburón Island reads like an adventure story, with the hero—Ortiz Parrilla—overcoming heat, thirst, storms, mutiny, and maggot-infested water holes to subdue his Seri foes. The writer, a Jesuit missionary who accompanied the expedition as chaplain, fawns over the governor. Less than two years later, the Society of Jesus will be locked in a bitter and protracted dispute with Ortiz Parrilla over his handling of the 1751 Upper Pima revolt, and Pimentel's fellow Jesuits may have shuddered at the triumphalist portrait of Ortiz Parrilla Pimentel painted.

But the story itself is a fascinating one. Imagine campaigning from late August through early October across one of the driest and hottest terrains in North America—dressed in heavy leather armor, searching for an elusive enemy armed with arrows tipped in legendary poison. Much of the struggle revolves around the relentless search for water, so scarce in that riverless region. The Seris, who know every hidden tinaja and spring on their island refuge, throw rotting carcasses of horses into their precious water holes to drive the Spaniards away. The heat, the thirst, and the fear push many soldiers to the brink of mutiny until a young aide of the governor's and the Upper Pimas under their commander, Luis Oacpicagigua of Sáric, shame the Spaniards into continuing the campaign.

Pimentel and Ortiz Parrilla proclaimed the expedition a grand success. During fourteen days on Tiburón, no Spaniards and only two Pimas lost their lives. Twenty-eight Seris were taken prisoner, however, and thirteen Seri men were killed. In a brief report to the viceroy, Ortiz Parrilla stated that even though a "small number" of the rebels remained at large, they lived in constant fear of punishment.[61] *He asked the viceroy to allow twenty loyal Seris to settle at Nacameri. Such kindness, Ortiz Parrilla contended, would soon cause the few remaining tiny bands of rebels to beg for pardon.*

Ortiz Parrilla's optimism was premature. His force of 720 men killed or captured only a handful of the Comcáac. The rest hid themselves in mainland refuges such as the Cerro Prieto, which became one of their favorite bases of operations in the guerrilla warfare that followed. According to the sworn declaration of Captain Gaspar de Felmel, the expedition even failed to find most of the Seris on the island itself. In Felmel's words:

> *It was common knowledge, through both visual observation and by word of mouth, that a large number of Seri Indians were inhabiting their old haunts*

61. Ortiz Parrilla to the Viceroy, December 30, 1750, Stevens Collection, 1461, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection (NLBLAC), University of Texas, Austin.

on Tiburón Island. Nevertheless, through their lack of foresight, the participants in this expedition did not take the precaution of stationing two canoas at the mouth of the Tepoca[62] *to prevent this resident Indian band from escaping to the mainland. The Indians were aware of the expedition's failure to take this precaution and fled the island. Once this campaign is over, it is likely that the Indians who escaped will again become re-established in their old haunts. Based upon past experience in this area, it seems unlikely that all members of the Seri nation were driven completely and finally from Tiburón Island. To the extent to which this seed is allowed to flourish, further hostilities will be born.*[63]

Felmel was right. Meanwhile, Luis Oacpicagigua, the war leader from Sáric who was appointed governor and captain general of the Upper Pimas by Ortiz Parrilla because of his valor and determination during the expedition to Tiburón Island, must have acquired an abiding contempt for Spanish military prowess. Oacpicagigua led his own rebellion on November 20, 1751. By the time the rebellion had been suppressed, more than one hundred people had been killed, including two Jesuit missionaries (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). Besieged on all sides by Seri and Pima rebels and the Western and Chiricahua Apaches, Ortiz Parrilla decided to negotiate with, rather than punish, the Pima leader. And even though Luis later died in captivity at the presidio of Horcasitas, Upper Pima rebels were still fighting in the Cerro Prieto and other mountain strongholds twenty years later. Rodríguez Gallardo's final solution solved nothing. Sonora plunged into the worst two decades of warfare it had ever experienced, or would experience, until the collapse of the mission and presidio systems after Mexican Independence.

[On the flysheet that serves as the half-title page:] This diary is written by M.R.P. Francisco Pimentel, of the Company of Jesus, who went to said island [Tiburón] as field chaplain, as it is written in his hand.

Diary of what came to pass and was executed in the expedition that was made to the island of Tiburón in this year, 1750.

The province of Sonora longed for nothing more than to see itself freed from the continuous invasions, atrocious murders, robberies, and arson inflicted by its domestic enemies, the Seris. The desired remedy was becoming more difficult with each passing day, however, while [the Seris] grew more auda-

62. Modern Cabo Tepoca and Bahía de Tepoca are located north of Libertad where the community of Puerto Lobos has developed. This is too far north for Felmel's reference, which seems to be referring to a drainage. Felmel may be referring to the Arroyo Agua Dulce on Tiburón Island, which drains north by the important spring of Tecomate across from Punta Tepopa on the mainland. Or he may mean the estuary behind modern Punta Sargento just north of Tiburón on the Sonoran coast. Spanish pearling took place somewhere off the northern coast of Tiburón in the vicinity of Punta Perla, and 'Tepoca' was the name given to both the pearling community and the landmarks associated with it.

63. Declaration of Don Gaspar Felmel, Mexico City, May 28, 1751. AGN, Provincias Internas, 176.

cious, inspired by the repeated skirmishes from which they emerged victorious in the face of little resistance. Very few pueblos, mining camps, lands, and estates on their frontiers had not been attacked and exposed to the rigors of their barbarous cruelty. Thus it was in the beleaguered province, for as the decisions of Divine Providence are hidden from the simple understanding of mortals, [the province] was left with no choice other than to resign itself to events, and to ever venerate with deep respect His eternal, infinite wisdom—for it seems that He, with particular resolution and paternal love, was extending [to the province] the means for some respite and relief from the anguish of its tribulations.

For this reason then, it is not my intent to describe in detail the deeds and havoc wrought by the Seris, nor the state of the province at the time of the uprising that began at the end of the year 1748. I assume this has already been made public by pens more skillful than mine. And what is the point? Would it be of any use to recall Chupisonora and Pópulo, unless it were to regard with sorrow a policy that is far from the rectitude of justice? Can [recalling the] the destruction of the mining communities of Nacameri and Aguaje have any effect other than to bring tears to the eyes of the inhabitants and move others to compassion? The killings at Alameda, La Soledad, El Cajón de Policarpio, and Tonuco, as well as many others committed in various spots and localities—can these serve any purpose at all except to humble us and compel us to give thanks to God, who permitted all this for the divine reasons that His Majesty understands?

It is no wonder that so many different pieces of information would come for consideration before the judgment and wisdom of the most excellent Conde de Revillagigedo [Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas], viceroy of this New Spain. Attentive to the minute details of his governorship and captaincy general, but without waiting for those trivialities that serve more to delay justice in the tribunal of reason and waste the time of officials with prolonged written reports, he acquainted himself with all the facts and decided to send someone of his choosing, subject to no outside influence, who would go north for God, the king, and the public good, and free from all passion and national bias, assume the governance of the provinces.

This man was Lieutenant Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla,[64] whose skill in military art and science, readiness and celerity in the management of affairs, lively acumen, activity and zealousness in making decisions, constancy in hardship, and bravery in the face of danger was proven repeatedly by experience. I shall not

64. Diego Ortiz Parrilla had served the crown for two decades in Coahuila, Texas, and Nuevo León, prior to his appointment as governor of Sinaloa y Sonora and captain of the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas in 1749. He was promoted to colonel in 1752 and, despite the termination of his governorship in 1753, continued to hold high office. In 1756, Ortiz Parrilla assumed command of the new presidio of San Sabá in south-central Texas; after the new Franciscan mission of San Sabá was sacked and burned by Comanches and their allies in 1758, Ortiz Parrilla led a punitive expedition of more than five hundred men against the fortified village of Taovayas on the Red River. His force was repelled by Comanches, Taovayas (a Wichita group), and other Indians equipped with French muskets and fighting under a French flag. The destruction of San Sabá mission and the failure of Ortiz Parrilla's retaliatory campaign halted the expansion of Spanish Texas north and west of San Antonio. Despite this defeat, Ortiz Parrilla went on to serve as governor of Coahuila (1764–1765), and supervised the orderly evacuation of Pensacola after Spain ceded Florida to England under the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Weber 1992).

refrain from mentioning the incidents that openly demonstrated his astute conduct, for when in the *villa* of Córdoba, with its numerous people, and the coast of Gicaltán,[65] with its rough terrain, the use of arms was warranted in order to pacify insurrections, he employed them there until the forces of sedition were suppressed. If the disturbances in the city of Guanajuato[66] provoked government intervention, then we saw him sent there, quick to march to the aid of the peace. If the unruliness of Puebla de los Angeles[67] and the boldness of its populace—ever ready to foment unrest and riots—demanded in all justice complete correction, they saw him detach his company from the body of dragoons and establish it firmly in this city, to suppress its pride and commotions.

Among the many responsibilities His Excellency had charged [Parrilla] with, one that required his top attention was the total reduction of the Seri nation. He was to remove from Tiburón Island those who had taken refuge there, as in a fortress that until now had been considered impregnable. The island was like a military garrison from which bands of warriors emerged at times to attack our territories, and it was thought that depriving them of this asylum would force them to submit to the yoke of reason and Christian life, or suffer the most severe penalties. Thus, with judicious reflection the course was decided on that, given the current situation, would work toward a final solution.

Even if the expedition to the island that was to be undertaken turned out well in every [regard], and the other disturbances were put down, there still remained some atrocious crimes committed by the Seris—such as treacherous murders; cruel arson; frequent robberies; desecration of the churches; abuse of the images of Christ, most holy Mary, and the saints; and the use of the most sacred vessels for the practice of their most loathsome filthiness—could not go unpunished. Furthermore, experience with the [Seri] character, as shown by their frequent uprisings, created doubt as to whether they would remain at peace, and fear of even greater injuries if they were left with the freedom they have had up to now. In view of everything, in an opinion issued by Father Visitor Carlos de Rojas, rector of San Xavier, Felipe Segesser, José Toral, Nicolás de Perera, Juan de Zerguera, and Francisco Antonio Pimentel, it was decided that a report should be made to México [City]. It was universally agreed that all individuals of the Seri nation should be removed from this province to places overseas or elsewhere, taking the greatest possible precautions to ensure security, in order to keep them from resuming dis-

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65. Founded in 1618, the *villa* of Córdoba was capital of the jurisdiction whose name it shared, in the modern state of Veracruz. In mentioning Gicaltán, Pimentel may be referring to Quiahuahuixtlán (Quiahuiztlán), where Cortés founded La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz in 1519 (the settlement was moved eight leagues south to the site of Vera Cruz Vieja, in 1525). Ortiz Parrilla served as captain of the dragoons in Veracruz and, presumably, both the *villa* of Córdoba and the coast of Gicaltán fell under his purview.

66. The city of Guanajuato, in the modern state of the same name, began as a *real de minas* after mineral deposits were discovered in 1552. Its population, which fell and rose with the decline and recovery of mining activity, was made up mainly of Tarascan, Otomí, and Mexican Indians who labored in the mines and haciendas.

67. Puebla de los Angeles, capital of the modern state of Puebla, was first settled by the Spaniards in 1530–31. By 1746, there were an estimated 15,000 non-Indian families (mostly mestizos and mulattoes) living there, along with 4,486 Indian tribute payers. Ortiz Parrilla led a detachment of the dragoons from Veracruz to quell an uprising there.

turbances such as those experienced with great harm up to the present. Excepted from this are the boys and girls, [some of whom] will be sent to repopulate the Apache frontier, and others to activities that are useful to the government. If these suggestions are not sufficient to convince one of their reasonableness and justice, neither will it be enough to attempt to persuade these wayward ones that their time would be better spent in the study and application of their letters, when with greater usefulness for the community and for their own advantage they will quickly learn in one lesson what the laws of war teach.

With this formality completed, the measures most appropriate for achieving the goal were undertaken with the greatest exactitude and diligence. First, all the Seris in the pueblos of Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Pópulo were arrested, along with many others who had congregated there, attracted either by the persuasive arguments frequently sent them via Pablo the Indian war captain [of Pópulo] or out of fear. All were at least accomplices in the uprising, with very few exceptions—who were secured simply by compelling them to look after the others, so that all would thus be under one guard. The deceit of the delinquents was not virtuous, nor were they to be exempted merely for withdrawing to the pueblos after they had participated in the most bloody deeds and in various ways had helped those who remained in the mountains, stubborn and errant. Once this difficulty was overcome, then, [through obeying] the military maxim of not turning one's back on an enemy, the way was opened to set about preventing Apache hostilities in Sonora, inasmuch as the governor had already decided to go to Tiburón Island on grounds dictated by his experience in similar matters, and persuaded to undertake [the venture] by his knowledge of the country.

For this purpose, an order was sent to the *justicia mayor,* Don Juan López Valdés, to have his regular and special lieutenants, after August 15, name six men and a corporal from each of their jurisdictions. Circulating through their respective districts [these squads were to] take turns reporting on events weekly. As soon as one [squad] arrived, the other was to set out, ready for the same service and going in the opposite direction, unless circumstances required going the same way. All were to be instructed that in the event of any new tracks, robberies, or assaults, they were to notify the nearest post. Two of the six should be detached to bring the news quickly, so that enemy forays could be blocked.

The principal instructions to the Fronteras and Terrenate companies were [as follows]. The captain [of Terrenate], Don Santiago Ruiz de Ael,[68] was ordered to detach a party of twenty-five soldiers at the end of the coming August, to travel to [the presidio of] San Miguel scouting the intervening dangerous territory. Meanwhile, the captain commandant of Fronteras, Don Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante,[69] was ordered to come accompanied only by the number of soldiers

68. Santiago Ruiz de Ael, along with presidial captains Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante and Gaspar Felmel, had leveled charges of ineptitude, bad conduct, and cowardice against the previous governor, Agustín de Vildósola, contributing to the governor's removal in 1748. In 1755, the viceroy (the Conde de Revillagigedo) transferred Ruiz de Ael from Terrenate to the presidio of Janos, in Nueva Vizcaya.

69. Following the death of Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder in 1740, Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante (also referred to as Bustamante y Tagle) was appointed captain of the Fronteras presidio, and quickly became the target of Governor Vildósola's wrath for not campaigning more vigorously against the Apaches.

he judged necessary for his escort, which was ten [men] and a sergeant; the rest should come at a time closer to the expedition. Because of the argument made by this captain [of Terrenate], however, it was decided to suspend detaching the planned total of twenty-five soldiers from his company, upon consideration that the number of parties shuttling about the province was excessive, and that they would be of greater use staying in one place.

An order was also given to Don Joaquín Valdés, militia captain at the mining camp of Baroyeca,[70] to be ready to join the soldiers from Alamos, Fuerte, and Sinaloa with fifteen men from his company. They would all be under the command of Don Francisco Julián de Alvarado,[71] sargento mayor of the provinces of this governorship, and of the lieutenant of El Fuerte's militia, Don Nicolás Valdés.[72] This was because Don Miguel Carlos de Mollinedo,[73] the militia captain of the *villa* of Sinaloa, would be occupied at that time in the mountainous region of Nabogame and Baborigame.[74] Along with forty men, he was under orders to visit that area in order to deal with—using the greatest prudence and caution—the unrest of the Tepehuanes,[75] which had motivated the order.

Finally, Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín,[76] captain of the royal company of Sinaloa, was sent to recruit the Upper Pimas, 443 of whom came to assist, along with their captain commandant and fifteen other war captains (the name given them in the pueblos). He was also charged with delivering a letter to Don José Ignacio Salazar,[77]

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70. Baroyeca was an important mining community located between the Río Yaqui and Río Mayo. Mineral deposits were discovered in the area in 1686, and it was established as a *real* in 1701. During the eighteenth century, it had a secular priest and was the seat of the alcalde mayor of the province of Ostimuri.

71. A native of Aloños, Spain, Francisco Julián de Alvarado came to New Spain sometime prior to 1740, for the viceroy appointed him *colonel de milicias* that year in response to the Yaqui rebellion. He settled in Alamos, acquiring ownership of a mine and great wealth. In 1775, Alvarado became treasurer of the branch of the royal treasury located in Alamos but died the following year.

72. Nicolás Valdés was a veteran, having served as lieutenant of El Fuerte's militia company during the 1740 Indian revolt.

73. Miguel Carlos de Mollinedo was named captain of Sinaloa's militia company in 1748.

74. Located in high, pine-fringed valleys in the Sierra Madre south of the Río Verde, Nabogame and Baborigame were communities of Northern Tepehuanes. A visita had been founded at Nabogame in the 1670s, and both missions were established by 1707.

75. The Northern Tepehuanes live in the Sierra Madre of southern Chihuahua south of the Río Verde. Calling themselves the *ódami,* they speak a Piman language in the Uto-Aztecan language family and are part of the Tepiman chain of Piman speakers that extends from northern Jalisco to central Arizona. They make their living primarily as farmers and small stockraisers on their upland mesas or in the steep canyons that dissect the Sierra Madre. Their ancestors may have moved into their rugged homeland from farther south in Durango after the Spaniards defeated Tepehuan rebels during the great Tepehuan revolt of 1616.

76. Juan Tomás de Beldarraín was promoted to captain of the Sinaloa presidio shortly before the expedition to Tiburón Island. As of March 1750, he was still serving as lieutenant of the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas. In 1751, he went on to play a part in quelling the Pima uprising. Beldarraín was appointed captain of the new presidio of Tubac in 1752, and reportedly was buried at Guevavi in 1759.

77. Alférez José Ignacio Salazar was a prominent vecino of Santa Ana in the Pimería Alta.

alférez of the Sonora militia company, ordering him to accompany the Pima Indians with fifteen men from Santa Ana,[78] which settlement, because of its [residents'] experience with the terrain and their frequent labors in the Seri uprisings, was considered on this occasion to be the most useful for the service.

When these preparations were made, and the seven long boats that had been refitted were ready and waiting for use in the Río Yaqui, Don José Fontes, alférez of the royal company of San Miguel, was sent with sixteen soldiers to man them and conduct them to the promontory of San Juan Bautista, about one league south of Carrizal.[79] His orders were to stay with them until they landed at Tiburón, loaded with the necessary provisions for the entire camp. These supplies were required for laboring in such a desert province, where long distances hinder the most efficient activity.

Thus, during the months of June, July, and the beginning of August, not only were necessary [preparations] made for the expedition and campaign, but every care was taken for the welfare of the province. Don Gaspar Felmel,[80] former captain of the royal company of Sinaloa, was given authorization to recruit 252 men, although he had only 143 at this time because the rest had [already] been assigned elsewhere. Only the attendance of the officers and men who were to make up the camp was pending, delayed by the suspension of rain at the beginning of August. The whole Seri country was without water, the want of which made travel extremely difficult for the detachments and parties.

On [August] 18 and 19, however, there were two heavy rains that seemed as though they would fill the water hole at Carrizal, the most perennial among [the Seri country's] estuaries and shores. Observing this, His Lordship decided that a party of twenty-five soldiers should leave on the twenty-third under the command of Antonio Holguín, sergeant of the royal company of Terrenate. Passing by Carrizal, they would learn whether it held sufficient water to maintain everyone together there, and whether the whole camp could travel at one time or should be divided into parties. [The soldiers] were also to follow any tracks that appeared to be heading to attack our territory, in order to capture [the Indians] or punish them in their own land.

On [August] 24, 25, and 26, all the preparations necessary for the approaching march were continued, in accordance with the expected arrival of the militia officers from Sinaloa, Fuerte, Alamos, and Baroyeca.

On [August] 27, the sargento mayor of the militia, the captain of Baroyeca, six officers, and sixty-three soldiers arrived at this royal presidio of San Miguel. Mounted on white horses, splendid in their uniformity, they filed before the mustered guard, which with many shots and shouts from the Pimas, saluted their

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One of the first Spaniards to learn of the Pima revolt of 1751, he directed the earliest Spanish action to be taken against the rebels, securing the release of fifty Yaqui prisoners.

78. Located along the Río Magdalena in the Pimería Alta, Santa Ana originally was an estancia, or stock ranch, of the mission of San Ignacio de Caburica.

79. The important spring north of modern Bahía de Kino which the Seris called *Hax Caail* ('water wide').

80. Gaspar Felmel was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa in 1743, during which year his own men urged Governor Vildósola to remove him from office, citing reasons that ranged from his ignorance of military affairs to his effeminacy and corpulence.

arrival. After passing in review, they were ordered to retire to the lodgings that had been prepared for them. On the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, Sergeant Holguín arrived after having reconnoitered Carrizal. He brought the news that this water hole, even with the additional pools and wells they had found by chance while following the old tracks of some Seris, had only enough water for twenty-five men, and barely enough for their horses. Two of the horses had died on the trail, and the men were weary. For this reason he had decided to leave them at the hacienda of Pitic, the only suitable place even though it was some sixteen leagues distant from San Miguel, while he went on with three men to inform the governor. In view of this news, [the governor] began to take other measures, his spirit unquenched by the paucity of water.

On [August] 28, His Lordship held a council of war attended by the captains commandant of Fronteras and Sinaloa, the sargento mayor, the adjutant of the governorship, the captain of Baroyeca, the militia adjutant, and all the other officers. He informed them of the offensive war against the Seri nation and that, in view of this and the information from Sergeant Holguín, they would have to decide on more practical means of undertaking the campaign, in order not to waste the expenditures made by the royal treasury for the supply of a military force such as they had and saw at present. He sought the advice of the most experienced men ordered to attend the council, to obtain information as to the minimal circumstances that could provide the necessary water. After various conflicting speeches and opinions, however, all became discouraged, for which reason the decision was made to send out three parties the following day.

On [August] 29, the first party of twenty-five men and ten Pimas, under the command of Sergeant Holguín, set out with digging sticks, picks, and mattocks to stir up and clean the pools and wells, [while] reconnoitering the country in search of better watering places. They had orders to go to the beach to watch for the boats expected from the [Río] Yaqui, and to deliver a letter to the navigator, Don Guillermo Estramphont,[81] warning him of the lack of water that was hindering passage of the army cross-country. Thus, he would have to look after himself and, if it was available to him, take on water at Tiburón. The sergeant was to furnish him some of the soldiers from the party he commanded for this purpose.

A second [party] of twenty-five soldiers, under the command of José Luján, sergeant of the royal company of San Miguel, was to reconnoiter the salt beds, search for water holes, and capture or attack any foes they might encounter at the well of San Juan,[82] south-southeast of Carrizal, where there is usually abundant water. The third party of twenty-two men and sixty Upper Pimas, under the charge of Alférez Salazar, was to enter Bacoachi and search its mountains, attacking any enemies encountered there. The men were to follow [the enemy's] tracks and, being familiar with the country, search the land until they came out in the direction of Carrizal. They were then to join the captain of Sinaloa and Don Antonio Montero,[83] adjutant of the governorship and lieutenant of the royal company of

81. Estramphont is rendered Estrafort in the *autos* regarding Ortiz Parrilla's expedition against the Seris (AGN, Provincias Internas, 176, ff. 112–171).

82. Probably the water source south of Estero de la Cruz known as *Xapij An Hax* ('reedgrass inside water') to the Seris.

83. Having succeeded Beldarraín as lieutenant, Antonio Montero y Quesada supervised the completion of the barracks at the Horcasitas presidio (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

San Miguel, whom they would find posted where the water of the Río Pitic [Río Sonora] ends, which is at a distance of four leagues to the south.

On [August] 30, in accordance with his marching orders, the captain of Sinaloa set out with the militia adjutant and José Moraga,[84] sergeant of the royal company of Fronteras, 23 soldiers, and 350 Pimas with their captain commandant. They had orders to stop at the waters of the Río Pitic [Río Sonora], to prepare for the return of Alférez Salazar or to continue the march to Carrizal, if the rains permitted.

These and other directives and orders pertaining directly to the purpose of the expedition were being carried out insensibly, for many did not yet understand that the war had begun. Oppressed by the lack of water, they believed it impossible. Upon careful reflection, however, it will be noticed that the campaign began on August 30, when the entire territory occupied by the Seri nation was attacked at the same time. To the east, the captain of Sinaloa will be found with his detachment at the Río Pitic [Río Sonora], to prevent the enemy from escaping, which they frequently do through that area because it is uninhabited. To the west, Sergeant Holguín will be observed reconnoitering the beaches of Carrizal and advancing toward the area just across from Tiburón. To the northwest, Alférez Salazar will be seen investigating the most dangerous spots of Cajón del Sauce, Bacoachi, Tecolote, and Aguas Frías.[85] To the south, also, Sergeant Luján will be found guarding the well of San Juan, in order to deprive the enemies of this watering place where, because it is permanent, they normally take shelter. As all this is so well known and openly recorded, there is no justification for my taking the time to connect the trivial details of this plan, the orderly execution of which clearly shows the workings of the superior intelligence directing them.

On [August] 31, nothing special happened, but I will note that for the want of water, as well as for the happy outcome of the expedition, the Most Holy Mary of Guadalupe was called upon through continual prayers, appeals, and supplications for her help in everything. All those who piously pay homage to her as principal patroness of our Septentrional America contributed their love and devotion.[86] It was also arranged that at the moment of greatest necessity, when they had just arrived on Tiburón Island, her assistance would be solicited by offering her the

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84. This must be the same José Moraga who was alférez at Fronteras in 1752. Such a promotion would accord with the promise Ortiz Parrilla was compelled to give the men as an incentive to pursue and fight the enemy (see September 20).

85. Pimentel is most likely referring to places of Seri refuge where water was more or less permanent. Cajón del Sauce (Willow Gorge) was probably in the vicinity of Rancho La Sauceda, located along the Arroyo Carrizo northwest of its junction with the Arroyo Bacoachito. The Arroyo Tecolote drains the Cerro del Tecolote in the north, and runs into the Arroyo Bacoachito at the modern town of Félix Gómez. Aguas Frías was probably located in the Arroyo Bacoachito, south of Rancho El Salto, and the old town of Bacoachi lay along the Río Bacoachi, about ten kilometers north of Pozo Negro. Salazar and his men would have followed the latter drainage, it being the only source of water, out of the area toward Carrizal.

86. The devotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe is the most complex and powerful manifestation of Mexican Catholicism. The outlines of the story are simple: In December 1531, the Virgin Mary appeared to Juan Diego, a newly converted Nahuatl Indian, at Tepeyac outside Mexico City. The first known written account of the apparition appeared in 1648, when an Oratorian priest named Miguel Sánchez published his *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe, Milagrosamente aparecida en la ciudad de Mexico.* And even though

novena that is recited in her sanctuary in Mexico City, all under the direction of Don Salvador Esquer.[87] The Lady—who in particular seems to be recognized as the protector of the Indians—was to be entreated for the welfare and benefit of [the Indians'] souls, that they might be persuaded to follow the path of a Christian life, [both] civil and political, abandoning the darkness of disbelief in which many were spending their lives and the apostasy of most others.

September 1 was occupied with preparation of the many details necessary for the march, which had been fixed for the third.

On [September] 2, a message was received from the captain of Sinaloa, advising that he had [received] a letter from Sergeant Holguín. [The sergeant] reported that it had rained so much, the fields and estuaries were flooded, forming many lakes. Because travel was so difficult and he could not quickly return to his post, he had not brought the news in person. The wells of Agua Amarilla and Ojo del Perro were full, with a steady stream flowing from the latter. For this reason, the captain announced that he was setting out to take and hold these places, and that the sergeant should continue his rounds and watch for the boats, as he had been ordered.

The governor's pack train and the rest of the captains and officers who were proceeding with their march left on [September] 3. In the afternoon, His Lordship set out in the company of Father Francisco Antonio Pimentel, the captain commandant of Fronteras, the sargento mayor, and the militia captain of the mining camp of Baroyeca, [planning] to pass the night at the *real* of San José de Gracia.

On [September] 4, His Lordship arrived at the hacienda of Pitic, where at about midnight, he received messages from the captain of Sinaloa advising him that he and his entire detachment had taken possession of Carrizal on the third. There, due to the efficiency of Don Antonio Montero y Quesada, there would be enough water for everyone. He was working to open wells, and the horses were being maintained from the abundant water at the pools of Ojo del Perro. However, he still had no news of the boats, or of the parties under the command of Alférez of the Militia Salazar and Sergeant Luján. The tracks that had been found, although old, headed in the direction of the area being reconnoitered by the sergeant.

Consequently, His Lordship decided to delay the march until [September] 7, and returned the messengers with the appropriate compliments for the captain's good conduct in obeying his instructions, and for the marches and movements he had carried out. He also advised him that in the meantime news of the boats could

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Mary appeared as a dark-skinned Indian woman, the Virgin of Guadalupe became the symbol of Mexican criollos—Spaniards born in the New World. According to historian Stafford Poole (1995:214), "In terms of symbolism Mexico was not born at Tepeyac in 1531 but in Mexico City in 1648. In that year there suddenly appeared a cult legend, European in substance and form though with an Indian protagonist, of which nothing had been recorded before. It was quickly embraced by the criollos, who found in it a legitimation of their aspirations and identity. They now had divine approval for regarding themselves as the new chosen people whom God had selected through the agency of the Virgin Mary." Interestingly, Pimentel himself, along with many of the officers of the Spanish forces, was a criollo who undoubtedly had encountered discrimination by *peninsulares*—Spaniards born on the Iberian Peninsula.

87. Salvador Esquer was a member of a prominent family in Alamos. He may have been the son of Juan Salvador Esquer, a Spaniard who established an assaying house in Alamos in the late 1600s.

arrive, and there would be more time to send cattle, goats, and sheep, provisions, and everything else that was necessary for the entire camp, which was still on the move. He thought it would be advantageous to split the horseherd from the cattle [and keep them] at the respective sites of Ojo del Perro and Agua Amarilla, under the care of Pimas and enough soldiers to keep the [Indians] friendly and well behaved, and to protect them from any raids. They also were to do whatever might seem conducive toward the goal of the expedition that had begun.

On [September] 5, at about seven-thirty at night, three soldiers arrived who were sent by Sergeant Luján to report to the governor, while the rest remained camped at the place he had designated for them to return to. He ordered them to retire to their quarters, and immediately dispatched an order for the sergeant to come with the rest of his party to Pitic, to explain what had happened.

On [September] 6, at about nine in the morning, Sergeant Luján arrived with the rest of the soldiers who had reconnoitered the territory of the salt beds and the well of San Juan. Those sites supply an abundance of some of the wild fruits that the Indians commonly eat, such as organ pipe cactus, mesquite pods, and ironwood beans, which [the Indians] harvest seasonally in order to have a supply of them when they are scarce.[88] According to the traces observed, it is likely that most of the Indians had retreated to that area, which had not been visited during the entire time of the uprising. They split up into different groups and soon consumed the fruits upon which they were feeding themselves. When they heard news of the soldiers, everyone except for a few families fled into the brush. Although [the soldiers] pursued them for some distance by following the tracks of two horses, they did not succeed in capturing them, for when the Indians came near the site of the ranchería, they left the horses, some deer hides, and other things they had stolen, muddling the tracks. Although [the soldiers] persisted in searching for tracks to follow, a heavy rain had fallen that erased every trace. For this reason, [the sergeant] decided to go on into the interior and examine every place they could reach, traveling through that region on their way to their destination.

On the same day, a letter arrived from the captain of Sinaloa with the news that they had found six boats while reconnoitering the shore of the promontory of San Juan Bautista.[89] The boats had arrived safely after eight days of navigation from the pueblo of Huirivis,[90] their point of departure. Only one other [boat] was

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88. The fruit of the organ pipe cactus (*Stenocereus thurberi*), which the Seris call *ool*, is gathered during two seasons, summer and fall. The Seris used a long mesquite pole to collect the fruit, which was eaten raw, dried and stored, or fermented into wine. The pods of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were called *haas* by the Seris and were one of their most important food staples. The Seris named eight different stages in their growth. Dry pods were harvested from mid-June to late July. They were toasted, pounded in bedrock mortars, and winnowed to obtain a flour that was boiled in water to make *atole* (gruel) or kneaded into rolls or cakes of dough, which were often dried and stored. The legume seeds of ironwood (*Olneya tesota*), known as *comítin* to the Seris, were collected in early summer, boiled twice in water until they were soft, and then ground or eaten whole (Felger and Moser 1985).

89. Probably the Cerro San Nicolás south of Estero de la Cruz. The boats would have anchored and taken shelter in the estuary.

90. Huirivis was one of the westernmost of the eight Yaqui missions established by the Jesuits beginning in 1617. It became one of the Eight Sacred Pueblos of Yaqui tradition.

awaited, it having been sent to the Californias with two letters from the governor. One was for the father procurator, so that His Reverence might send the cases and instruments of Don Manuel Correa—a navigator by profession, with a career's experience in the Philippines—who had been engaged to survey the island and prepare a prompt report on it.[91] Overcoming this difficulty would clear away a large part of the many obstacles threatened up to now by the ruggedness of Tiburón. The other [letter] was for the captain of the presidio of Loreto,[92] Don Bernardo Rodríguez y Larrea,[93] requesting one of the swivel guns that the presidio was said to have. It would be of great help during the process of disembarking on the island, and would protect the trench around the water hole.

It is not contrary to my purpose to pause and give thanks to God for the favors that He with His inscrutable providence has propitiously shown from the very preparations for the expedition. I will state briefly that, according to the reports received, during the time of the Yaqui uprising, while Don Manuel Bernal Huidobro was governor, two swivel guns were constructed by his order at the *real de minas* of Los Alamos. Upon verification, it was confirmed that of the two, only one remained in Don Juan Huidobro's possession, and it was brought to this presidio of San Miguel for the purpose stated previously. The copper material of which it was made was unsuitable, however, and its length was not in proportion to its caliber, which proved to be eight; in fact, none of its proportions were what they should have been. Considering all of this, it was decided out of prudence and necessity to test [the gun], to see, first, the effect of discharging it using powder alone, in the least amount required by its caliber; and next, whether it would be able to withstand the force of the small shot with which it would be loaded.

Accordingly, on July 15, at about six in the evening, [the swivel gun] was set up at a place where its explosion could not harm the fragile huts of mud and sticks—from which the houses of the San Miguel soldiers were constructed, even by this time—nor the recently built structure of the presidio.[94] The precaution was taken also of dampening the powder in the fire hole, in order to give the man who would

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Located not far from the seacoast where the old channel of the Río Yaqui took a bend northward, it was being used as a port for the often rudimentary Gulf of California sea travel. Yaquis were widely employed as sailors as well as miners during the colonial period.

91. Manuel Correa's 1750 "Descripción de la Ysla del Tiburón" is found in AGN, Jesuitas, Fichero 2–5. It contains a physical description of the island, including navigational information as well as descriptions of Tiburón's vegetation, water sources, and pearl beds. It also includes ethnographic information about the Seris—their seasonal movements, the construction of their reed balsas, and their battle techniques.

92. The presidio of Loreto in Baja California was founded in 1697 with a contingent of twenty-five soldiers.

93. Bernardo Rodríguez y Larrea succeeded his father, Esteban Rodríguez, as captain of the presidio of Loreto in 1744. University educated, he was a friend and supporter of the Jesuits, who exercised enormous power in Baja, including the power to select the presidio's captain and its soldiers. But his health was not good, and in 1747 he suffered a breakdown and had to be sent to Guadalajara to recuperate. He returned in 1748 but died in Loreto on December 1, 1750. He was succeeded by Fernando de Rivera y Moncada (Crosby 1994).

94. See Polzer and Sheridan (1997) for a description of the construction of the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas.

light the fuse time to retreat, along with the others who were present. Father Francisco Antonio Pimentel and Don Salvador de Esquer were there at the time, right beside the cannon, accompanying the governor. As soon as the command to fire was given, they began to retreat, quickly veering to the right at Don Juan Tomás Beldarraín's shout not to walk right behind the cannon, which might recoil. Even so, they did not move quickly enough to escape the damage of the blast, and the discharge of explosives from the cannon threw powder and dirt on their clothing. Everyone faced the same danger from many other fragments that broke off from the cannon, some of which landed more than 200 varas away, after passing over the heads of bystanders without [causing] any particular damage. The only one wounded, although not seriously, was the governor's valet who lit the [fuse]—led to this activity by his lively and intrepid nature—along with a number of other children who were slightly bruised on the legs by the many splinters from the gun carriage.

On [September] 7, His Lordship left the hacienda of Pitic to continue his march to Carrizal. At the first river crossing, he dispatched Sergeant Luján and fifteen men to follow the same route again, and to try to overtake [any Indians] who might still be hidden at the site where he had found the tracks he reported. He was to come out through the Monte de Tenuaje, to rejoin the troops.

On [September] 8, the march continued on to Los Siete Cerritos.

On [September] 9, having reached Tenuaje, Luján came forth to meet us and said he had been unable to find a trace of anything that might induce the enemy to stay at the site he had been ordered to search. The same afternoon, a message arrived from the captain of Sinaloa, announcing that the boat sent to the Californias had arrived, bringing the cannon and the rest of the navigational instruments belonging to Don Manuel Correa.

On [September] 10, His Lordship arrived at the Carrizal campsite, where after the salute of many shots and shouts from the Pimas, he went to visit the entrenchment [*trinchera*] and the wells of water provided through the solicitude and careful diligence of Don Antonio Montero, the adjutant of arms of the governorship. [The entrenchment] was so large and well laid out that the entire force retired to the area it enclosed, thereby preventing the enemy's ambushes or any sudden attack. They would also have, within the same entrenchment, water so abundant that it was more than enough to maintain as many people more as were in the camp. There were 720 in all, including those who had come by sea.

This same day, in the afternoon, the militia alférez Salazar arrived with all the men under his command, having reconnoitered Bacoachi, Tecolote, and Aguas Frías, going almost to Caborca, the north-northwestern terminus of Seri territory. He found no sign or trace of [the Seris] at all, even though he carefully searched the mountains and the most secluded canyons, observing only the tracks of deer, coyotes, and other wild animals. Due to the lack of water, he could not visit Tepoca[95] and direct his march from there to Carrizal. [Instead], he was obliged to head toward San Miguel, to obtain provisions.

On [September] 11, Alférez Salazar set out with ten men in search of some pools that usually form during the rainy season between Carrizal and the Pilas de

95. Tepoca probably was the pearl fishery located on the Sonoran mainland northeast of Tiburón Island in the late 1720s and early 1730s (see chapter 2).

Ibarburu, about six leagues to the north-northwest, where there is also usually enough pasture for the horses.[96] The same afternoon of the eleventh, however, he returned with the news that the entire area was dry and barren.

On [September] 12, His Lordship went to the promontory of San Juan to visit the boats and provide them with water, so that if the winds blew favorably, the Sinaloa captain could embark for Tiburón with the militia adjutant, Don José Piniella, Sergeants Moraga and Luján, forty-eight soldiers, and one hundred Pimas. The order was to put a single ship into harbor first, to detect whether any Indians were there or along the beach. In the event there were, Antonio, the Tiburón Indian, along with Pablo, the war captain of Pópulo, were to be sent to land to persuade them that our people were not there to wage war, but to visit them and see the island, and that to this end the governor was already at Carrizal with many men who had come in his company to treat them kindly and give them gifts. [The governor and his companions,] from whom they would receive every protection, would supply their needs and procure their greatest comfort if they would agree to be friends and disclose the watering places and pastures on the island, in order [that the Spaniards could] establish them in the way of life most conducive to their well-being. If, however, the [Tiburones] should show themselves to be enemies and try to prevent the expedition from landing, they should be treated severely.

In the event there were no Indians on the shore, [the captain] was advised to land with all his men—arranged in three columns, a musket-shot apart—and to proceed to cut paths and to seek adequate water. This was the principal objective of this expedition. If there were [any water], they should try to secure it and then send prompt notice to the camp, so that any other men who were needed could set sail. They were to retreat to the boats only if the enemy should prove to be of superior strength.

On [September] 13, Alférez Salazar, with four men and twenty Pimas, was ordered to seek out a well that in the old days was said to have been near the harbor's shore and, because of its proximity, would facilitate the conveyance of water to the boats; at the same time, he was to reconnoiter the country. This task was thwarted, however, because [the well] was not found. On this day, the captain of Sinaloa set out from the camp at Carrizal to embark and sail to the island, which he did not succeed in doing because the headwinds would not have allowed the boats to put into harbor until late at night. It was therefore decided to wait until dawn of the next day.

On [September] 14, the captain crossed over to Tiburón Island. There, the men and horses—more than twenty-five in number—disembarked, quite bruised from the jolting they received during the crossing of the boats, into which they had been crammed. [The captain] promptly decided to dispatch Antonio and Pablo with the message they had been instructed [to deliver], and to march toward the highest part of the mountains. On the lower slopes, they found water remaining in the hollows of the rocks and the pools that were formed by water running down the numerous fissures of the large boulders. However, the water there was befouled with yerba de la flecha, mescal, and *hocoaguite* [*jocoahuite*]—which is a tree with a bad odor—in addition to cardón and whatever else occurred hastily to the de-

96. Perhaps the Playa San Bartolo, a dry lakebed that often fills with water after heavy rains.

praved [Indians'] minds in their fear when they saw that the boats were approaching the island.[97] With the aim of keeping us from using that water, they polluted it in such a manner as to make us suspect it was poisoned, because of the presence of the plant they use on their arrows, the effect of which is well known.

They were not entirely wrong, for on that occasion the captain retreated to the shore, where the messengers, Pablo and Antonio, returned with a cross and a well-dressed arrow for the governor. Sing the Arrow that Kills [Canta La Flecha Que Mata] (the name of the chief who had led the natives on the island ever since they withdrew there) was responding that the governor should return to San Miguel with all his men. [The governor] should send for [the chief] afterward, and he would go to visit him. The chief and all his people were quite content on the island. He already knew that a priest was there, and that he would not be able to live on food from the sea and wild fruits alone, as the Indians did. At times, because of the scarcity of water, they had to constantly keep on the move.

Some of his people were still on the mainland, and he had already sent messages to them to withdraw to the island. He asked that they not be harmed, for he, too, could advance against our men when they entered the water; he had his own men ready and well positioned to start an assault, but he did not wish to do this. This was the meaning of the cross and arrow, which he sent so it could be seen that he was relinquishing his arms and would not employ them against our people. In my judgment, the insignia of the cross and arrow equally signified the chief's indifference as to whether he received us in peace or in war, for which he was prepared.

The same afternoon of the fourteenth, the captain of Sinaloa decided to return [to the mainland], but when he set sail, the currents forced him to put into harbor once again at the island. Upon landing they noticed three pools of water which, due to their proximity to the sea, were salty. In spite of this, his men drank [the water] and [the captain] approved it for the horses. It was sufficient to satisfy the needs of the men for the space of several days, but he nevertheless continued his voyage to the mainland, leaving Pablo on the island to see whether perhaps he could persuade the Seris, as well as two horses that were injured and could not be transported.

On [September] 15, after the aforesaid captain arrived at the camp at Carrizal, he made the preceding report and gave as the reasons for his departure the situation on the island. It was his opinion that if [the Seris] did not surrender, he did not have sufficient forces to oppose them or to proceed with the plan of traveling through their mountains, investigating everything and reducing the inhabitants. As a result, His Lordship decided to go personally to evaluate the difficulties observed by his critics in the reports he had [received] up to that time in preparation for taking the island. The principal, indeed the only, problem was the lack of information regarding the water upon which [the island's] inhabitants survived. With the possession of this [information] alone—if given sincerely and truthfully—[the Seris] could be reduced while the camp was continuously maintained at one site. Yet his subalterns [found] a thousand caprices related to that end in order not to enflame their martial spirit. [The governor also wanted to] determine at which point Don Manuel Correa should set out to equip the boats.

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97. For hierba de la flecha, see n. 33 in chapter 1. Mescal refers to various species of agave—*Agave deserti* in this case. For cardón, see n. 104.

On [September] 16 and 17, [the men] worked incessantly, hauling provisions and everything else needed to embark.

[September] 18 was devoted to the interpreter, José Illescas, and another man, the Indian Antonio, who reported this morning on a well called La Piedra. He asserted that it was permanent, and that the Tiburón Indians relied upon it when they came to this shore [the mainland]. The information was found to be false, however, or else [Antonio] deceived his companions by showing them a depression where rainwater from the immediate area collected but which at present was filled with dirt and was level with the ground, without a drop of water.

This afternoon the governor marched to the harbor, which is seven leagues west-northwest of the camp at Carrizal and since that time has been called the beach of Santo Tomás de Villanueva[98] because it was his [feast] day. From there, Tiburón was in view of the camp, which consisted of 520 persons, including the 121 men who manned the boats. Accompanying His Lordship were Father Francisco Antonio Pimentel, the captain commandants of Fronteras and Sinaloa, the militia sargento mayor, the captain of Baroyeca, the militia adjutant, the alférez of San Miguel, the militia of Sonora, 75 soldiers, 285 Upper Pimas, their commander and fifteen war captains, 14 servants, a purveyor, and a clerk.

With the whole force now congregated at Santo Tomás, one of the boats was readied that same night to transport Antonio and Nicolás, [both] Tiburón Indians. They were given the same orders that had been given to Pablo on the twelfth, with the addition that they were to make every effort to convince the Indians that the governor was coming to them because they had not wanted to answer his summons, and that he was ready to receive them charitably, as long as they presented themselves to His Lordship. For this purpose, they were given a cross arranged and decorated with ornaments that [the Indians], in their savage ignorance and crude judgment, would think very beautiful.

On [September] 19, the seven boats were boarded according to the order and arrangements given by the captain commandant of Fronteras, and set sail northward, following the banner of the one in which the governor traveled. They successfully put into harbor side by side, in case they encountered some obstacle to remove on the shore of Tiburón, or some difficulty to overcome. There was none, not even in the crossing, which is one league wide at that point, the narrowest strait known between the mainland and Tiburón [the Canal de Infiernillo]. Everyone assigned to bear arms on this enterprise leaped ashore with their weapons in hand. The rest of the troops remained at the camp at Carrizal, under the command of Don Antonio Montero y Quesada, adjutant of the governorship and lieutenant of the royal company of San Miguel, in exact observance of the orders given him, as well as [those] that would be issued as the need arose. The guarding of the post had been entrusted to his efficient zeal, intelligence, and management, as had the provisioning of those who went to Tiburón. As soon as they disembarked, they formed a square and marched to take possession of the wells of salty water reported by the captain of Sinaloa on his first expedition.

While they were laboring to open other new wells in the hope of finding better water, which they did not obtain, Pablo arrived. It was he whom the captain of Sinaloa had left on the island when he withdrew. [Pablo] returned to the governor

98. The beach of Santo Tomás de Villanueva was probably at the modern Seri village of Punta Chueca or by Estero Santa Rosa south of Punta Chueca.

the very cross that he had sent the night before with Antonio and Nicolás, whom [the Seris] had not permitted to return to our encampment, saying that they were now very safe and free of the Spanish yoke. [The Seris] had responded [earlier] that they were relinquishing their arms and that once we withdrew our camp to San Miguel, they would then go see the governor. Our having crossed over to Tiburón, however, was a clear sign that we wanted to seize them by deception in order to kill them. Under those circumstances, they did not want to present themselves. But if the Spaniards did not [attack] them during the day, they would come that night to visit our camp. They made other similar, arrogant statements conceived in the advantageous terrain that sheltered them, with the desire of preserving the freedom in which they live.

[Pablo] also reported that they had again fouled the water with yerba de la flecha and other filth. Cutting the two horses that had remained on the island into small bits, they had thrown the pulverized pieces into two water holes, which appeared to be the largest. Although [Pablo] had urged [the Seris] to cross over to the mainland, and had offered his ragged clothing as payment, down to his hat, they did not want to do so and had even threatened him, saying that they did not trust him because he was a spy for the Spaniards.

Upon the conclusion of this recounting, the soldiers, leaving the necessary escort for the laborers, formed a square and returned to the place where they had anchored. Because of an estuary that entered along its western part, [this site] formed a kind of spit, the point of which extended almost a league toward the south.[99] It was so restricted by the sea and the estuary that it was no more than six to seven varas wide. Here the captain commandant of Fronteras ordered a halt to make camp, in accordance with the instructions he had been given. A semicircle was formed, divided into six platoons. Its center was occupied by the ranking commander, the captain of Sinaloa, and the other spots were distributed according to the rank of the commanding officials.

After the camp was thus arranged, sentinels were posted at the point and along the estuary, where they could simply wait for something to happen. The campaign tents were pitched and a cannon was placed in front of them, loaded with small shot, to protect everyone who had come ashore. This same afternoon, the boats brought some cattle and sheep, the supplies that had been left on the shore of Santo Tomás, thirty horses, and two casks of water. After nightfall, the mounted sentinels were doubled and advanced. The governor inspected them while making his rounds, feigning an attack. To his great satisfaction, he found them all to be ready with their weapons in hand and at their assigned posts.

On [September] 20, at dawn, a guard was detached to remain in the camp under the orders of the militia adjutant and Alférez Salazar, while the [rest of the] men formed a square. The two vanguard and rear guard troops were formed by the cavalry, and the other two flanks by the infantry, which consisted of soldiers and Upper Pimas. Their orders were to march to the mountain range, about two leagues to the west.[100] Just before giving the signal to move out, the governor spoke to the

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99. Punta Ahnkah, also known as Punta San Miguel, juts out into the Canal de Infiernillo opposite Punta Granito and Estero Santa Rosa on the mainland. This is the narrowest strait between Tiburón and the Sonoran coast. A large arroyo draining the Sierra Kunkaak empties into the Canal de Infiernillo here to form the estuary. The Seris call their camp there *Zozni Cmiipla.*

100. The Sierra Kunkaak, the largest mountain range on Tiburón.

adjutant of the militia, Don José Piniella, charging him with exact observance of the orders he had given him. As he left, he asked [Don José] whether he would like to go to the mountains [with the others]. [Don José] replied that he was satisfied with having seen the water, and if that was where they were going, he preferred to stay in the camp, carrying out the orders he had been given. If, however, they were going to the mountains to seek out the enemies and attack them where they were or take them prisoner, with His Lordship's permission, he would join the march and leave the camp in the charge of Alférez Salazar.

When they reached the mountains in their arranged marching order, some of the Pimas climbed to the top of a hill to observe the enemy's movements and protect the camp, which was still at the water [hole]. [The water] was found to be contaminated with more plants and other filth, but [the soldiers] drank from it nevertheless, due to the thirst and labor of the preceding day, when everyone had gone without good water. Going first, the Pimas drank without restraint, and within a short while vomited the very water they had guzzled. Some attributed this effect to the contamination; others, suspecting poison, refrained from drinking. It did not occur to most of them that this could be a natural effect of the shape they were in, having had [so little] to drink the day before. However, many were encouraged by the example of others with stronger stomachs, in whom [the water] did not produce the poisonous effects that were attributed to it. [These latter] tried drinking [the water], knowing full well that the herb operated only in the bloodstream, convinced by the regular practice of the [Seri] Indians, who undoubtedly eat game infected by that same herb they use to kill it.

Here the governor, observing the consternation of the officers and soldiers, reasoned with them as follows: "Gentlemen, thanks be to God, we now find ourselves safely on Tiburón [Island], the principal goal of our expedition. I, for my part, have taken whatever measures seemed necessary. For your [part], there remains only the strength, constancy, and courage upon seeing this land to pursue the enemy, who remains obstinate, relying on the obvious ruggedness of these mountains and evidently with little or no fear of our weapons." His Lordship paused for a moment and, in the face of everyone's silence, repeated his appeal, urging them on his behalf and on that of His Majesty. He exhorted them to scale the mountains in pursuit of the enemy. He would stay behind with some men to hold all that terrain and guard the rear while they set out through the pass he pointed out to them. Once in possession of the heights, they would gather the strength to proceed in a suitable fashion.

Who would believe that even with this, the others remained silent! Who could be convinced that [the men] would become so disheartened by their surroundings, that the risk they imagined would weigh heavier than the echo of the persuasive arguments of a governor whose will they were bound to carry out by virtue of their obligation and employment? Nevertheless, the silence persisted. Perhaps if those rough cliffs had been able to move, that would have made an impression on them.

Finally, [the governor] availed himself of other incentives, although not as worthy as the previous ones. He held out the hope of a reward to see whether perhaps that might increase their courage, telling them that the officers would be advanced a grade in rank and the soldiers made officers. To that end, he promised his influence in the report to the court of Madrid, which would be informed of

these very words he pronounced at the foot of the Tiburón mountains. He also assured them that they would be compensated by the most excellent Conde de Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain, promising them [the conde's] favor and willingness to reward their every service. Furthermore, they might distribute his own share as they pleased. This pledge, engraved in the memory of those who were listening to him, would not be smothered in the depths of that canyon but would extend throughout the realm.

God help us, how apprehension can work on the spirit! Even though it might derive from panicky terror, it is not easy to cast aside. Fear is an emotion that cannot be resisted, and thus it happened that there was no one who was inspired [enough] to utter a word, or venture the slightest movement. Well might the governor display his longing, on this occasion, to be the first to ascend the mountain and reconnoiter it, but neither prudence nor the nature of his office permitted him to assuage the ardor of his martial spirit on those heights. The camp's location on the same island, where the enemy could attack it, required his attention, and the concern of finding and arranging for supplies made him uneasy. Finally, the supervision of the sailors and soldiers who remained demanded his presence. Their fears and misgivings were already well established, and his absence was so notable he had no leeway to substitute another in his place. Thus, the only way he could participate at this critical moment was by encouraging and motivating the others.

He had no success, [even] with such strong arguments, until he turned to the Pimas and asked them how they felt. They replied through the soldier José Rodríguez, their interpreter who went everywhere with them, that they had come from lands very far away to kill the Seris, who roamed through the wilderness causing harm. Until now, however, they had done nothing but eat. They wanted to go searching in the mountains.

The Pimas were joined by a young servant of the governor's, named Carlos Márquez, who said that although he was not a soldier, if His Lordship gave him license he would go with [them]. [Permission] was granted, and this young man was followed by Francisco Xavier de Arriola, Joaquín de la Fuente, and José Antonio Arguelles, soldiers from the royal company of San Miguel; Juan Ignacio Madrid, from [the royal company] of Fronteras; Tadeo Escalante, from [the royal company of] Terrenate; and the militia sergeant of Sonora, José Padilla, Xavier de León, and Francisco Borboa, all of whom were residents of Santa Ana. Others would have followed, but they did not volunteer because of the jealousy they imagined the offer could excite among the regulars, if they stepped forward for a military action [the others] had not dared to face. Their judgment was confirmed (although their attitudes and comportment were embittered) when they witnessed the disgust with which an officer dismissed Juan María Verdugo, a soldier of San Miguel who had been prepared to go up with the others.

The soldiers laid aside their leather jackets, took up their guns and leather shields and, with orders and instructions for what they should do under various conditions, began to advance up the mountain. At the summit, they halted for some time to seek out the descent, which the projection of the rocks made exceedingly difficult. Then, little by little, they made their way toward the other [peaks], where there was the consolation of fresh water with which they could refresh their weariness. At this time, the captain commandant of the Pimas de-

tached a party of twenty-five men [to go] with the captain of Santa Teresa to intercept tracks. The rest went on, as they had been ordered, to scout the pass where it was suspected the enemy might be hiding.

During all this time, the governor remained at his post until four in the afternoon, when he withdrew to the camp. He left Sergeant Holguín and fourteen men with instructions to advise him at once if anything happened. At about six in the evening, the captain of Santa Teresa arrived before the sergeant's guard, along with the men dispatched by the captain commandant of the Pimas. He reported that he had found and followed some tracks until he was sure of where the enemy was, and for that [reason] had returned. Sergeant Holguín informed the governor at once. After nightfall, some lights and shots were observed on the heights around the pass, signaling that our [men] were there.

At dawn on [September] 21, a boat landed with eighteen casks of water. Two of the soldiers who had climbed the mountains also [arrived], along with some Pimas. The rest remained stationed on the summit. They did not wish to leave because they had found some pools of clean water, although the two largest were fouled with the flesh of the horses left on the island by the captain of Sinaloa, and were teeming with maggots. [The two soldiers] reported that provisions should be conveyed to [the others] there, and that they already had information on the enemy's location from the captain of Santa Teresa, who had been detached for that purpose. They were furnished with everything needed for this day, [the same] on which the captain commandant of Fronteras withdrew to the mainland because he was ill. However, the labor required to deliver the supplies—which were carried on the shoulders of the Yaquis the first time—would be doubled, because [the Yaquis] had no small amount of work to do, handling the boats and [performing] other indispensable tasks they were assigned to do.

It was therefore decided to load a boat, which would take [the supplies] to the other side of the estuary, one league distant from the mountains, so that they would be there when they were needed. Orders were given to the militia adjutant, Don José Piniella, to go with Sergeant Luján and thirty soldiers to protect the water where the Pimas were and attempt to artfully encourage and exhort them to the work [at hand]. They were also to search the mountains, in order to attack the enemies wherever they might be found and take them prisoner, if possible, following the route that the captain from Santa Teresa would show them.

On [September] 22, a boat arrived with some provisions, twenty-three casks of water, and thirteen of the twenty horses that had been requested, six having run away and one having drowned. Nor was any time lost in gathering information about the island. A boat was prepared with the necessary escort, and Francisco Manuel Rivera was sent to search the coast to the south, starting one and a half leagues from the camp. The reason for this was that while traveling across the country in this area on [September] 20, they had found some mother-of-pearl shells, which the more knowledgeable took as a clear sign that there were some pearls around those locations.[101]

On this afternoon at about three o'clock, four soldiers arrived with the happy news that our men had found the enemy sequestered on a mountain, the crags of

101. Pearling was the only lure of wealth tempting the Spaniards on Tiburón. Oysters clung to rocks and on the roots of the mangroves lining the estuaries of the Seri region.

which offered a natural defense. Overcoming the ravines and rugged cliffs bit by bit, however, [the men] had courageously attacked [the Seris], and had already killed three men and two women, wounding others. On our side only two Pimas were wounded, and they were ordered to withdraw while the rest proceeded to hold the site and carry on the battle.

With this news, the captain of Sinaloa, the sargento mayor of the militia, the captain of Baroyeca, and all the mounted soldiers were dispatched to ride swiftly as far as the horses were able, then to dismount and march, ready to help our men hold their position. To that end, and in order to encourage them further with his presence, the governor mounted his horse after the soldiers were sent off and rode toward the scene of the battle, accompanied by Alférez Salazar and one soldier held back from the others as an escort. In that general area they encountered the men, who were withdrawing because the enemy had abruptly fled along the peaks and descended into a gorge that protected their rear. Our men were unable to cut them off, due to the inaccessible depth that yawned on that side, and because they were already worn out by the action, which had lasted about eight hours without anyone on our side being wounded, thanks be to God, other than three Pimas and a [Pima] sergeant from the same force. As he was gaining ground on the mountain's summit, [the Pima sergeant] had dropped the badge or headdress they use for war, adorned with a variety of green, red, and yellow feathers that they take from the macaw [*guacamaya*] and other birds.[102] Unrecognized by his own companions, he was shot with an arrow.

This was the first action that our men have seen, and it was truly undertaken with such vigor that they have been greatly inspired to continue, scorning the ruggedness of the terrain. For this reason we expect still greater progress. The entire outfit embarked this afternoon, and the camp was moved to the other shore of the estuary because it was closer to the mountains. [The move] also made it easier to get water, even though it was filled with vegetation, and to send supplies to those who would remain [in the mountains]. Rivera returned, but with nothing to show for his efforts.

On [September] 23, Pablo, the war captain of Pópulo, was sent to seek out the Seris and, in view of what had happened, persuade them to accept the peace that was being offered to them for their own good and benefit. If, however, they continued to be obstinate in not wishing to leave the mountains, they would be pursued wherever they might take refuge, until they were annihilated. It was also decided that the men would rest this day, due to the exertions of the day before, and be provisioned for undertaking another attack.

For this reason, the governor went in the afternoon to the foot of the mountains, where the men were. After praising the Pimas and thanking them for the fine [manner] in which they had comported themselves, he gave orders to the captain of Sinaloa and the other officers to set out together the next day in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, exhorting them to proceed with the same vigor that they had shown in the first assault. After he left, the Pimas danced and sang, using those

102. The use of macaw headdresses by the Upper Pimas suggests fascinating connections with the pre-Columbian trade in macaws and macaw feathers linking the Greater Southwest with Mesoamerica. Macaw feathers probably were obtained from Lower Pimas or Cáhita groups in southern Sonora, however, where macaws are common.

gestures and yells [with which] they customarily celebrate the scalps, ears, hands, and feet that they cut from the dead as spoils of war, as a sign of their victory in the triumphs they achieve.[103]

At this point, the captain of Pitic approached the governor and said that when they were closing in on the enemy, a Seri began to call to the [Pima] captains, one by one, in a loud voice. In the Pima language, he asked them why they had come to fight against [the Seris], when they were all of the same fraternity. [He said] that [the Pimas] should leave the Spaniards and join them, that [the Seris] desired only to fight the soldiers, and that [the latter] had leather jackets to protect themselves. They [the Pimas] should take warning that even though at present they were good friends with the Spaniards, within a short time [the Spaniards] would give them their reward: They would shear them like sheep; they would whip them and put hobbles on their feet, like horses (naturally, by this the Seri was alluding to the allotment of shackles that he saw so well employed on his people). Finally, [he said] [the Pimas] should come over to their side, and they would give a woman to each captain. This barbarous proposal did not go without proper punishment, as will be seen later.

The Pima captain [Luis Oacpicagigua] then loyally responded that they came to fight because the Seris were evil. They went about killing people, burning houses, and living in the mountains like deer. He said that the Pimas lived in their pueblos without harming other Christian nations or the Spaniards, that the Spaniards only punished those who lived wickedly, and that they had women in their pueblos to whom they were married by priests, as God commands. And saying this, he started the fighting by commencing to shoot arrows at them.

On this same day, Pablo returned without having found the Seris, either because he really did not see them in the distance he covered, or because he feared the threats they had made against him and did not dare to look for them because he did not want to experience any harsh treatment. He added that they surely would not come and that all the efforts being made in this regard were in vain, because they distrusted the Spaniards so much. They had told him this ever since his first trip with the captain of Sinaloa. The Seri chief had said that in no way would they yield themselves to the Spaniards; if they were going to experience death, it was better that [the Spaniards] come looking for them. Did [Pablo] not remember that when their kinsmen had gathered together at Carrizal to come in peace, because of the messages that he himself had carried to them, [the Spaniards] killed them, even after they had announced that they were gathering there to proceed to San Miguel? [Pablo] himself had reported all this to the *licenciado*, Don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, who was exercising the authority of governor. He also told [the licenciado] that if, on his return trip, there was still a small ditch dug across the road, and in it a bow with a cross near a cardón—which, because of its size, is unusual in that place[104]—it was a sign they were still of the

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103. There are numerous Spanish colonial descriptions of Upper Pima victory dances, which often involved dancing around the scalps or body parts of slain enemies (Ezell 1961:88–89). Russell (1975:204–5) also describes the lengthy purification ceremony Upper Pima warriors performed after slaying an enemy, particularly an Apache.

104. Cardón (*Pachycereus pringlei*) is the largest columnar cactus in the Sonoran Desert, larger even than the saguaro. It grows throughout most of Baja California, on most of the islands of the gulf, including Tiburón, and on the Sonoran coast from Guaymas to Puerto Lobos. Its range does not extend far inland, however, hence the reference.

same mind and intended to surrender. And in fact, those very signs are still there to this day.

What came of this? When Pablo arrived at San Miguel, he informed the licenciado of the gathering of his kinsmen—the term they use when referring to the community and members of their nation—at Carrizal, along with the aforementioned signs. These signs indicated their willingness to remain at the spot, and that they were willing to surrender as soon as the others they were waiting for arrived from Tiburón, where they had fled. Believing Pablo's information to be a trick that he resorted to merely to delay [the Spaniards'] plans so the [Seris] could take action against them, [the licenciado] decided to send out the captain of Fronteras, Don Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante, with forty soldiers and sixty Pimas (more or less, for I have not been able to ascertain the exact number).

Marching to Carrizal, they found all of the exact signs—the ditch, the bow, and the cross—by which [the Seris] indicated their [willingness] to surrender and to remain in the same place, as Pablo had reported. But, oh Holy God! How blind an operation becomes when it is directed only by individual aims and motives! Was it not enough to actually see for themselves the ditch, the bow, and the cross, in order to assess conditions and determine actions conforming to the laws? Was this clear evidence not sufficient cause to withdraw from the entire operation, in order not to cross over, but stay within, the line of reason? Especially when the reality of the situation banished any suspicion conceived in such common terms as to be understood just as well to the contrary, assuring constant error.

It was this blow that they received at that time, then, that [the Seris] were stating to be the cause of their mistrust—in addition to the imprisonment of Canito, whom they loved and obeyed as their principal governor, for what were only ill-founded suspicions. Their obstinacy grew more each day, on account of similar incidents involving force of arms. They have remained determined, preferring to lose their lives rather than surrender to the Spaniards, as has been experienced on the present occasion.

On this night, a dog was seen in our camp, and the patrol that was making the rounds was sent out at once to follow it and see whether it might lead them to its master. They searched the immediate vicinity of the camp and followed [the dog] for some distance, but they found nothing unusual.

At dawn on [September] 24, all the men were sent enough provisions for six days. They set out in search of the enemies, to attack them at the same place as on the twenty-second, in the event they had returned, or to pursue them. This afternoon, the governor went out to inspect the terrain and ordered some wells opened at sites that seemed likely to have clean water.

On [September] 25, a boat arrived loaded with provisions and cattle, which were butchered at once, there being no way to maintain them on the hoof. The captain of the militia of Baroyeca, along with forty Yaquis and some of the Pimas who had stayed behind to care for the sick, set out to get water from the mountains. In order to ascertain the quality of the water, it is necessary to take note that in the levels where some sand has collected, some of the water from the tanks [*pozas*][105] fouled by vegetation was absorbed. By digging a hole, they could collect water that was less dirty and stinking than that in the tanks; in reality,

105. Pimentel appears to be using the term *poza* to refer to natural rock tanks that held rainwater and runoff. The more common term today is *tinaja*. *Pozo*, on the other hand, usually refers to a spring that has been dug out and improved.

however, the only difference was that it had been filtered through the sand. On this day, one of the wounded Pimas died after making his confession. His wounds had opened and his flesh had fallen off in bits and pieces. Although various remedies were applied, they had no effect; every effort was thwarted. Tied to stones, he was buried at sea.

At dawn on [September] 26, the same Yaqui men went out with the captain of Baroyeca to fill containers with water from the mountains. They came back with the news that the hollows in the rocks from which they were going to transport [the water] had dried up to such an extent that only one of the basins where [water] had collected was left, and it was almost dry.

This afternoon, twenty-five Pimas came in who had deserted the field under the pretext that some of them were sick and the healthy ones had to escort the sick ones. They said that our men had not found the enemy, and that they were very much in need of water. For this reason they had traveled northwest, after hearing there was a permanent source of water near that shore, to which the enemy may have retreated. With this [news], the governor ordered two boats made ready, one under the command of the captain of Baroyeca, and the other under Alférez Salazar. By sailing all night, they could try to find the water hole on that shore and attack the enemies, or in the event they were discovered, at least drive them away. It was quite possible that in their retreat, [the enemies] would run into our soldiers, who were marching in that direction. Both [boats] ran aground two leagues away, however, remaining thus until dawn of the following day, when they continued their journey.

On [September] 27, a cabo was sent out with four men and some Yaquis and Pimas to get water. Climbing a bit higher up in the mountains, they found some more, but it was of the same quality as the first, and very difficult to get. Nevertheless, these sources provided us with what was needed for that day. At about two in the afternoon, the two boats that left the night before put into harbor, having been unable to round the point of the island because of headwinds and strong currents. In order not to waste the entire journey, they decided to search for a water hole that many sailors said was inland in that direction. Indeed, it was there, but was too salty to be of any use. Also on this day, another boat arrived loaded with supplies.

On [September] 28, the Yaquis were sent with an adequate escort to get water, and they did manage to get eight casks, although with some difficulty. With this experience, there is no doubt that anxiety increased over how the troops would be suffering from the lack of water. We had no news whatsoever concerning their progress, and the information given by the deserters on the twenty-sixth made us inclined to fear some disaster and their total ruin. Amidst these doubts, we conferred on how to aid [the troops] with some water, even though our ignorance of their location made it impossible to send. Thereupon, we resorted to the means most fitting in the first place—the protection of our most holy Mary of Guadalupe. The governor promised to celebrate a mass in her honor, in her shrine in Mexico City, hoping in this way to have favorable news about the troop. Her mercy was not delayed on this occasion, nor on many others throughout the campaign when it manifested itself propitiously. At about ten o'clock in the morning, five Pimas came to the camp with no more than one arrow in their quivers or cases, where they were keeping some Seris' ears as clear evidence of the action they reported

our troops to have engaged in. [The troops] themselves were already approaching with prisoners.

Under the circumstances mentioned, this news caused extraordinary rejoicing. Shortly thereafter, the governor ordered the men in the camp into formation, making the sailors come too, to receive [the returning troops] with repeated salvos and cannon fire. [The troops] arrived victorious with twenty-eight prisoners—women, boys, and girls. The men of this ranchería—ten in number—were stiff corpses, victims of their obstinacy and stubbornness. Among them was that miserable man who had exhorted the Pimas to join his party on the first day of action. The governor then ordered the troops to withdraw, to take some refreshment and rest from the labor of their march, because they had not tasted any water for thirty-eight hours. Luckily, a boat with fourteen casks of water landed at the same time the troops arrived, and they did not notice whether the water they were given had just arrived from the mainland or had already been on hand. Thanks be to God and His most holy Mother, who has always demonstrated her protection so clearly, for although [these incidents] appear coincidental, they are the kind that are arranged only through the foresight of the Most High. Even though eight casks had been brought from the mountains on this day, and six others were left from the day before, these were not sufficient for the men now gathered in the camp—along with the twenty-eight prisoners that had been added—without the fourteen casks from the mainland.

On our side, only four Pimas were wounded. One of them, who had received [an arrow] in the left shoulder, prepared himself to die soon. He had not been promptly treated on the twenty-seventh, when the action had taken place, with any of those few antidotes known to date for the poisonous herb the Indians customarily use on their arrows. When he reached camp, he was treated carefully, with all speed, but nothing helped—the flesh on his left arm had already begun to split open and his heart was inflamed. He died, finally, at midnight. The other three apparently did not receive poisonous wounds, so they can expect to improve shortly, as can another two whose legs were broken during the advance on the mountains, from the force of the rocks thrown at them by the Seris occupying the heights.

Our men fought with courage and determination, because the enemies, besides having the most favorable terrain, took shelter in the many caves there, from which they defended themselves fiercely. Because of this situation, the action lasted more than four hours, our men being unable to use their muskets effectively. Sergeant Luján distinguished himself among all the men by entering a cave with sword in hand, but without a shield or leather jacket. The alférez of San Miguel, Don José Fontes, saw this and rushed to his side. At this point, three Indians jumped them from the cave, which in truth, caused them some injury. However, the Pimas who were in front—supported by the adjutant of the militia, Don José Piniella, along with some soldiers—saw the attack on the alférez and sergeant from San Miguel. At the very moment a Seri was arching his bow to shoot an arrow at the sergeant, the Pimas let fly [their arrows] and interrupted him, leaving him motionless with the arrow in his hand. Don José Piniella brought the second one down with one gunshot, and the sergeant split the bow, arrows, and arm of the third with a slash [of the sword], finishing him off with repeated blows.

In addition, some of the Pimas forced their way into a cave from which they had observed some arrows fly. They dragged out [the Indian] who had been shooting at them and, while he was still alive, with great swiftness cut off his ears and his hair with the scalp attached, dividing it into several pieces. Although the soldiers tried to prevent the death of this unfortunate, they did not succeed. The Pimas, with much shouting, swung their *macanas*[106] until he died from the blows.

In the afternoon, four Indian women were taken separately, one by one, before the governor and the interpreter, José Illescas. Some claimed to be Christians, and the others were gentiles. (I omit their names to avoid the confusion that this could cause with twenty-eight prisoners, and content myself with generalities, which are sufficient to explain events pertinent to this diary.) The Christian women, pointing to the boats present, said that they were baptized by a priest who had come on a boat to their ranchería. This was Father Juan de Ugarte of the Society of Jesus, a missionary to the Californias, who came to this island in 1725 in search of his beloved Californians.[107] Suspecting the [Baja Indians] might have come there, due to various insurrections and disturbances, he intended to gather them together and bring them into the sheepfold of his care, like any solicitous shepherd. Some of the other women [had been under the care] of Father Nicolás de Perera—some in Pópulo and others in Cucurpe—where he had been a missionary for some years. As for their husbands (all of whom had been killed in the first skirmish), some were Christians, but they did not know whether the other [men] were.

Many of the women had been up in the mountains when our men advanced for the first time. They, along with the others held prisoner there, remained in a nearby ravine through which the men who had been in the fighting fled. Ten of the wounded died there during their retreat. Many [others] had split up and gone in different directions, but almost all were wounded, and [these women] thought they were probably dead. Together with the other women captured and the men who had died in the caves of the mountains—some of whom had already been wounded during the first encounter—they took the path leading to the water hole at Tecomate, which is toward the northern tip of the island.[108] The pool is permanent, with the same abundance of water all year long, enough to support many people. After quenching their thirst and supplying themselves with all the water they could carry, they retreated to the caves, where because of the tracks that they

106. *Macana* referred to a hand-held weapon, particularly a war club, utilized by numerous North American Indian groups. Among the Upper Pimas, according to Russell ([1908] 1975:96), "The clubs were made of mesquite root or of ironwood, weighed about two pounds, and in general appearance resembled the old style potato mashers of New England kitchens. The handle was brought to a sharp point, which was almost as effective as a dagger in a back-handed blow."

107. Juan de Ugarte, S.J. (1662–1730) was born in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. From 1701 until his death, he served in the Baja California missions, first at Loreto and then at San Xavier. In 1721, not 1725, he led a voyage to prove Baja was a peninsula, not an island. The expedition sailed north to Isla Salsipuedes and crossed the gulf to the "Bahía de San Juan Bautista" (modern Bahía de Kino) and Tiburón Island. They then sailed with great difficulty through the Canal de Infiernillo and north up the Sonoran coast to the mouth of the Río Colorado.

108. Tecomate is the most important permanent source of water on the north coast of Tiburón. The Seris call it *Haj Hax*.

had left at the spring, our men found them four days later. They had not tasted [the water], but had survived on barrel cactus [*biznaga*] alone.[109]

During that time, three families had gone to the mainland. Of all the people who had taken refuge in the caves, only seven girls were missing. These, they feared and were almost certain, had died at the hands of the Pimas—as indeed had happened, for some of the girls' adornments were seen on [the Pimas], as were parts from their bodies, taken as trophies. Two babies had died, suffocated by their own mothers, who covered them to protect them from those first arrows the Pimas shot when they attacked.

[The women] added that if anyone had escaped from the first battle, they [probably] headed to a water hole about a league west-southwest of the camp, which although not permanent, does have water during most of the year.[110] Or, they went to Carrizal, a water hole that can be said to be unique on the island because its waters flow, although just for a short distance, throughout the year.[111] It is located to the west-southwest, on the other side of a mountain peak closer to the west coast than to the east, at a distance of four or five leagues from the camp. This was the statement and information agreed upon by the four Indian women, who were questioned all afternoon, and I have reported their statements with the greatest accuracy possible.

On [September] 29, men were sent out for water. They secured a sufficient amount in the many holes that had been dug under the orders of the captain of the militia of Baroyeca, Don Joaquín Valdés, who was in charge of this task, as well as conserving [the water] in those [wells] whose low levels were giving rise to this very important activity. A boat under the command of the captain of Sinaloa was also prepared to search a second time for the water hole of Tecomate and to lie in wait, in case some [Indians] who might have stayed in that area came down for water. The captain was unable to set sail, due to the strength of a headwind from the north.

The wind was not as [strong] going toward the mainland, however, and a boat was dispatched to transport fifty Pimas who had remained at the Carrizal camp, along with all the arrows they might have. Those Pimas who were already on the island had used up all their arrows, and [it was necessary] to replace [the men] who were sick with diarrhea, or exhausted from the marches and in need of rest.

On this day, the interpreter, José de Illescas, died from an illness that attacked him suddenly around midnight on [September] 28. He had prepared himself for this critical moment with Father Francisco Antonio Pimentel, who was with him

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109. The juicy pulp of one species of barrel cactus (*Ferocactus wislizenii*) was still being used as an emergency source of water by the Seris in the early twentieth century. It was especially important during the hottest and driest time of the year—April, May, and June—before the summer rains arrive (Felger and Moser 1985). Other species, in contrast, could make one sick.

110. There were several more or less permanent water holes along the eastern slopes of the Sierra Kunkaak. The one referred to here may have been the water hole the Seris call *Taxétel.*

111. Carrizal is a literal translation of the Seri name for this small, springfed stream—*Xapij* ('reedgrass'). Located on the south side of Tiburón, Xapij is one of only two places in Seri territory where short, flowing trickles of water exist. The other is in Nacapule Canyon north of Bahía San Carlos near Guaymas.

until he passed away. Also, a [Seri] boy of four or five years of age was baptized, for it was feared he would die from the blows he had received from the Pimas at the time of his capture. He was given the name Francisco Xavier Miguel while held in the arms of the sargento mayor, Don Francisco Julián de Alvarado. To show the concern and care everyone had not to waste even the least bit of water, when the baptismal waters were poured on this child, his grandmother, who was present, held her hands together over the basin and under the child's head, carefully collecting the baptismal water, and drank it without letting a drop fall into the basin or on the ground.

On [September] 30, seven casks of water were brought in, and most of the men were sent to the mountains to drink as much as they pleased from the pools that remained in the heights, even though these were poisoned by plants. The wells ordered to be opened on the twenty-fourth were completed. Located some distance from the shore, on terrain that was a spillway for the mountain slopes, it was hoped that [their water] would be sweet; however, it was found to be too salty to abate the shortage being suffered.

At nine in the morning, the boat with the fifty Pimas and their weapons arrived, as had been ordered, along with twenty-three *tercios*[112] of provisions. After midday, the captain from Sinaloa set sail for the northern point of the island to inspect the well at Tecomate, as well as a small island called Lobos [Isla Patos] that lies about three leagues from that point. Even though the island is deserted because it lacks water, and is populated only by a multitude of sea lions,[113] it was considered useful to visit and dive at the places where it was said there were once pearls. This afternoon, the sargento mayor of the militia, the captain of Baroyeca, the militia adjutant, Sergeant Luján, and thirty soldiers set out with 116 Pimas and their commander, guided by a female Indian prisoner who was to show them the only permanent water hole on the island. This same night, 111 Pimas embarked [for the mainland], for without weapons they served only to consume the water, which could be better used by those who remained.

On October 1, among those appointed to the escort for transporting water was one José Rodríguez who, because his feet had swollen during the preceding marches, did not accompany the Pimas who had set out the previous day with their commander. This soldier, then, having climbed a hill near the mountains to see if he might find two horses he was missing, saw an Indian woman coming toward him over the mountain. He concealed his horse and hid himself to avoid being discovered. Lying in wait until he thought it was the right moment to attack, he caught her and immediately carried her on the haunches of his horse back to the camp, into the presence of the governor. There, she stated that she had been present during the first attack, in which she lost her husband and three children. Her answers corresponded in every detail with the statements of the other four women who were examined about Tecomate. When asked about [her] people, she said she did not know where they were, that although she had searched for them this entire time, she had not been able to find them, that probably all had died of hunger and thirst by now, as most of them were wounded, and that the only son left to her

112. *Tercio* was a common term for a load of wood, salted meat, etc. Its weight varied according to the commodity and from region to region.

113. The California sea lion (*Zalophus californicus; lobo*), which is locally abundant on islands in the Gulf of California. Elephant seals also frequent gulf islands.

had died of thirst yesterday. Five women who had been with her looking for their people had died of some wounds they received as they fled from the first attack.

She was also asked the whereabouts of their chief, who was known by the name of Sing the Arrow [Canta La Flecha]. She answered that he had been killed by an arrow shot to the lungs, according to the spot she indicated, and that a brother of the chief had suffered the same fate. When asked what she had survived on during those days, she replied that she [had eaten] from a small fruit that she carried, and taking some out of her sash, she showed it to us. [She also said] that she had found a dead mule deer doe in the mountains, near some water, and had taken a piece from it. After that, she had turned once again to look for her people in the area where she had been captured by the soldier.

Finally, when she was asked about Sing the Arrow's wife, she said she did not know where she was, [but] that she saw one of her daughters sitting there who certainly would know about her mother. In fact, it came to be discovered from what the girl said, which was found to be true, that the Indian woman who set out with our men on the thirtieth [of September] to guide them to the water hole was her mother and the wife of Sing the Arrow. His [baptismal] name was Ignacio. He was a Christian from the salt beds, and he had died from an arrow wound that he received in the first attack. As Andrea (for that is her name) seemed to be of a lively disposition and willing to give some information, the governor was motivated to ask her other questions, which she answered graciously. Her answers corresponded with the statements of the others, and she exclaimed at the end that the Indian Manuel (the instigator of the uprising) was to blame for her father having gotten into these difficulties and having lost his life.

At about seven that night, six Pimas arrived at the camp with another Pima who had injured a leg while climbing the mountains. They brought the news that their commander had arrived at the water hole, that they had not found any tracks on the entire trail, and that the soldiers were still circling and searching the peaks. He was waiting for them to come down to the water before deciding what measures to take.

On [October] 2, fifteen casks of water were brought over. The sargento mayor had returned, and he said that he had covered the entire territory in the vicinity of the spring and toward the southern tip [of the island]. He did not find tracks or any sign of those miserable beings who, battered by the first attack, had scattered into the thicket and mountains, where fear, unmoderated by reason or valor, had flung them to their total ruin. He also searched the mountains, finding a dead mule deer doe on a peak and near it the tracks of someone who had come and cut off a piece, which was all that was missing. He diligently followed [the tracks], without losing them, as far as the water [hole]. There they descended and then turned back to the mountains, heading toward the area where the camp was. For that reason he continued his pursuit with some soldiers, following the tracks until he lost all trace of them. At this, he decided to go down and travel along the beach to the water hole, which he named La Fuente de la India. Because of the quantity of mother-of-pearl shell on this beach, everyone became convinced that there were some pearls and pearl beds in the vicinity. Searching diligently, a soldier found three white ones in a dead [oyster] shell, although their luster was somewhat opaque.

With this news, which agreed so closely with the Indian women's statements, and because of the duties our troops had performed during their sallies, it was decided to break camp. Having achieved its objectives, the purpose of this expedi-

tion to Tiburón Island has come to an end. All the enemies that lived here have now left, and the interior of the entire [island] has been scouted. A reconnaissance was promptly carried out. [The soldiers went] from the camp to the western part [of the island], the mountains in between, and along the coast to the northern point, and then turned back to camp along the east-facing mountains. From there, the reconnaissance continued most diligently along the entire coast down to the southern tip and made a turn to the west until they set out once again for camp.

What has been said up to this point is easily understood, and anyone who reads this journal will become acquainted with the facts concerning what has happened based on the most accurate reports, which can be useful for any future endeavor. The men embarked, and at sunset after the cannon fired the signal to weigh anchor, the seven boats set sail toward the beach of Santo Tomás. They did not arrive until midnight, due to the strength of the currents. The men disembarked, and Don Antonio Montero, the adjutant of the governorship, was promptly notified to quickly send enough horses to transport the men to the camp at Carrizal. The sick and wounded remained on the boats, which were to continue their voyage and land at the promontory of San Juan. An exception was [the boat] commanded by Don Manuel Correa, which remained behind with orders to circle the island for the purpose of an exact survey.

On [October] 3, the governor set out with his guard of six soldiers and a sergeant, on some of the stronger horses that had been brought over from Tiburón [Island]. He went to hasten the sending of the horses that were to transport the men, who remained at Santo Tomás, where there was no water at all. They had it in abundance [though] when they arrived at the Carrizal camp at about eight or nine that night. They proceeded to water the horses from the wells, however, because [the water] in the ponds of Ojo del Perro had been entirely consumed that day.

On [October] 4, the commander of the Pimas set out with all his men and some soldiers, and all the ill-treated horses. Marching slowly, the herd was to be conducted to the hacienda of Pitic to recover its strength, and everyone was to wait there for the rest of the troops. I cannot refrain from mentioning that it would have been difficult to move the exhausted horses as far as Tenuaje, where there was water, if the providence of the Most High had not arranged for the Pimas to find a hole—four to five varas long and two wide, holding more than one and a half varas of water—at a distance of more than a league from the road. They stopped to avail themselves of [this water], then resumed their march.

The captain of Sinaloa arrived at this camp [Carrizal] after surveying the northern point and the well at Tecomate, where he found nothing out of the ordinary. Due to the strong currents and headwinds during those days, he could not go on to investigate the pearl beds on the island of Lobos, a little more than two leagues from Tiburón Island, which is otherwise already known to be deserted and uninhabitable for lack of water.

The six boats that arrived at the promontory of San Juan Bautista supplied themselves with everything necessary so they could return to Tiburón to dive in the area where the soldier found the pearls mentioned on the second. An additional motive was that by staying within sight of Tiburón, [the boats] would be seen by any [Indians] who might have escaped and would serve as a deterrent to their coming down to get water. They would be compelled to come to us or stay in the mountains, where [the water] was fouled—a place totally devoid of food due to its ruggedness. Only in the estuaries is there an abundance [of food], with the

small fruits—although they are scarce at this time [of year], except for the extremely beautiful, bitter-sweet fruit of the organ pipe—or along the beaches, with the fish. It was difficult for the Indians to take advantage of [the latter, however,] within sight of the boats surrounding the island. Once [the boats] were finished with this task, they would continue the voyage to Yaqui [country].

On [October] 5, [the men] prepared to march. Having spent most of the day drawing water from the wells to water the horses, the governor set out at about four in the afternoon, with the rest of the officers and the troops. They would pass the night a league beyond Ojo del Perro, where there was sufficient pasture for the horses. Sergeant Holguín was left in command of a detachment of thirteen soldiers at the camp of Carrizal, to patrol the beach of Santo Tomás de Villanueva, the promontory of San Juan Bautista, Salinas, the well of San Juan, and Tonuco. He was to be on the alert and to patrol the entire area continuously.

On [October] 6, [the troops] halted at Tenuaje, where there were puddles of water in the riverbed and sufficient pasture for the horses. In the afternoon, they continued their march on to the lakebeds of Tórtola, where they spent the night on better terrain, with pasture and rainwater.

On [October] 7, His Lordship arrived at the hacienda of Pitic. Here, [the camp] halted for the eighth and ninth, because the governor developed a stomach ailment. The great quantity of water he had drunk caused him to vomit, for he had not swallowed so much during the space of a month, and the little he had been able to obtain while on the campaign was so filthy and disgusting only extreme need could render it tolerable. Strengthened by the diet he observed on this occasion, however, he resumed the march.

On [October] 10, after stopping at the ranch of Las Animas, the governor went on to spend the night at the *real* of San José de Gracia.

At dawn on [October] 11, after mass was celebrated, His Lordship marched to the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas, whose troop waited in formation to welcome his arrival with many repeated salvos, taking delight in his successful return. [To celebrate] this, and also to demonstrate their extraordinary pleasure at seeing the triumph of those whom they had often presumed to be already buried in the rugged terrain of Tiburón [Island], the wives of this company's soldiers set up three arches adorned with the finest ornaments they had. [They placed] a boy in front who, dressed in women's clothing and waving a banner, congratulated [the soldiers] with repeated hurrahs and applause, so that attention would be called immediately, at first sight, toward the seemliness of their womanly rejoicing.

I believe I have accurately expressed everything relevant to this journal. If anything is missing, it is because it has not come to my attention. I also state that if any part of what I have said displeases [the reader], the fault lies with those who offended and gave grounds for relating [the circumstances] reported, not with me. I am obliged to speak the truth and to present everything, applying an artist's brush in my [own] style, however crude, in order to force light on its image and banish the shadows of a perspective that was only creating confusion. It should be clear to anyone who wants to know the truth that the selection of competent men who are qualified to fill public office appertains to the glory and splendor of the palaces, for the honor and fame of lords are augmented largely by the nobility and actions of those who serve them.

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DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

[En la guarda que sirve de anteportada]: Este Diario es formado del M. R. P. Francisco Pimentel, de la Compañía de JHS, que entró de Capellán del Campo a la dicha Isla, como es de su puño lo escrito.

Diario de lo acaecido y practicado en la entrada que se hizo a la Isla del Tiburón este año, 1750.

Nada anhelaba más la provincia de Sonora, que el verse libre de las continuas invasiones, de atrocísimas muertes, robos e incendios con que los domésticos enemigos seris le afligían; pero, dificultándose cada día más el remedio al paso que se deseaba, crecía en ellos al mismo tiempo la audacia, dándoles ánimo los repetidos favorables lances que lograron victoriosos en la poca resistencia, llegando a reducirse a muy pocos los pueblos y reales, posesiones y estancias de sus fronteras, que no estuviesen acometidos y expuestos a los rigores de su bárbara crueldad. Así pasaba la afligida provincia, porque, negada a la corta inteligencia de los mortales las arcanas determinaciones de la Providencia Divina, no le restaba ya otra cosa, que la conformidad en los sucesos, y con un profundo respeto venerar siempre su eterna infinita sabiduría, que con especial acuerdo, y paternal amor, parece iba dilatando los medios que pueden ser de alguna respiración, y de algún alivio a la congoja de sus tribulaciones.

Por esto pues, no es de mi intento el referir puntualmente los hechos y destrozos ejecutados por los seris, ni el estado de la provincia en el tiempo de la sublevación que comenzó a fines del año 1748, y porque los supongo vulgarizados de plumas más prevenidas. ¿Pero qué? ¿Acaso sirviera de algo el acordarse de Chupisonora y del Pópulo, sino es para contemplar con lástima una política muy ajena de la rectitud de la justicia? ¿La destrucción del real de Nacameri, y la del real del Aguaje, pueden producir otra cosa que lágrimas en los ojos de los provincianos que muevan a compasión a los demás? ¿Las muertes de la Alameda, las de la Soledad, las del Cajón de Policarpio y Tonuco, con otras muchas ejecutadas en varios puestos y lugares, pueden servir de consideración alguna, sino es para confundirse con humildad y dar a Dios las gracias de que así lo permitía para los altísimos fines que su majestad se sabe?

No es pues, de maravillar, que tantas y tan varias noticias llegaran a acrisolarse en el juicio y dictamen del excelentísimo señor conde de Revillagigedo, virrey de esta Nueva España, que vigilante en los ápices de su gobierno y capitanía general, sin esperar a aquellas menudencias que sirven más para dilatar la justicia en el tribunal de la razón, y divertir con prolongados escritos el tiempo a los oficiosos, se impusiese en todos los hechos, y determinase enviar sujeto, que sin ajeno influjo fuese de su satisfacción, para que siguiendo por norte a Dios, al rey y bien público, apartado de toda pasión y nacional afecto, emprendiese el gobierno de las provincias.

Este fue el señor teniente coronel don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, a quien su pericia en el arte y ciencia militar, prontitud y expedición fácil en el manejo de los negocios, perspicaz viveza, actividad y celo en los arbitrios, constante en las fatigas, animoso en los peligros, repetidas veces lo acreditó la experiencia. No me detendré a referir los lances que públicamente probaron su acertada conducta, porque si la villa de Córdoba, en el número de las gentes, si la costa de Gicaltán, en la aspereza de su terreno, merecieron la atención de las armas para aplacar sus motines, allí constante las manejó hasta reprimir la fuerza de los sediciosos. Si los alborotos de la ciudad

de Guanajuato excitaban el gobierno a la providencia, luego le vimos destinado y pronto a marchar en socorro de la quietud. Si el desenfreno de la Puebla de Los Angeles y osadía de su plebe, pronta siempre a fomentar cualquiera inquietud y alboroto, pedía de justicia su total remedio, le vieron luego destacar con su compañía del cuerpo de dragones y establecerla fija en esta ciudad para reprimir su orgullo y movimientos.

Mereciendo siempre las primeras atenciones, por lo que entre los muchos encargos que su excelencia ha puesto a su cuidado, uno fue el de la total reducción de la nación seri, extrayendo de la Isla del Tiburón [a] los que allí, como a fortaleza que hasta la presente se ha tenido por inexpugnable, se hubiesen efugiado. Y con la consideración de que siendo como su plaza de armas, de donde a tiempos salían las partidas que hostilizaban nuestros territorios, quitándoles este asilo, se verían precisados a sujetarse al yugo de la razón y cristiana vida, o a experimentar el más severo castigo. Con juiciosa reflexión, pues, se detenía el discurso del que teniendo la cosa presente, trabajaba en solicitud del total remedio.

Porque aún figurada del todo favorable la expedición que se había de emprender a la isla, y sofocadas las inquietudes de los demás, con todo, aún restaba que unos tan atroces delitos, como los que habían cometido los seris en alevosas muertes, cruelísimos incendios, frecuentes robos, profanando los templos, ultrajando las imágenes de Cristo, de María Santísima y de los Santos, valiéndose de los vasos más sagrados para el ejercicio de sus más asquerosas inmundicias, no podían quedar impunes. Cuando también, por otra parte, la experiencia de sus genios, en repetidas sublevaciones que se cuentan hacía desconfiar de la permanencia en su quietud y aun concebir recelos de mayores daños si se les dejase en la libertad que hasta ahora han tenido. Por todo lo cual, con parecer que fundaron los padres visitador Carlos de Rojas, rector de San Javier, Felipe Segesser, José Toral, Nicolás de Perera, Juan de Zerguera y Francisco Antonio Pimentel, se determinó dar cuenta a México, y con universal aceptación se aprobó que todos los individuos de la nación seri se transportasen fuera de la gobernación a lugares ultramarinos u otros, con las mayores precauciones de seguridad, como están ya prevenidos, para que no se restituyan a sus rochelas, como con gran daño se ha experimentado en la presente, a excepción de los niños y niñas, que se destinarían a repoblar la frontera del apache, y otros a ejercicios útiles a la gobernación. Pero si estas insinuaciones no son suficientes para conceptuarse de la razón y justicia, no será bastante aún persuadir de intento a los díscolos para que ocupen mejor el tiempo en el estudio y aplicación a las letras, donde con mayor utilidad para el común y propio aprovechamiento aprenderán brevemente en una suma todo lo que permite el derecho de la guerra.

Hecha esta diligencia, comenzáronse con la mayor exactitud y vigilancia, a tomar las medidas más proporcionadas para la consecución del fin, y en primer lugar, se practicó el arresto de todos aquellos seris que se hallaban en los pueblos de Cucurpe, Opodepe y Pópulo, con otros muchos que atraídos, o ya de las razones persuasivas que frecuentemente se les enviaban con el indio Pablo, capitán de la guerra, o por miedo, se habían congregado. Porque siendo todos a lo menos cómplices en la sublevación, exceptuándose muy pocos, que a éstos sólo se aseguraron, reduciéndolos a cuidar de los otros, para que así estuviesen todos bajo de una guardia. No era tampoco justo, el disimulo en los delincuentes, ni que les valiese por sagrado sólo el retirarse a los pueblos, después de intervenir en las funciones más sangrientas, cooperando de varios modos al auxilio de los que se mantenían pertinaces y vagos por los montes. Vencida, pues, esta dificultad con la

militar máxima de no dejar enemigo a la espalda, se abrió campo de desahogo para dedicarse a precaver las hostilidades con que el apache visita a la Sonora, puesto que ya el señor gobernador había resuelto pasarse a la Isla del Tiburón, por motivos que su práctica en semejantes materias le dictaba, o el conocimiento del país le persuadía a emprenderlo.

Para esto se despachó orden al justicia mayor don Juan López Valdés que mandase a sus tenientes general y particulares, que desde el día 15 de agosto, de cada tenientazgo, se nombraran seis hombres con un cabo, que circulando por sus respectivos distritos, semanariamente se alternasen y diesen cuenta de lo acaecido. Que llegados los unos, saliesen otros, que debían estar prontos para el mismo destino y por el rumbo opuesto a los antecedentes si las circunstancias no pedían seguir el mismo, y todos con la prevención de que en caso de alguna novedad de huellas, robos o asaltos, diesen avisar al lugar más inmediato, destacando dos de los seis para que llegando presto la noticia, se pudiese impedir la salida al enemigo.

En lo que principalmente quedaban instruídas las compañías de Fronteras y Terrenate, con orden a su capitán don Santiago Ruiz de Ael, para que a fines del agosto próximo, destacase de su compañía una partida de veinticinco soldados, que transitando a San Miguel, recorriesen las intermedias distancias arriesgadas. Como asimismo se previno al comandante capitán de Fronteras, don Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante, viniese acompañado de solos los soldados que juzgara necesarios para su escolta, que fueron diez con un sargento, reservando para el tiempo próximo de la expedición, los demás que debían concurrir; pero por la representación que hizo este capitán, se suspendió completar el número de veinticinco que se había determinado destacar de su compañía, con la consideración de que el número de las partidas volantes por la provincia suplían con exceso en las situaciones, la utilidad de la permanente en un solo puesto.

Diose también orden a don Joaquín Valdés, capitán miliciano del real de Baroyeca, para que con quince hombres de su compañía esperara a incorporarse con las milicias de Alamos, Fuerte, y Sinaloa, que conducían al mando de don Francisco Julián de Alvarado, sargento mayor de las provincias de la gobernación, y del teniente miliciano del Fuerte, don Nicolás Valdés, porque don Miguel Carlos de Mollinedo, capitán miliciano de la villa de Sinaloa, con cuarenta hombres, se ocuparía a este tiempo en la sierra de Nabogame y Baborigame, visitándola bajo las instrucciones que se le insinuaron para manejar con la mayor prudencia y disimulo las inquietudes de tepehuanes, que habían dado motivo a esta determinación.

Finalmente, don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, capitán de la real compañía de Sinaloa, fue destinado para la recluta de pimas altos, que concurrieron en número de cuatrocientos cuarenta y tres, su capitán comandante, y quince capitanes de guerra (es el nombre que les dan en los pueblos), y encargado de entregar una carta orden a don José Ignacio Salazar, alférez de la compañía de miliciana de Sonora, para que con quince hombres de Santa Ana, se viniese en conserva de los indios pimas, siendo este vecindario, el que por su práctica en el terreno y frecuentes fatigas en los alzamientos de seris, se apreció en la ocasión, por el más útil para el servicio.

Concluidas estas diligencias y acabados de carenar los siete barcos longos que estaban prevenidos en el río de Yaqui, y aguardaban su destino, se despachó a don José Fontes, alférez de la real compañía de San Miguel, con dieciséis soldados para guarnecerlos y mandarlos hasta su conducción al promontorio de San Juan Bautista,

que por la parte del sur dista del Carrizal como una legua, bajo las órdenes que se irían dando, hasta lograr el desembarco en el Tiburón, abastecidos ya con los víveres necesarios, cuya prevención para todo el campo se tenía hecha con las fatigas que demanda una provincia tan desierta y en cuyas prolongadas distancias se retarda la más eficaz actividad.

Así dispuesto por los meses de junio, julio y principios de agosto, no sólo lo necesario para la expedición y próxima campaña, sino provisto todo acontecimiento para el bienestar de la provincia, se entregó a don Gaspar Felmel, capitán reformado de la real compañía de Sinaloa, el seguro de la presa de doscientas cincuenta y dos personas, aunque por esta ocasión sólo constaba de ciento cuarenta y tres, por habérseles dado destino a los demás, y sólo se aguardaba la concurrencia de los oficiales y soldados que habían de formar el campo; pero con el desconsuelo de la suspensión de las aguas, que se experimentó en los principios de agosto, y cuya falta dificultaba sobremanera el tránsito de los destacamentos y partidas, por carecer de ella todo el terreno de los seris.

Pero habiéndose observado en los días 18 y 19 dos copiosos aguaceros, que al parecer llegarían a fecundar el aguaje del Carrizal, el más perenne de sus marismas y playazos, determinó su señoría que el 23 saliese una partida de veinticinco soldados al cargo de Antonio Holguín, sargento de la real compañía de Terrenate, para que, repasando el aguaje del Carrizal, informase si podría de una vez transitar el campo, o dividido en partidas, siendo suficiente a mantenerse todos juntos en el Carrizal, que siguiese también las huellas que percibiera encaminarse a hostilizar nuestro país, para aprehenderlos, o que experimentasen el castigo viendo que se les visitaban sus tierras.

En los días 24, 25 y 26, se prosiguió en la preparación de lo necesario para la marcha que se acercaba, según el cómputo que se tenía formado de la concurrencia de los oficiales milicianos de Sinaloa, Fuerte, Alamos y Baroyeca, que se esperaban.

El 27 llegó a este real presidio de San Miguel el sargento mayor de milicias, el capitán de Baroyeca, seis oficiales y sesenta y tres milicianos, que montados en caballos blancos, con aquel lucimiento que causa la uniformidad, se presentaron en una fila ante la guardia, que formada, con muchos tiros y clamores de los pimas, les saludó a su llegada, y habiendo pasado revista, se les mandó retirar al alojamiento que se les tenía prevenido. Esta tarde del 27, llegó el sargento Holguín después de haber recorrido el Carrizal, y trae por noticia que el dicho aguaje, con el socorro de otros pocitos y batequios, que acaso encontraron siguiendo la huella de unos seris, aunque vieja, tan sólo pudo dar qué beber a los veinticinco hombres. Y con mucha escasez, a los caballos, habiendo experimentado la muerte de dos y la fatiga de los soldados, por lo que determinó dejarlos en la hacienda del Pitic, único paraje cómodo, aunque distante de San Miguel como dieciséis leguas, y adelantarse con tres hombres para dar la noticia al señor gobernador, quien en vista del referido informe y noticias, comenzó a tomar otros arbitrios, no siendo capaz de sofocar el espíritu en tan poca agua.

Por lo que el 28 determinó su señoría, en junta de guerra, a que concurrieron los capitanes comandantes de Fronteras, el de Sinaloa, el sargento mayor, y el ayudante de la gobernación, el capitán de Baroyeca, el ayudante de milicias y todos los demás oficiales, hacerles notoria la guerra ofensiva contra la nación seri, y que en esta suposición, y la de las noticias del sargento Holguín, arbitrasen los medios más proporcionados para emprender la próxima campaña, sin que se verificase inutilidad de gastos de la real hacienda, hechos en la prevención que trae una

recluta como la que se tenía y veían presente. Recurrióse al dictamen de los más prácticos que se mandaron comparecer en la junta, para informarse de las circunstancias más mínimas que pudieran facilitar el agua necesaria; pero después de varios dichos y pareceres nada acordes, todos conspiraron al desaliento, por lo que se tomó la resolución de despachar al día siguiente tres partidas.

El 29 salió la primera partida a cargo del sargento Holguín, de veinticinco hombres, y diez pimas con coas, picos y azadones, para alegrar y limpiar los pozos o batequios, recorriendo el terreno en solicitud de mejores aguajes, con orden de pasear la playa en descubrimiento de los barcos que se esperaban de Yaqui, y de entregar una carta al piloto que los conducía, don Guillermo Estramphont, en que se le prevenía con las noticias de la falta de agua que se experimentaba para el tránsito del campo. Que así, procurara mantenerse, y si le era asequible, hiciese aguada en el Tiburón, para lo que el sargento le ministraría algunos soldados de la partida que mandaba.

La segunda, al cargo de José Luján, sargento de la real compañía de San Miguel, con veinticinco soldados para recorrer las Salinas, buscar aguajes, aprehender o cargar a los enemigos si los encontrase en el pozo de San Juan, que se halla al su[r]este, cuarta al sur del Carrizal, y suele mantener el agua en abundancia. La tercera, a cargo del alférez Salazar, con veintidós hombres y sesenta pimas altos, para entrar al Bacuachi y registrar sus serranías, y cargar a los enemigos que encontrase en aquel puesto, seguir huellas, y como práctico del terreno, registrase la tierra hasta salir por aquel rumbo al Carrizal, o a incorporarse con el capitán de Sinaloa, y don Antonio Montero, ayudante de la gobernación y teniente de la real compañía de San Miguel, a quienes hallaría apostados donde fenece el agua del río del Pitic, que es a distancia de cuatro leguas por la parte del sur.

El 30 se verificó la salida del capitán de Sinaloa con el ayudante de las armas y correspondiente orden de marcha, José Moraga, sargento de la real compañía de Fronteras, veintitrés soldados, trescientos cincuenta pimas con su capitán comandante, bajo la orden de mantenerse en el agua del río del Pitic, como se previno al alférez Salazar, para su regreso, o de seguir la marcha al Carrizal, si las lluvias lo permitían.

Estas y otras disposiciones y órdenes, que insensiblemente se iban ejecutando, y que miraban directamente al propósito de la expedición, no eran todavía bastantemente conocidas de muchos para que se conceptuasen haber comenzado la guerra, que sofocados en la falta de agua, se persuadían impracticable. Pero si bien se refleja, se advertirá también que desde este día 30 de agosto se principió la campaña, quedando acometido a un mismo tiempo todo el terreno que ocupa la nación seri. Porque al oriente se encontrará, en el río del Pitic, al capitán de Sinaloa con su destacamento para impedir las salidas que por aquella parte frecuentan los enemigos, por despoblada. Por el poniente se advertirá al sargento Holguín recorrer las playas del Carrizal, y avanzando a la frente del Tiburón. Por el norte, cuarta al oeste, se verá al alférez Salazar registrar los puestos más arriesgados del Cajón del Sauce y del Bacuachi, Tecolote, y Aguas Frías. Al sur también se hallará al sargento Luján en posesión del pozo de San Juan para privar a los enemigos de este aguaje, que por permanente, se acojen a él de ordinario. Siendo todo esto tan notorio, y públicamente constante, no será justo me detenga en combinar triviales menudencias de esta materia que en un proceder regular, bien y claros se indican los movimientos de superior inteligencia que los maneja.

El 31 no ocurrió cosa especial, pero notaré el que así por la falta del agua, como por el feliz suceso de la expedición, se imploró en todo, el auxilio de María Santísima de Guadalupe, en continuas oraciones, sufragios y plegarias que se le hicieron, y en lo que concurrió la devoción y afecto de todos los que devotamente le tributan obsequios como a principal Patrona de nuestra septentrional América, dejando también prevenido, que regulando el tiempo de la mayor necesidad, y entrados a la Isla del Tiburón, solicitasen su ayuda, ofreciéndole la novena que se reza en su Santuario de la ciudad de México, todo al cuidado de don Salvador Esquer, e impetrar de la Señora, que con particularidad, parece se debe reconocer Protectora de los Indios, el bien y provecho de sus almas, y que dejadas las tinieblas de infidelidad en que muchos pasaban la vida, y apostasía de los más, se redujesen a seguir la senda de una vida cristiana, civil y política.

El día primero de septiembre se ocupó en los preparativos de muchas menudencias necesarias para la marcha, que se estableció fija para el día 3.

El 2 se recibió correo del capitán de Sinaloa, noticiando que tuvo carta del sargento Holguín en que le participa y dice que ha llovido tan copiosamente que están inundados los campos y marismas, donde se formaron muchas lagunas, pero considerando que por lo difícil del tránsito no podría restituirse en breve a ocupar su puesto, no iba en persona a darle tan plausible noticia. Que los pozos del Agua Amarilla y Ojo del Perro quedaban abundantes, y que éste último mantenía corrientes las aguas, por lo que dicho capitán, avisó determinaba su marcha para tomar y mantener estos puestos, y que el sargento proseguía en sus correrías y en solicitud de los barcos, como se le tenía prevenido.

El 3 salió el equipaje del señor gobernador y demás capitanes y oficiales que seguían su marcha, y a la tarde partió su señoría, en compañía del padre Francisco Antonio Pimentel, del capitán comandante de Fronteras, del sargento mayor, del capitán miliciano del real de Baroyeca, para hacer noche en el real de San José de Gracia.

El 4 llegó su señoría a la hacienda del Pitic, donde como a las doce de la noche recibió correos del capitán de Sinaloa, avisando que el día 3 estaba con todo su destacamento en posesión del Carrizal, donde por la eficacia de don Antonio Montero y Quesada, no faltaría agua para toda la gente, que trabajaba en abrir pozos, y que la caballada la mantenía del agua que abundaba en las lagunas del Ojo del Perro. Pero que aún todavía carecía de noticias, así de los barcos, como de las partidas que mandaban el alférez miliciano Salazar y el sargento Luján. Que los rastros que se habían encontrado, aunque viejos, tiraban al rumbo del terreno que recorría este sargento.

Por lo que determinó su señoría suspender la marcha hasta el día 7, y devolver los correos con las expresiones correspondientes al buen porte de este capitán, en la observancia de las instrucciones, marchas y movimientos que había ejecutado, previniéndole también, que en el entretanto, se podría tener noticia de los barcos, y más comodidad para despachar ganados mayor y menor, víveres y demás necesario para todo el campo que estaba ya en movimiento. Por lo que juzgaba conveniente, que la caballada y ganado se dividiesen en distintos parajes del Ojo del Perro y Agua Amarilla, bajo la custodia de gente pima y los soldados que fuesen suficientes a conservarlos en amistad y buen trato, defendiéndolos de cualquiera invasión, y practicando también todo lo que fuere y le parezca conducente al fin de la pretendida y comenzada expedición.

El 5 como a las 7 y media de la noche, llegaron tres soldados que despachó el sargento Luján, para darle aviso al señor gobernador quedando el resto acampado en el lugar que se le destinó para su regreso, a los que se les mandó retirar a cuartel, expidiendo inmediatamente orden para que con los demás de su partida viniese el dicho sargento al Pitic, para dar cuenta de lo acaecido.

El 6 como a las nueve de la mañana, llegó el sargento Luján con los demás soldados que habían recorrido el territorio de las Salinas y el pozo de San Juan, parajes que les ministran en abundancia algunas de las silvestres frutillas de que se mantienen los indios por lo común, como son, la pitahaya, péchitas, mesquite, y el ejote del palo hierro, de que hacen cosechas en tiempo, para proveerse en los de la escasez. Y que según los vestigios que se registraron, es probable conjetura, que la más de la gente se había retirado hacia aquella parte que no se visitó en todo el tiempo de la sublevación. Dividiéndose por distintas partes, luego consumían las frutillas de que se alimentaban, a excepción de una, u otra familia que permanecía hacia aquel terreno, y que sintiendo el rumor de los soldados, huyeron al monte. Pero aunque por la huella de dos caballos las persiguieron por alguna distancia, no se consiguió el apresarlos, porque, llegados a las inmediaciones del paraje de la ranchería, dejando los caballos, algunos pellejos de venados y otros trastecillos que pillaron, se les confundían las huellas. No obstante, persistieron en solicitud de rastros que seguir, y habiéndoles caído un copioso aguacero, les borró toda impresión de huellas, por lo que determinó entrarse por lo interior del monte, registrarlo todo en sus alcances, dirigiéndose por aquella parte al paraje de su destino.

Este mismo día llegó carta del capitán de Sinaloa en que avisa, que recorriendo la playa del promontorio de San Juan Bautista, había descubierto seis barcos, que llegaron con toda felicidad, habiendo gastado ocho días de navegación desde el pueblo de Huirivis, de donde salieron, y sólo se esperaba el otro que se despachó a Californias con dos cartas del señor gobernador: la una para el padre procurador, para que remitiera su reverencia los estuches e instrumentos de don Manuel Correa, piloto de profesión y práctico de la carrera de Filipinas, a quien se tenía prevenido para el fin de demarcar la isla y dar puntual noticia de ella, dificultad que vencida, allanará en gran parte los muchos tropiezos con que hasta la presente ha aterrado la aspereza del Tiburón. Otra para el capitán del presidio de Loreto, don Bernardo Rodríguez y Larrea, solicitando uno de los pedreros que se decía tener aquel presidio, por ser muy conducente a la acción del desembarco en la isla y guarnecer la trinchera en el aguaje.

Y no siendo ajeno de mi propósito detenerme en dar a Dios las gracias por los beneficios con que su inexcrutable Providencia se ha mostrado propicia, desde los preparativos para la expedición, diré brevemente, que por noticias que se tuvieron de que en tiempo del alzamiento de yaquis, siendo gobernador don Manuel Bernal Huidobro, por orden suya, se fabricaron en el real de los Alamos dos pedreros, apuradas las noticias, se verificó el que de los dos, uno sólo permanecía en poder de don Juan Huidobro, que se hizo conducir a este presidio de San Miguel, para el fin que arriba se expresó. Pero como ni la materia del cobre de que se fabricó parecía apta, ni la longitud de la pieza proporcionada al calibre, que se mostraba de a ocho, y toda su figura en nada correspondía a las proporciones que debía tener, con todo, en la necesidad y arbitrio presente, se determinó hacer experiencia de dispararlo con sólo pólvora, y en menos cantidad de la que demandaba su calibre, para ver el primer efecto, y regular de allí, si podría sufrir la violencia de balas menudas con que se había de cargar.

Con esto, el día 15 de julio, como a las seis de la tarde, se llevó prevenido a puesto donde con su estrépito no pudiese ofender a las débiles chozas de lodo y palos de que aún se componían por este tiempo las casas de los soldados de San Miguel, ni a la fábrica del presidio, que por reciente podía padecer. Túvose en la ocasión también la advertencia de humedecer la pólvora del fogón para dar tiempo a la retirada del que diera fuego y de los demás que estuviesen presentes. Hallábase entonces el padre Francisco Antonio Pimentel con don Salvador de Esquer inmediatos al cañón, acompañando al señor gobernador, que cuando mandó darle fuego, al punto se fueron retirando, pero aunque con ligereza cargaron sobre la derecha, a la voz que dio don Tomás Beldarraín de que no caminasen tan recto del cañón, que podía retroceder, con todo, no fue tan presto el movimiento que no experimentasen el estrago de que había reventado, tocándoles la ropa el polvo y tierra que levantó la recámara despedida del cañón, y participando todos del mismo riesgo, en otros muchos pedazos, que desunidos de la pieza, pararon algunos por más de doscientas varas, pasando primero por las cabezas de circunstantes sin especial desgracia, pues tan sólo quedó herido, y no de riesgo, el ayuda de cámara del señor gobernador que le dio fuego, conducido a este ejercicio de su natural viveza e intrepitud, con otros varios niños que lograron leves contusiones en las piernas por las muchas astillas en que se deshizo la cureña.

El 7 partió su señoría de la hacienda del Pitic para seguir su marcha al Carrizal, y al primer vado del río destacó al sargento Luján con quince hombres para que siguiese segunda vez el mismo rumbo, y procurase dar alcance a los que pudieran mantenerse escondidos en aquel puesto, donde encontró las huellas de que había informado, saliendo por el monte de Tenuaje a incorporarse con el campo.

El 8 se prosiguió la marcha a los Siete Cerritos.

El 9 habiendo llegado al Tenuaje, salió al encuentro Luján, y dice no haber podido encontrar indicio alguno que persuadiera mantenerse los enemigos en aquel puesto que se le mandó registrar. Y esta tarde llegó correo del capitán de Sinaloa avisando haber arribado el barco que se despachó a las Californias, y conducía el cañon, con los demás instrumentos de pilotaje pertenecientes a don Manuel Correa.

El 10 llegó su señoría al real del Carrizal, donde después de la salva de muchos tiros y alaridos de los pimas, pasó a visitar la trinchera y pozos del agua que la solicitud, y exacta diligencia de don Antonio Montero, ayudante de las armas de la gobernación, tenía prevenidos, tan capaz y bien dispuesta, que todas las armas se retiraron a su recinto, precaviendo las acechanzas del enemigo y todo repentino asalto, con la circunstancia de tener el agua, dentro de la misma trinchera, tan abundante que era sobrada a mantener otro tanto más de gente que aquélla de que se componía el campo, que llegaba con la tripulación de mar a número de setecientas y veinte personas.

Este mismo día por la tarde llegó el alférez miliciano Salazar con toda la gente que mandaba, habiendo recorrido el Bacuachi, el Tecolote, y Aguas Frías, hasta cerca de Caborca, donde fenece el territorio de la nación seri, por la parte del noroeste, cuarta al norte, pero no encontró huella ni vestigio alguno, aunque con empeño trajinó las sierras y se entró por las cañadas más excusadas, advirtiendo sólo las huellas de venados, coyotes y otros animales campestres. Que por la falta de agua no pudo visitar a Tepoca para dirigir desde allí su marcha al Carrizal, viéndose necesitado a tomar el rumbo para San Miguel y proveerse de bastimentos.

El 11 salió el alférez Salazar con diez hombres en solicitud de unas lagunas que suelen formarse en tiempo de aguas, y median entre el Carrizal y las pilas de Ibarburu, como a distancia de seis leguas por la parte del nornoroeste, donde también

suelen producirse algunos pastos proporcionados para la caballada. Pero esta tarde del 11 volvió con la noticia de estar todo el campo seco y estéril.

El 12 pasó su señoría al promontorio de San Juan a visitar los barcos y prevenirlos de aguada, para que si el tiempo soplaba favorable, saliese el capitán de Sinaloa a embarcarse para el Tiburón con el ayudante de milicias don José Piniella, los sargentos Moraga y Luján, cuarenta y ocho soldados y cien pimas, bajo la orden de que arribase primero un sólo barco para acechar, si paseaban la playa o descubrían algunos indios, y en este caso, enviase a tierra al indio tiburón Antonio, y al Pablo, capitán de la guerra del Pópulo, para que les persuadiesen que nuestra gente no iba de guerra, sino a visitarlos y ver la isla, que para esto estaba ya el señor gobernador en el Carrizal con mucha gente que venía en su compañía para agasajarlos y regalarlos, y en quien experimentarían todo asilo, socorriendo sus necesidades y procurando su mayor comodidad, si se reducían a ser amigos y a descubrir los aguajes y pastos de la isla, para establecerlos en el método de vida más conveniente a su bienestar; pero de mostrarse enemigos intentando estorbar la entrada, experimentarían todo rigor.

Para caso de no haber indios en la playa, se le previno también, saltase a tierra toda la gente que dispuesta en tres filas, a tiro de escopeta, marchase con el cuidado de cortar rastros y buscar el agua competente, que era el objeto principal de esta entrada, la que procuraría mantener en caso de haberla, dando pronto aviso al real para el embarco de la demás gente que fuese necesaria, y sólo se retiraría a los barcos cuando se le presentase superior el enemigo.

El 13 se encargó el alférez Salazar, con cuatro hombres y veinte pimas, de buscar un pozo que antiguamente dicen había inmediato a la playa del embarcadero, y facilitar con su cercanía la conducción del agua a los barcos, y juntamente recorrer aquel terreno; pero se frustró esta diligencia por no haberlo encontrado. Este día salió del real del Carrizal el capitán de Sinaloa para embarcarse y pasar a la isla, lo que no logró porque el viento contrario no permitió que arribasen los barcos hasta muy entrada la noche, por lo que determinó aguardar la madrugada del día siguiente.

El 14 pasó dicho capitán a la Isla del Tiburón, donde desembarcaba la gente y los caballos, que habían pasado en número de veinticinco, aunque muy estropeados por los golpes que recibieron en la travesía de los mismos barcos en que se atracaron. Determinó luego despachar al Antonio y Pablo para el mensaje en que se les había instruido, y marchar hacia la parte más eminente de la sierra, en cuya falda encontró el agua, que perseveraba en las oquedades de las peñas y pozas que formaba su declivio con las frecuentes cortaduras de sus peñascos; pero inficionada con la yerba de la flecha, el mescal, el hocoaguite [jocahuite], que es un árbol de mal olor, además del cardón y cuanto les deparó la prisa y su depravado ánimo, con el temor de que se acercaban los barcos navegando hacia la isla, con el fin de estorbar a los nuestros el uso de aquella agua preparada con tanta inmundicia, y de la que aún podían concebir recelos de venenosa, a vista de la yerba que usan en sus flechas, y cuya actividad es notoria.

No les engañó en parte su pensamiento, logrando por aquella ocasión que dicho capitán se retirase a la playa, donde llegaron los enviados Pablo y Antonio con una cruz y una flecha bien dispuesta para el señor gobernador, respondiendo el Canta La Flecha Que Mata (nombre del cabecilla que mandaba y dirigía aún a los naturales de la isla desde que se retiró a ella): que se volviese el señor gobernador a San Miguel con toda la gente, que lo llamara después y que iría a visitarlo. Que él estaba muy contento en la isla, y toda su gente, que ya sabía que estaba allí un

padre, y que éste no podría mantenerse del [de] sólo marisco y frutillas silvestres con que ellos pasaban la vida, y que a tiempos, por la escasez del agua, se vería precisado a andar en continuo movimiento.

Que algunos de los suyos andaban en tierra firme, que ya había despachado correos para que se retirasen a la isla, que suplicaba no les hiciesen daño, que él también pudo avanzar a los nuestros cuando entraron al agua, pues tenía su gente bien dispuesta y en paraje cómodo para emprender el asalto que no quiso ejecutar. Que esto es lo que significa en la cruz y flecha que remitió para que se viera, que rendía las armas y no se valía de ellas contra nuestra gente. Si no es que diga yo el juicio a que me inclinan las insignias de la cruz y flecha, igualmente significativas de la indiferencia con que se hallaba dicho cabecilla para recibir a los nuestros con la paz o con la guerra a que estaba preparado.

Esta misma tarde del 14 determinó dicho capitán de Sinaloa su regreso, y hecho a la vela, le obligaron las corrientes a arribar otra vez a una punta de la isla, y saltando a tierra vieron tres batequios, que por lo contiguo que estaban a la mar eran de agua salobre, de la que no obstante bebieron y aprobó por buena para la caballada, y suficiente para remediar la necesidad que podía experimentar la gente por espacio de algunos días, pero con todo prosiguió su viaje a tierra firme, dejando en la isla al Pablo, por ver si acaso conseguía persuadirlos, y dos caballos, que por estropeados no pudieron transportarse.

El 15 habiendo llegado dicho capitán al real del Carrizal, dio esta cuenta referida y motivos de su salida en el estado de la isla, con el dictamen de que si no se entregaban no reconocía fuerzas suficientes para contrastarlos y salir con el proyecto de trajinar sus sierras, registrarlo todo y reducir sus habitadores. Por todo lo cual determinó su señoría pasar en persona a tomar las medidas de las dificultades que observaba su crítica en los informes que hasta la presente había tenido para emprender la toma de la isla, siendo la principal, y aún única, la falta de noticias del agua con que se mantienen sus habitadores, pues con ésta sola, participada con sinceridad y verdad, una vez poseída pudieran reducirse manteniendo el campo en un sitio continuo, y otros mil arbitrios conducentes al fin pretendido, para que no enardeciesen los subalternos su marcial espíritu y determinara que al punto saliese don Manuel Correa a equipar los barcos.

El 16 y 17 se trabajó incesantemente en el acarreo de los víveres y demás necesario para embarcarse.

El 18 se entregó al intérprete José Illescas y a otro hombre, el indio Antonio, que informó esta mañana de un pozo llamado de la Piedra, que aseguraba ser permanente en esta banda, y del que se mantenían los tiburones que pasaban a ella. Pero se halló falsa la noticia, o engañó a los compañeros enseñándoles un hoyo en que por su baja situación se recogía la agua llovediza de aquellas inmediaciones y al presente estaba aterrado y plano con el suelo, sin gota de agua.

Esta tarde marchó el señor gobernador al embarcadero que dista siete leguas del real del Carrizal, a la parte del oesnoroeste, que desde entonces se nombra playa de Santo Tomás de Villanueva, por ser su día, y en el que se puso el Tiburón a la vista del campo, que constaba de quinientas y veinte personas, con las ciento y veintiuna que componían la tripulación de mar, acompañando a su señoría el padre Francisco Antonio Pimentel, los capitanes comandante de Fronteras y el de Sinaloa, el sargento mayor de milicias, el capitán de Baroyeca, el ayudante de milicias, el alférez de San Miguel y el miliciano de Sonora, setenta y cinco soldados, doscientos ochenta y cinco pimas altos, su comandante y quince capitanes de

guerra, catorce personas de servicio, el proveedor y amanuense.

Congregado ya el campo en Santo Tomás, se preparó luego aquella misma noche uno de los barcos para que transportasen a Antonio y Nicolás, tiburones, instruidos en el mismo orden y razones que se dieron el día 12 al Pablo, añadiéndoles el que hiciesen fuerza en persuadirles que pasaba el señor gobernador porque ellos no habían querido venir a su llamado, y que estaba pronto a recibirlos con toda piedad, siempre que vinieran a su señoría, para lo que les entregó una cruz dispuesta y adornada con aquellos aliños que su bárbara ignorancia y tosca consideración concebiría pulidez en todo.

El 19 embarcados bajo la orden y distribución que se dio al comandante capitán de Fronteras, se dieron a la vela los siete barcos que seguían por norte la divisa de aquél en que navegaba el señor gobernador, y que con toda felicidad arribaron de frente, por si acaso en la playa del Tiburón se encontrase algún estorbo que quitar, o dificultad que vencer. No la hubo, ni en la travesía y distancia de una legua de que consta, por esta parte, que es la mayor angostura que se reconoce entre la tierra firme y el Tiburón. Saltaron a tierra con las armas en la mano todos los que para manejarlas habían sido destinados a la empresa, quedando en el real del Carrizal lo restante de las armas, bajo el mando del teniente de la real compañía de San Miguel, don Antonio Montero y Quesada, ayudante de la gobernación, en cuyo eficaz celo, inteligencia y manejo se confió, así la guarda del puesto, como la subsistencia de los que pasaron al Tiburón, con la puntual observancia de las órdenes que se le dieron y se le irían también ministrando, según la necesidad lo pidiese. Luego que se ejecutó el desembarco, formados en cuadro, se marchó a tomar los pozos de agua salobre, de que había noticiado el capitán de Sinaloa en su primera entrada.

Y estando en la fatiga de abrir otros nuevos, con la esperanza de que fuese el agua más razonable, que no se consiguió, vino el Pablo, a quien dejó en la isla el capitán de Sinaloa cuando se retiró de ella, y volvió al señor gobernador la misma cruz que la noche antes les había enviado con Antonio y Nicolás, a quienes no permitieron volver a nuestro campo, porque decían estar ya muy seguros y libres del yugo de los españoles. Que ellos habían respuesto [respondido] que rendían las armas, y que se retirase nuestro campo a San Miguel, que pasarían después a ver al señor gobernador; pero que con todo se habían pasado al Tiburón, que esto era señal evidente que los querían coger por engaños para matarlos; que así no querían venir, que si los españoles en este día no iban a ellos, esta noche vendrían ellos a visitar nuestro campo, y otras semejantes arrogancias concebidas en el terreno tan ventajoso que les abrigaba, con el deseo de mantener la libertad en que viven.

Avisó también que de nuevo habían ensuciado el agua con la yerba de la flecha y otras inmundicias, que los dos caballos que habían quedado en la isla haciendo menudos pedazos los habían echado martajados en el agua de dos tanques, que parecían los mayores, y aunque les había instado para que lo pasasen a tierra firme, ofreciéndoles en paga sus pobres vestiduras, hasta el sombrero, no lo quisieron ejecutar, y aun le amenazaron, explicándole ya la desconfianza que de él habían concebido, porque era, decían, espía de los españoles.

Concluido este razonamiento y dejada la escolta necesaria para los trabajadores, formada en cuadro se retiró la gente al lugar donde surgieron, que por un estero que entraba por la parte del poniente quedaba su figura a manera de un muelle cuya punta se alargaba por casi una legua a la parte del sur, estrechándola tanto la mar y el estero que no constaba su extensión más que de seis a siete varas. Aquí el

comandante capitán de Fronteras mandó hacer alto para acamparse bajo la orden que se le había dado, formando un semicírculo dividido en seis pelotones, cuyo centro ocupaba el mayor de órdenes, capitán de Sinaloa, distribuidos los demás puestos según la graduación de los oficiales que los mandaban.

Así dispuesto el campamento se pusieron algunas centinelas hacia la punta y a la parte del estero, de donde podía sólamente esperarse alguna resulta. Fijáronse las tiendas de campaña, y a la frente se abocó el cañón con bala menuda, resguardando todo el tren que se había desembarcado. Esta misma tarde transportaron los barcos algún ganado mayor y menor, bastimentos que habían quedado en la playa de Santo Tomás, treinta caballos y dos barriles de agua. Entrada la noche se avanzaron y doblaron las centinelas de a caballo que visitó el señor gobernador saliendo de ronda, y para mayor satisfacción, disparando una arma falsa, halló su señoría estar prontos todos con las armas en la mano, ocupando los puestos que se les habían destinado.

El 20 por la madrugada, separada la guardia que quedaba en el real a las órdenes del ayudante de milicias y del alférez Salazar, se formó la gente en cuadro, compuestos los dos trozos de vanguardia y retaguardia de la caballería, y los otros dos colaterales de la infantería, que constaba de soldados y pimas altos, con orden de marchar para la sierra, que distaba como dos leguas por la parte del oeste. Y poco antes de darse la seña para el movimiento, habló el señor gobernador al ayudante de milicias, don José Piniella, encomendándole la puntual observancia de las órdenes que le había dado, preguntándole por despedida que si no gustaría de ir a la sierra, a lo que respondió: estaba satisfecho de haber visto el agua, que si a esto se dirigía la marcha quedaba con mayor satisfacción en el real ejecutando las órdenes que se le habían dado, porque si era para avanzar la sierra, buscar los enemigos, y cargarles donde estuvieran o reducirlos a que se diesen prisioneros, dándole su señoría licencia, se incorporaría en la marcha, quedando el real al cuidado del alférez Salazar.

Llegados a la sierra con el orden de marcha que se dispuso, subieron algunos de los pimas a la altura de un cerro para observar los movimientos del enemigo y resguardar el campo, que estaba aún en el agua, que se halló inficionada con mayor porción de yerba y otras inmundicias, de la que no obstante bebieron, siendo los primeros los pimas por la sed y fatiga del día antecedente en que todos carecieron de agua dulce, y entregándose a ella con demasía, por lo que a poco rato prorrumpían en vómitos de la misma agua que habían bebido. Algunos atribuían este efecto a la yerba, otros, recelosos de veneno, se contenían para no beber, y los más, no consideraban que era efecto natural, que podía provenir de la disposición en que se hallaban, por la que habían bebido el día antecedente; pero se animaron y persuadieron muchos con el ejemplar de otros, que con mejor estómago hicieron la experiencia de beberla, y en quienes no produjo los efectos venenosos que la atribuían, constándoles de antemano que la yerba tan sólo causaba operación en la sangre y lo persuadía la repetida experiencia en los mismos indios, que sin disputa comen de la caza inficionada de la misma yerba con que la ejecutan.

Aquí advirtiendo el señor gobernador la consternación en que se hallaban los ánimos, hizo a los oficiales y soldados un semejante razonamiento: "Señores, con toda felicidad, a Dios gracias, nos hallamos ya en el Tiburón, objeto principal de nuestra empresa. De mi parte, he facilitado cuantos medios me han parecido convenientes; de la de ustedes sólo resta el esfuerzo, constancia y ánimo, a vista del terreno para perseguir al enemigo, que confiado en la asperza que está patente

en esta sierra, se mantiene pertinaz con poco o ningún temor a nuestras armas, a lo que demuestran." Suspendióse por un rato, y en el silencio de todos repitió la instancia. Requiriéndolos de parte de su majestad y de la suya, exhortándolos a subir la sierra para perseguir al enemigo, quedando su señoría con algunos hombres de escolta para mantener todo aquel terreno, y guardar la espalda en el entretanto diesen la vuelta a salir por el puerto que les enseñaba; si no es que una vez poseídos de las alturas, cobrasen esfuerzo para seguir lo conveniente.

¡Quién creyera que aún con esto proseguía el silencio en los demás! ¡Quién se persuadiera que llegaran a tanto temor los ánimos de los circunstantes que hacía en ellos, más pesó el riesgo que concebían, que el eco de las razones persuasivas de un gobernador, a cuyo cumplimiento les ejecutaba la fuerza de su obligación y empleo! Pero con todo, aún proseguía el silencio. Cuando si aquellos rudos peñascos fueran capaces de movimiento, hubiera hecho impresión en ellos.

Por lo que finalmente, valiéndose del recurso a otros motivos, aunque no tan apreciables como los antecedentes, exhortó con la esperanza del premio, por si acaso hiciese más fuerza en sus ánimos. Decíales para esto, que el oficial conseguiría adelantar el grado correspondiente, el soldado obtendría los honores de oficial, y que para todo esto ofrecía su influjo en la representación a la corte de Madrid, donde se habían de saber estas mismas palabras, que profería al pie de la sierra del Tiburón. Asegurando también la recompensa de parte del excelentísimo señor conde de Revillagigedo, virrey de esta Nueva España, prometiendo propicia su inclinación y favor para remunerar todo servicio, y que de la suya dispusiesen a su arbitrio, en cuanto les constara pertenecerle, quedando grabado en la memoria de los que le oían, que este pasaje no había de quedar sofocado en la profundidad de aquel barranco, sino que se había de extender su noticia por todo el reino.

¡Válganos Dios, y lo que obra una preocupación en el ánimo, que aunque proceda de un terror pánico, no es fácil el desecharla! Porque si el miedo es una pasión del ánimo a que no se puede resistir, ello fue así que no hubo quién se alentase a proferir cosa, ni a emprender el movimiento más mínimo. Bien en esta ocasión manifestó el señor gobernador deseos de ser el primero en subir la sierra y practicar por sí el reconocimiento de ella; pero ni la prudencia en el hecho, ni el carácter de su empleo, le permitían desahogar en aquellas cumbres el ardor de su marcial espíritu. Cuando por una parte la situación del real dentro de la misma isla, donde pudieran acometer los enemigos, le llamara la atención, el cuidado de disponer y determinar del bastimento para todos le tuviera con desvelo, y finalmente, el gobierno de las gentes de mar y tierra que quedaban le pedían su presencia, siendo tan notable su falta que no le quedaba margen para sustituir otro en su lugar, estando ya tan bien fundados sus recelos y desconfianzas, y así sólo acudió en este lance al esfuerzo y aliento de los demás.

Que no logró con persuasiones tan eficaces, hasta tanto que vuelto a los pimas, les preguntó en qué ánimos se hallaban? A que respondieron por medio del soldado José Rodríguez, su intérprete, que les acompañó en todas ocasiones, que ellos habían venido de tierras muy lejanas para matar a los seris que andaban por los montes haciendo daño, que hasta ahora no habían hecho otra cosa que comer, que querían irlos a buscar por las sierras.

Agregóse a los pimas un mozo del señor gobernador llamado Carlos Márquez, diciendo que aunque no era soldado, si su señoría le daba licencia, acompañaría a los pimas. Concedióselo, y a este mozo siguieron Francisco Javier de Arriola, Joaquín de la Fuente, José Antonio Arguelles, soldados de la real compañía de San Miguel,

Juan Ignacio Madrid, de la de Fronteras, Tadeo Escalante, de la de Terrenate, el sargento miliciano de Sonora José Padilla, Javier de León y Francisco Borboa, todos vecinos de Santa Ana. Y hubieran seguido otros, que no se ofrecieron por el celo que concebían pudiera excitar en los arreglados la oferta, adelantándose a una acción a que ellos no se habían atrevido. Confirmándose en su dictamen (aunque era nocivas sus atenciones y respetos) cuando experimentaron la desazón con que un oficial despidió a Juan María Verdugo, soldado de San Miguel que se había preparado para subir con los demás.

Dejadas las cueras y tomada la escopeta y adarga, con las órdenes e instrucciones de lo que debían practicar por distintos parajes, comenzó la gente a avanzar la sierra, en cuya eminencia se detuvieron algún tiempo en solicitud del descenso, que les dificultaba sobremanera lo plano de los peñascos, hasta que poco a poco se fueron internando a otras, donde hallaron el socorro de agua limpia, con la que pudieron refrigerar la fatiga. A esta sazón el capitán comandante de los pimas destacó una partida de veinticinco hombres con el capitán de Santa Teresa para cortar rastros, y los demás tomaron el rumbo para reconocer el puerto que se les había mandado y donde se sospechaba que pudiera abrigarse el enemigo.

En todo este tiempo quedó el señor gobernador en el puesto hasta las cuatro de la tarde, que se retiró al real, dejando al sargento Holguín con catorce hombres encargado de que avisase prontamente de cualquiera novedad. Como a las seis de la tarde llegó a la guardia del sargento, el capitán de Santa Teresa con la gente que destacó el capitán comandante de los pimas, y avisa [avisó] que había encontrado y seguido unas huellas hasta tanto que se certificó del paraje en que estaban los enemigos; que por eso se había vuelto, lo que al punto se participó al señor gobernador por el sargento Holguín, y entrada la noche se percibieron en la altura del puerto algunas luces y tiros en señal de que se hallaban los nuestros en aquel paraje.

El 21 por la madrugada llegó un barco con dieciocho barriles de agua y dos soldados de los que subieron a la sierra, con algunos pimas, quedando el resto apostados en la altura, que no quisieron desamparar por haber encontrado algunos pozos de agua limpia, aunque los dos mayores eran los inficionados con la carne de los caballos que dejó en la isla el capitán de Sinaloa, y hervían de gusanos, avisando que se les enviase allí el bastimento, y que tenían ya noticia del paraje en que se hallaba el enemigo, según lo que les había participado el capitán de Santa Teresa, destacado para este fin. Surtióseles de todo lo necesario para este día, en que se retiró a tierra firme el comandante capitán de Fronteras, por hallarse indispuesto, pero como la remisión de los bastimentos, que se hizo la primera vez en hombres de yaquis doblase las fatigas, no siendo pocas las que tenían, en el manejo de los barcos y otros ejercicios indispensables a que se destinaban.

Se determinó cargar un barco que los transportase a la otra parte del estero, que distaba una legua de la sierra para que allí ocurriesen por lo necesario. Dando orden al ayudante de milicia don José Piniella para que con el sargento Luján y treinta soldados defendiesen el agua donde estaban los pimas, procurando con buen estilo alentarlos y exhortarlos a las fatigas y registrar las montañas para cargar al enemigo donde quiera que le encontrasen, o reducirlos prisioneros, si se pudiese, siguiendo el rumbo que les mostraría el capitán de Santa Teresa.

El 22 llegó un barco con algunos bastimentos, veintitres barriles de agua, trece caballos de veinte que se habían pedido, habiéndose huido seis y ahogado uno. No se perdía tampoco el tiempo en la más mínima circunstancia conducente a indagar

las noticias de la isla, y así preparado un barco con la escolta necesaria, se despachó a Francisco Manuel Rivera para que buscase la costa del sur, empezando la diligencia a legua y media en distancia del real, con motivo de que, transitando el campo por esa parte, el día 20 se encontraron algunas conchas de nácar que los inteligentes aprobaron por evidente señal de haber, hacia aquellos parajes, alguna perla.

Esta tarde como a las tres, llegaron cuatro soldados con la feliz noticia de que los nuestros habían encontrado al enemigo amparado de una sierra, en cuya fragosidad estaba por naturaleza defendido, pero venciendo en partes las quebradas y asperezas de sus peñascos, los habían cargado con esfuerzo y tenían ya muertos tres hombres y dos mujeres, y algunos heridos. Que de nuestra parte sólo dos pimas quedaban heridos, que se mandaron retirar, prosiguiendo los demás en mantener el sitio y la función.

Con este aviso se despachó al punto al capitán de Sinaloa, al sargento mayor de milicias, al capitán de Baroyeca y todos los soldados que estaban montados, para que, transitando con ligereza hasta donde pudiesen entrar los caballos, desmontados marchasen presto en socorro de nuestra tropa a mantener el puesto, para lo cual, y para animarlos más con su presencia, despachados los soldados, montó el señor gobernador a caballo en compañía del alférez Salazar y un soldado que para este fin segregó de los primeros, y marchando hacia el paraje de la función, en sus inmediaciones encontró la gente que se retiraba por haber puéstose en precipitada fuga el enemigo por la parte de unos picachos, descolgándose a un barranco que les guardaba la espalda, sin que hubiesen podido los nuestros cortarles este paso por la inaccesible profundidad que mediaba por aquella parte entre los nuestros, fatigados ya de la acción, que había durado como ocho horas, sin que de nuestra parte, a Dios gracias, hubiese más que tres pimas heridos y un sargento del mismo cuerpo, que ganando terreno en la eminencia de la sierra, se le cayó la divisa o montera que usan en la guerra, adornada con variedad de plumas verdes, encarnadas, amarillas y anteadas que toman de la guacamalla [guacamaya] y otros pájaros, y desconocido de sus mismos compañeros, le dieron un flechazo.

Esta fue la primer función que han tenido los nuestros, emprendida a la verdad con tanto brío, que han cobrado muchos alientos para proseguir, despreciando las asperezas del terreno, por lo que esperamos mayores progresos. Esta tarde, embarcando todo el tren se mudó el real a la otra banda del estero, por estar más cerca de la sierra, con lo que se facilitaba el socorro de agua, aunque enyerbada, y la remisión de los bastimentos para los que en ella permanecían. Y habiendo vuelto Rivera, no surtió efecto su diligencia.

El 23 se despachó a Pablo, capitán de la guerra del Pópulo, en solicitud de los seris, para que a vista de lo acaecido, les persuadiese a aceptar la paz que se les ofrecía para su bien y provecho, pero que de persistir contumaces no queriendo dejar los montes, se les perseguiría en cualquier parte que se acogiesen hasta acabar con ellos. Se determinó también que la gente descansase este día por la fatiga del antecedente, y se bastimentasen para emprender otra salida.

Para lo cual esta tarde fue el señor gobernador al pie de la sierra, donde se hallaba la gente, y después de agasajar a los pimas agradeciéndoles lo bien que se habían portado, dio orden al capitán de Sinaloa y demás oficiales, para que al día siguiente saliesen todos juntos en alcance del enemigo que huía, exhortándoles a proseguir con el brío que se habían portado en la primer función. Y al retirarse, bailaron y cantaron los pimas con aquellos ademanes y alaridos que acostumbran celebrar las cabelleras, orejas, manos y pies, que por despojos quitan a los muertos

en la guerra, para señal de su victoria en los triunfos que consiguieron.

Aquí, acercándose al señor gobernador el capitán del Pitic, dijo, que al tiempo de poner cerco a los enemigos, comenzó un seri, en alta voz, a llamar, uno por uno, a los capitanes diciéndoles, en idioma pímico, que para qué venían a pelear contra ellos, cuando todos eran de un mismo gremio? Que dejasen a los españoles y se adunasen con ellos, que sólo querían y gustaban de pelear con los soldados, que esos tenían sus cueras para defenderse. Que advirtieran que aunque ahora estaban muy amigos de los españoles, dentro de poco tiempo estos les darían el pago: que los habían de trasquilar como a ovejas, que los azotarían, y a manera de caballos les pondrían maneas en los pies (desde luego que con esto aludía el seri, a la porción de grillos que miraba, tan bien empleados en los de su nación). Y finalmente, que pasasen a la banda de ellos, y les darían a cada uno de los capitanes su mujer. No quedó sin merecido castigo tan bárbara propuesta, como se verá después.

Respondiendo por entonces, fielmente, el capitán pima, que venían a pelear con los seris porque eran malos; que andaban matando las gentes, quemando las casas y viviendo en el monte como venados. Que ellos (decía de los pimas) estaban en sus pueblos sin hacer daño a otras naciones cristianas, ni a los españoles; que estos sólo castigaban a los que vivían mal, que en sus pueblos tenían mujeres y los casaba el padre como Dios manda. Y diciendo esto rompió la guerra comenzando a dispararles flechas.

Este mismo día volvió el Pablo sin haber encontrado a los seris. Ya fuese porque en realidad no los vio en la distancia que anduvo, o por el recelo de las amenazas que le habían hecho, no se atreviese a buscarlos por no experimentar en ellos algún rigor. Añadió también que ciertamente no habían de venir, y que eran por demás las diligencias que se hacían en esta parte, según la gran desconfianza que tenían de los españoles, y que así se lo habían comunicado desde su primera entrada con el capitán de Sinaloa, diciéndole el cabecilla, que por ninguna manera se vendrían a los españoles, que para experimentar la muerte mejor les estaba el que los fuesen a buscar. Que si no se acordaba, que habiéndose juntado los parientes en el Carrizal para venir de paz, por los mensajes que él mismo les había llevado, con todo, los mataron, después de avisar que allí se estaban congregando para venirse a San Miguel? Que de todo esto él mismo avisó al señor gobernador, que era, o ejercía las veces por sus facultades, el licenciado don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, dándole también por señal de que perseveraban en el mismo ánimo e intento de bajarse, si de vuelta de viaje hallaba todavía una zanja pequeña, que hicieron atravesando el camino, donde hallaría un arco con una cruz y cerca de un cardón que por su magnitud se muestra especial en aquel puesto. Y en la realidad, así se manifiestan hasta el día de hoy las mismas señales.

¿Mas qué sucedió con esto? Que llegado el Pablo a San Miguel, participó al señor licenciado el estado de sus parientes (es la voz que usan para explicar la comunidad y sujetos de su misma nación) en el Carrizal, con las señales referidas, para indicar su perseverancia en el puesto, con ánimo de venirse luego que llegasen los otros que esperaban del Tiburón, donde se habían pasado; pero atribuyendo a engañifa las noticias del Pablo, que juzgó dirigirse sólo a retardar sus providencias, deseoso que en su tiempo se emprendiese alguna acción, determinó que saliese el capitán de Fronteras, don Francisco Antonio Tagle Bustamante, con cuarenta soldados y sesenta pimas (poco más o menos, pues no he podido averiguar el número fijo).

Que marchando hacia el Carrizal, encontraron puntualmente todas las señas

de la raya, arco y cruz, con que manifestaban su rendimiento y subsistir en el mismo paraje que habían dicho y avisando por medio del Pablo. ¡Pero o Santo Dios! ¡A qué términos de ceguedad llega una operación dirigida por sólo fines y motivos particulares! ¿No era bastante palpar con la experiencia la raya, arco, y cruz para distinguir los tiempos y las acciones concordando los derechos? ¿No era suficiente estímulo para retraerse de toda operación, una evidencia tan patente, para no traspasar los límites y contenerse en la raya de la razón? Y más cuando la realidad y presencia desvanecía toda sospecha concebida en términos tan comunes que igualmente se pueden producir en contra para asegurar siempre el desacierto.

Este golpe, pues, que recibieron entonces, expresaban ser la causa de su desconfianza, como también la prisión del Canito, por solas mal fundadas sospechas, y a quien amaban como a su principal cabeza que los gobernaba y obedecían, creciendo en ellos cada día más su obstinación, por semejantes lances, para el ejercicio de las armas, en que se han mantenido constantes, queriendo perder antes la vida que entregarse a los españoles, como se ha experimentado en la ocasión presente.

Esta noche se vio en nuestro real, un perro, y luego al punto se despachó la patrulla que andaba de ronda, para que le siguiesen por si acaso encontraba con su dueño, y habiéndose registrado las inmediaciones del real, y seguido por alguna distancia, no resultó novedad.

El 24 a la madrugada se despachó a toda la gente el bastimento suficiente para seis días, y salió en busca del enemigo para cargarle en el mismo paraje que el 22, si acaso hubiese vuelto, o para seguirlos en su alcance. Esta tarde, habiendo salido el señor gobernador a registrar el terreno, mandó abrir unos pozos en parajes que parecieron aptos para conseguir alguna agua limpia.

El 25 llegó un barco cargado de bastimento y ganado mayor, que luego se ponía en beneficio por no haber modo de mantenerlo en pie. El capitán miliciano de Baroyeca, con cuarenta yaquis y algunos de los pimas que habían quedado para cuidar de los enfermos, salió para proveerse del agua de la sierra; pero para que se entienda su calidad es menester advertir que en los planes [planos] donde se recogía alguna arena, se resumía parte de aquella agua enyerbada de las pozas, y donde, haciendo un batequio, se podía lograr recoger el agua menos puerca y hedionda que la de las pozas, pero en la realidad no tenía otra diferencia más que el estar colada por la arena. Este día, abriéndosele la carne a pedazos, murió uno de los pimas heridos, habiendo antes confesado, y aunque se le aplicaron varios remedios, no surtieron efecto, frustrándose toda diligencia, y atado a unas piedras se le dio sepultura en la mar.

El 26 por la madrugada salió la misma gente yaqui con el capitán de Baroyeca a llenar las vasijas del agua de la sierra, y volvió con la noticia de que se han agotado en tanto grado las oquedades de las peñas de donde se transpor[t]aba, que de los batequios en que se recogía, sólo restaba uno, que suda con escasez.

Esta tarde llegaron 25 pimas desertores del campo, con el pretexto de enfermedad algunos, y los sanos, de escoltar a los enfermos. Y dicen que los nuestros no habían encontrado al enemigo y que se hallaban muy faltos y necesitados de agua, por lo que se encaminaron al noroeste con la noticia de que había hacia aquella playa un aguaje permanente al que pudiera haberse retirado el enemigo. Con esto mandó el señor gobernador aprontar dos barcos, el uno al mando del capitán de Baroyeca, y el otro al del alférez Salazar, para que navegando toda aquella noche, procurasen

avistar el aguaje de aquella playa, y cargar los enemigos, o a lo menos, en caso de ser descubiertos, se ahuyentarían, siendo muy factible que en su retirada encontrasen con nuestro campo que marchaba hacia aquella parte. Pero a distancia de dos leguas vararon ambos, manteniéndose así, hasta el amanecer del día siguiente, en que prosiguieron su viaje.

El 27 se despachó a un cabo con cuatro hombres, alguna gente yaqui y pima para conducir el agua, y habiendo subido poco más arriba de la sierra, encontraron alguna más, pero de la misma calidad que la primera, y con mucha dificultad para sacarla. No obstante, nos surtimos de la necesaria para aquel día. Como a las dos de la tarde arribaron los dos barcos que salieron anoche, que no pudiendo montar la punta de la isla, por el viento contrario y fuerza de las corrientes, y por no perder del todo el viaje, se determinaron a registrar un aguaje, que muchos marineros dieron noticia hallarse por aquel rumbo en tierra firme. Con efecto, así fue, pero era demasiadamente salobre e inservible. Llegó también este día otro barco cargado de bastimento.

El 28 se despacharon los yaquis por agua con la escolta suficiente, y aunque con alguna dificultad, se consiguieron ocho barriles, con esta experiencia no hay duda que se aumentaba el desconsuelo de lo que podría padecer la tropa por la falta de agua, careciendo totalmente de la noticia de su marcha, pues la que el 26 se había tenido por los desertores, antes persuadían inclinando la razón a recelar algún desastre y su total ruina. En estas dudas se trataba ya del modo con qué socorrerla con alguna agua, aunque la ignorancia del puesto donde se hallaría imposibilitaba la remisión; por lo que en primer lugar se recurrió al medio más proporcionado en la protección de María Santísima de Guadalupe, ofreciendo el señor gobernador celebrar a la Señora una misa en su Santuario de la ciudad de México, esperando por este medio tener en breve noticias favorables de la tropa. No tardó su piedad en la ocasión, y en otras muchas que en todo el tiempo de la campaña se manifestó propicia, pues como a las diez del día llegaron al real cinco pimas sin más que una flecha en la aljaba o carcax, donde guardaban algunas orejas de seris, evidente señal de la función que noticiaban haber tenido los nuestros, que se acercaban ya con la presa.

Singular fue el regocijo que causó esta noticia por las circunstancias que se han dicho. Poco después mandó el señor gobernador formar la tropa que estaba en el real, haciendo venir también la gente de mar para recibir con la salva de repetidas descargas y el estrépito del cañón al campo, que llegó victorioso con veintiocho presas de mujeres, niños y niñas, quedando los hombres, que en un número de diez se hallaron en esta ranchería, yertos cadáveres, víctimas de su obstinación y pertinacia, y entre ellos aquel infeliz que el día de la primer función se puso a exhortar a los pimas para atraerlos a su partido. Luego mandó el señor gobernador retirar la tropa a tomar algún refresco y descansar de la fatiga de su marcha, habiendo experimentado la de no haber probado agua en treinta y ocho horas. A esta sazón, y al mismo tiempo que llegó la tropa, vino un barco con catorce barriles de agua, de tal suerte que no advirtieron si el agua que se les daba acababa de llegar de tierra firme, o si de antemano se tenía prevenida. Gracias a Dios y a su Santísima Madre que tan patente ha mostrado su protección en todo, pues aunque parezcan contingencias, son de aquéllas que sólo sabe disponer la Providencia del Altísimo. Porque aunque se tenían ocho barriles traídos este día de la sierra, con otros seis que habían sobrado del día antecedente, no eran estos suficientes para dar qué

beber a la gente junta ya en el real, con más los veintiocho prisioneros que se habían agregado, sin el socorro de los catorce barriles que vinieron de tierra firme.

De nuestra parte no hubo más que cuatro pimas heridos, de los cuales uno que la recibió en el hombro izquierdo se dispuso luego para morir, porque, no habiéndosele asistido prontamente desde el día 27 en que fue la función, con algunos de aquellos pocos antídotos que hasta ahora se han conocido para la actividad de la yerba venenosa, de que comúnmente usan los indios en sus flechas. Cuando llegó al real, aunque se le asistió con todo esmero y diligencia, no surtió efecto, por habérsele empezado ya a reventar la carne del brazo izquierdo y a inflamársele el corazón, por lo que finalmente a la media noche expiró. Los otros tres parece no recibieron las heridas venenosas, por lo que pueden esperar en breve su mejoría, como también la de otros dos que al avanzar la sierra les rompieron las piernas con la violencia de las piedras que les dispararon los seris poseídos de las alturas.

Los nuestros pelearon con esfuerzo y constancia, porque, además del terreno ventajoso en que estaba el enemigo, se abrigaba metiéndose en las muchas cuevas que había, desde donde se defendía con ferocidad, durando por esta circunstancia más de cuatro horas la función, no pudiendo los nuestros manejar con expedición la escopeta. Distinguióse entre todos, el sargento José Luján, que con espada en mano, sin adarga, ni cuera, se entró para una cueva, lo que visto por el alférez de San Miguel, don José Fontes fue prontamente a ponerse a su lado, y a este tiempo saltaron de la cueva tres indios sobre ellos, que a la verdad les daban algún cosijo; pero observando los pimas, que se hallaban enfrente sostenidos del ayudante de milicias don José Piniella con algunos soldados, el lance que pasaba al alférez y sargento de San Miguel, al tiempo mismo que el seri enarcaba la flecha para dispararla al sargento, le soltaron los pimas tantas que le baldaron, dejándolo sin movimiento con la flecha en la mano. Don José Piniella de un escopetazo trajo a tierra al segundo, y al tercero partió el sargento el arco, las flechas y el brazo de una cuchillada, acabándolo después con repetidos golpes. Algunos de los pimas también se arrojaron violentamente a una cueva de donde habían observado salir unas flechas, sacando en peso al que las disparaba, y con gran ligereza le cortaron, aún vivo, las orejas y el pellejo junto con el pelo dividido en varios trozos. Y aunque ocurrieron los soldados para estorbar la muerte de este infeliz, no lo consiguieron, descargando los pimas con mucha algazara el golpe de sus macanas, a cuya violencia perdió la vida.

A la tarde, segregadas cuatro indias, una por una, se llevaron a la presencia del señor gobernador con el intérprete José Illescas, las que decla[ra]ron ser cristianas unas, y gentiles otras. (Omito la expresión de sus nombres por evitar la confusión que puede producirse entre veintiocho personas, contentándome con la generalidad, bastante para aclarar las noticias pertenecientes a este diario). Las cristianas decían ser bautizadas por un padre que en un barco, señalando los que tenían presentes, había estado en su ranchería. Este fue el padre Juan de Ugarte, de la Compañía de Jesús, misionero de las Californias, que el año 25 pasó a esta isla en solicitud de sus amados californios que por varios disturbios y motines recelaba se hubiesen pasado a ella, para congregarlos y reducirlos cual solícito pastor, al aprisco de su cuidado. Otras del padre Nicolás de Perera, ya en el Pópulo, ya en Cucurpe, donde había sido misionero algunos años. Que de sus maridos (que todos fueron muertos en la primer función) unos eran cristianos, de otros ignoraban si lo eran.

Que de las mujeres, muchas se hallaron arriba de la sierra en ocasión que los nuestros la avanzaron primera vez, que ellas, con las demás que allí estaban

prisioneras, quedaron en un barranco inmediato, por donde huyeron los que mantenían la función, y que en su retirada murieron allí mismo diez de los heridos, que muchos se habían dividido por varias partes, pero casi todos heridos, que los juzgaban ya muertos; que ellas, junto con las demás que se habían aprisionado, y los hombres que murieron en la sierra de las cuevas, de los cuales estaban ya algunos heridos de la primer función, tomaron el camino para el aguaje del Tecomate, que se haya hacia la punta del norte y es permanente todo el año en la misma abundancia de agua, capaz para mantener mucha gente; que así que bebieron a su satisfacción y se proveyeron de toda la que pudieron cargar, se retiraron a las cuevas donde, por las huellas que dejaron en el aguaje, las descubrieron los nuestros después de cuatro días, que no la probaban, manteniéndose con sólo biznaga.

Que en ese tiempo se habían pasado a tierra firme tres familias, y que de la gente toda, que se había efugiado en las cuevas sólo faltaban siete muchachas que temían, y casi afirmaban, haber muerto a manos de los pimas, como así sucedió, y en quienes se conocieron después algunas alhajitas y partes que fueron despojos de sus cuerpos. Que dos criaturas habían muerto sofocadas de sus mismas madres por abrigarlas y defenderlas de aquellas primeras flechas que dispararon los pimas al tiempo de darles el asalto.

Añadieron que si de la primer función habían escapado algunos, desde luego tiraron a un pozo, distante del real como una legua por la parte del oesudueste, que no es permanente, aunque por la mayor parte del año se conserva agua en él, o al Carrizal, aguaje que puede decirse que es único en toda la isla, por ser sus aguas corrientes, aunque en corto espacio y mantenerse todo el año. Es su situación a la parte del oeste, cuarta al sudoeste, al doblar una punta de la sierra más inmediato a la costa del oeste, que a la del este, y a distancia de cuatro a cinco leguas del real. Esta fue la declaración y noticias en que concordaron las cuatro indias, que fueron examinadas por toda la tarde y que con la mayor puntualidad llevo expresadas.

El 29 se despachó la gente por agua y se consiguió la suficiente con el conjunto de otros muchos batequios, que se habían formado por la solicitud del capitán miliciano de Baroyeca, don Joaquín Valdés, que se encargó de esta fatiga, y de la subsistencia en los que por su ausencia suplían este ejercicio tan importante. Previnose también un barco a cargo del capitán de Sinaloa para registrar segunda vez el aguaje del Tecomate, y acechar si bajaban al agua algunos que pudieran haber permanecido en aquel terreno. No se consiguió la salida de este capitán por ser el norte fuerte y contrario.

Pero con todo, no siendo tanto para la tierra firme, se despachó un barco para transportar cincuenta pimas y todas las flechas que tuviesen los que habían quedado en el real del Carrizal, por haberse consumido las que tenían los pimas que pasaron a la isla, y reemplazar el número de los que se hallaban enfermos de flujo de vientre, o fatigados de las marchas, necesitaban de descanso.

Este día murió el intérprete José de Illescas de un insulto que le acometió a la media noche del 28, habiéndose dispuesto para este trance con el padre Francisco Antonio Pimentel, que le asistió hasta expirar. Bautizóse también un párvulo de cuatro a cinco años, que por los golpes que recibió de los pimas al tiempo de su prisión se recelaba de su muerte. Púsosele por nombre Francisco Javier Miguel, teniéndolo en brazos el sargento mayor don Francisco Julián de Alvarado. Y para que se vea la estimación, y cuidado, que tenían todos en que no se desperdiciase la menor porción de agua, al tiempo de echarle a este niño la del bautismo, su abuela, que estaba presente, juntas las manos arriba de la palangana, y bajo de la cabeza

del niño, la recogió con esmero, bebiéndola después sin perder una gota, que cayese, ni a la palangana, ni al suelo.

El 30 se trajeron siete barriles de agua y se despachó la más de la gente a la sierra para que allí a su arbitrio la tomaran de los remansos que permanecían en las alturas, aunque enyerbada. Concluyéronse los pozos que el 24 se mandaron abrir en alguna distancia de la playa y en terreno que por ser derramaderos que bajaban de la falda de la sierra, se concibió esperanza de que fuese dulce, pero se halló tan salobre, que no sirvió a la escasez que se padecía.

A las nueve de la mañana llegó el barco con los cincuenta pimas y armas que se mandaron conducir, y 23 tercios de bastimentos. Después de medio día se hizo a la vela el capitán de Sinaloa para la punta del norte, y registrar el pozo del Tecomate, como también una isleta llamada Lobos, que dista como tres leguas de esta punta, y aunque desierta por la falta de agua, y habitada sólo de multitud de lobos marinos, se tuvo por conveniente visitarla y bucear en los parajes, que se decía haber antiguamente perlas.

Esta tarde salió el sargento mayor de milicias, el capitán de Baroyeca y el ayudante de milicias, el sargento Luján y treinta soldados, el comandante de los pimas con ciento dieciseis, conducidos de una india prisionera, para que les enseñase el aguaje permanente y único de la isla. Esta misma noche se embarcaron ciento once pimas, que faltos de armas, sólo servían de consumir porción de agua, que con mayor utilidad se aplicaría para los que quedaban.

El día primero de octubre, entre los que se nombraron de escolta para el acarreo del agua, fue uno José Rodríguez, que por habérsele hinchado los pies en las marchas antecedentes, no acompañó a los pimas que habían salido el día antes con el comandante. Este soldado, pues, habiendo subido a un cerro inmediato a la sierra, por si acaso descubría dos caballos que le faltaban, vio a una india por la montaña y que venía hacía él. Cubrió su caballo, y puesto en celada para no ser descubierto, la estuvo acechando, hasta que le pareció tiempo competente para acometerle, prendióla, e inmediatamente puesta a las ancas del caballo la trajo al real a presencia del señor gobernador, donde declaró que se había hallado en la primer función, donde perdió a su marido y tres hijos. Vino también conteste al pie de la letra con todo lo demás que habían declarado las cuatro que se examinaron en Tecomate. Y preguntada por la gente, dijo que no sabía dónde estaba, que aunque los había buscado por todo este tiempo, no había podido encontrarlos, que de hambre y sed se habrían muerto ya todos, porque los más iban heridos; que el día de ayer se le había muerto de sed el único hijo que le quedaba. Cinco mujeres que le acompañaban buscando también a los suyos, habían muerto de unas heridas que sacaron al tiempo de retirarse de la primer función.

Preguntósele también, dónde se hallaba el cabecilla de ellos, conocido por el nombre de Canta La Flecha. Y respondió que había sido muerto de un flechazo en los pulmones, según el lugar que señaló, y que la misma fortuna había corrido un hermano del cabecilla. Preguntósele también, que de qué se había mantenido por aquellos días? Y respondió que de una frutilla que traía y mostró presente sacándola de la cintura, y que en la sierra, ya cerca del agua, había encontrado una bura muerta, de la que tomó un pedazo, tornándose otra vez en busca de los suyos por hacia aquellos territorios, donde la apresó el soldado.

Y finalmente preguntada por la mujer del Canta La Flecha, dijo que no sabía dónde estaba, que allí miraba sentada una hija suya, que desde luego sabría ella de su madre. Y de hecho, se vino a descubrir y averiguar de cierto, por el dicho de la

muchacha, que la india que salió el 30 por guía de los nuestros, y para enseñarles el aguaje, era su madre y mujer del Canta La Flecha, llamado Ignacio, que era cristiano y de las Salinas, que había muerto de un flechazo que sacó en la primer función. Y como la Andrea (así se llama la muchacha), pareciese de genio vivo y despierto para dar alguna noticia, incitó al señor gobernador a hacerle otras preguntas, a que satisfizo con gracia, concordando en toda la sustancia con las declaraciones de las demás, y exclamando a lo último que el indio Manuel (es el motor de la sublevación presente) tenía la culpa de que su padre se hubiese visto en estos trabajos, hasta que perdió la vida.

Como a las siete de la noche llegaron al real seis pimas con otro, que al subir la sierra, se había lastimado una pierna, dando por noticia que su comandante había llegado al agua; que en todo el camino no encontraron huella, y que los soldados andaban todavía rodeando y registrando las cumbres, que aguardaba bajasen al agua para que se determinase lo conveniente.

El 2 se trajeron quince barriles de agua, y habiendo vuelto el sargento mayor, dijo que había recorrido todo aquel terreno de las inmediaciones del agua, y para la punta del sur; que no encontró huella, ni indicio alguno de aquellos infelices, que maltratados de la primer función, se desparramaron por el bosque y montañas donde el temor, sin arbitrio de la razón, ni del valor, los había arrojado para su total ruina. Que también registró las sierras, que en una eminencia encontró una bura muerta, y cerca de ella, un rastro del que llegó a cortarle un pedazo que sólo le faltaba. Siguiólo con diligencia sin perderlo hasta el agua, donde bajó, que después, tornó a tomar la sierra encaminándose para la parte donde estaba el real, por lo cual en su alcance, proseguí también su derrota con algunos soldados, hasta tanto que perdió todo rastro. Con esto determinó bajarse a la playa, y encaminarse por allí, al aguaje. Púsosele por nombre la Fuente de la India. En esta playa, por la multitud de concha nácar, se persuadieron todos, haber alguna perla y placeres en las inmediaciones. Buscando pues con diligencia, un soldado halló, en una concha muerta, tres de color blanco, aunque opaco el oriente.

Con estas noticias que venían tan ajustadas a las declaraciones de las indias, y diligencias que se habían practicado en las salidas que hizo nuestro campo, se determinó levantar el sitio, porque la razón evidentemente concluye haberse logrado el fin que se pretendía en esta entrada a la Isla del Tiburón. Pues evacuada ya de los enemigos que la habitaban, queda también practicado el interior reconocimiento de toda ella, que se ejecutó puntualmente recorriendo desde el real para la parte del poniente, sus sierras intermedias, y por toda la costa, dirigiéndose después hasta la punta del norte, y de allí, tornando al real por todas las sierras que miran al oriente. De donde, con la mayor diligencia, se prosiguió por toda esta costa hasta la punta del sur, dando la vuelta al poniente, hasta salir otra vez al real.

Como de lo dicho hasta aquí, fácilmente se percibe, y se impondrá cualquiera que leyere este diario en la realidad de lo que ha pasado con las noticias más puntuales, que pueden conducir para lo de adelante. Embarcado el tren, y disparado el cañón de leva, puesto el sol se dieron a la vela los siete barcos, tomando el rumbo para la playa de Santo Tomás, a donde por la fuerza de las corrientes, no pudieron arribar hasta las doce de la noche. Desembarcó la gente dando desde luego pronto aviso al ayudante de la gobernación, don Antonio Montero, para que remitiese prontamente las bestias suficientes para el transporte de la gente al real del Carrizal. Los enfermos y heridos quedaron en los barcos para seguir el viaje, y desembarcar en el promontorio de San Juan, a excepción del que mandaba don

Manuel Correa, que quedó con orden de circular la isla, para el fin de su puntual demarcación.

El 3, en algunos de los caballos más fuertes que acababan de pasar del Tiburón, se adelantó el señor gobernador con su guardia, que constaba de seis soldados y un sargento, para avivar en la remisión de los caballos, que habían de transportar toda la gente, que quedaba en Santo Tomás totalmente falta de agua, la que tuvieron en abundancia llegados al real del Carrizal, como a las ocho, o nueve de la noche, en que se prosiguió dando a las bestias agua de los pozos, porque la de las lagunas del Ojo del Perro, este día se había consumido toda.

El 4 salió el comandante de los pimas con todo este cuerpo, algunos soldados, y toda la caballada maltratada para que marchando poco a poco, se condujera a la hacienda del Pitic a tomar algún refuerzo, donde debían todos esperar el resto de la tropa. No puedo dejar de advertir que era difícil transitase la caballada maltratada hasta el Tenuaje, donde había agua, si la providencia del Altísimo no hubiese dispuesto, el que los pimas, a distancia de más de legua apartado del camino, encontrasen un hoyo de cuatro a cinco varas de largo, y dos de ancho, que mantenía más de vara y media de agua, de la que se aprovecharon haciendo allí alto para seguir después su marcha.

El capitán de Sinaloa llegó a este real, después de haber registrado la punta del norte y pozo del Tecomate, donde no advirtió novedad, que por la fuerza de las corrientes, y viento que se mantuvo aquellos días contrario, no pudo seguir a Isla de Lobos, que dista de la Isla del Tiburón poco más de dos leguas, para registrar sus placeres, que en lo demás ya se sabe estar desierta, y ser inhabitable por falta de agua.

Los seis barcos que llegaron al promontorio de San Juan Bautista se proveyeron de un todo para salir otra vez al Tiburón, y bucear hacia aquella parte donde el soldado encontró las perlas que se dijeron el día 2, con el motivo también, de que manteniéndose los barcos a vista del Tiburón, si acaso algunos de los que por contingencia hubiesen escapado, los observaba, les sirviese de retrayente para no bajar al agua o se viesen precisados a venir a los nuestros, o mantenerse en la sierra, donde estaba la enyerbada. Lugar que por su aspereza carece totalmente de la comida, que sólo tienen en abundancia en las marismas con las frutillas, aunque por este tiempo escasean, a excepción de la hermosísima agridulce pitahaya, o en las playas con la pesca, a que no es fácil se dediquen a vista de los barcos que circulaban la isla, los que concluida esta diligencia seguirían el viaje para Yaqui.

El 5 se dispuso la marcha, y habiéndose gastado lo más del día en sacar agua de los pozos para dar qué beber a las bestias, como a las cuatro de la tarde partió el señor gobernador con el resto de los oficiales y tropa, para hacer noche una legua adelante del Ojo del Perro, donde había suficiente pasto para la caballada; dejando en el real del Carrizal un destacamento de trece soldados a cargo del sargento Holguín, para que recorriese la playa de Santo Tomás de Villanueva, el promontorio de San Juan Bautista, la Salinas, el pozo de San Juan, el Tonuco, y que finalmente estuviese vigilante recorriendo continuamente todo el terreno.

El 6, hecho alto en el Tenuaje, donde en la caja del río se mantenía encharcada el agua, y pastos suficientes para la caballada, a la tarde se prosiguió la marcha a las Lagunas de la Tórtola, donde se pasó la noche en mejor terreno de pastos y agua llovediza.

El 7 llegó su señoría a la hacienda del Pitic. Hízose aquí alto por los días 8 y 9,

a causa de una indisposición de estómago que provino al señor gobernador provocándole a vómitos la mucha cantidad de agua a que se entregó, pues por espacio de un mes no había tomado otra semejante, y la que con escasez se había conseguido en el tiempo de la campaña, era tan inmunda, y asquerosa, que sólo la necesidad pudo hacerla usual. Pero fortalecido con la dieta que observó en esta materia, se prosiguió la marcha.

El 10, habiendo hecho alto en el rancho de las Animas, se pasó el señor gobernador a hacer noche al real de San José de Gracia.

El 11 por la madrugada, después de celebrada la misa, marchó su señoría para el presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, donde formada la tropa esperó para saludarlo en su llegada con muchas y repetidas descargas, complaciéndose de su feliz regreso. Para esto, y manifestar también las mujeres de los soldados de esta compañía el singular regocijo que les causaba ver triunfantes, a los que muchas veces juzgaron ya sepultados en las asperezas del Tiburón, dispusieron tres arcos adornados con aquellas más decentes alhajas de sus usos, y un muchacho al frente, que con vestiduras de mujer, tremolando una bandera, daba la enhorabuena con repetidos vítores y aclamaciones, para que desde luego, a la primera vista, llamase la atención a distinguir la propiedad de su mujeril festejo.

Paréceme llevar expresado puntualmente todo lo perteneciente a este diario, en el cual, si algo falta, será porque no ha llegado a mí noticia; pero si en parte desagradaren las que llevo dichas, también advierto, que la culpa estará en los que provocaron, dando motivos para referirlas, no en mí, que estoy obligado a decir la verdad, y proponer todo aquello con que el pincel de mi estilo, aunque tosco, se aplicó a dar a su imagen los clavos de la luz, para desvanecer las sombras de una perspectiva, que sólo figuraba confusiones. Quedando ya patente para todos los que desean informarse de lo cierto, que a la gloria, y esplendor de los palacios pertenece la elección de personas aptas, y proporcionadas para el ejercicio, y manejo de los empleos, porque de la nobleza, y proceder de los que los sirven, se aumenta, y crece en gran parte el honor, y fama de los señores.

IV

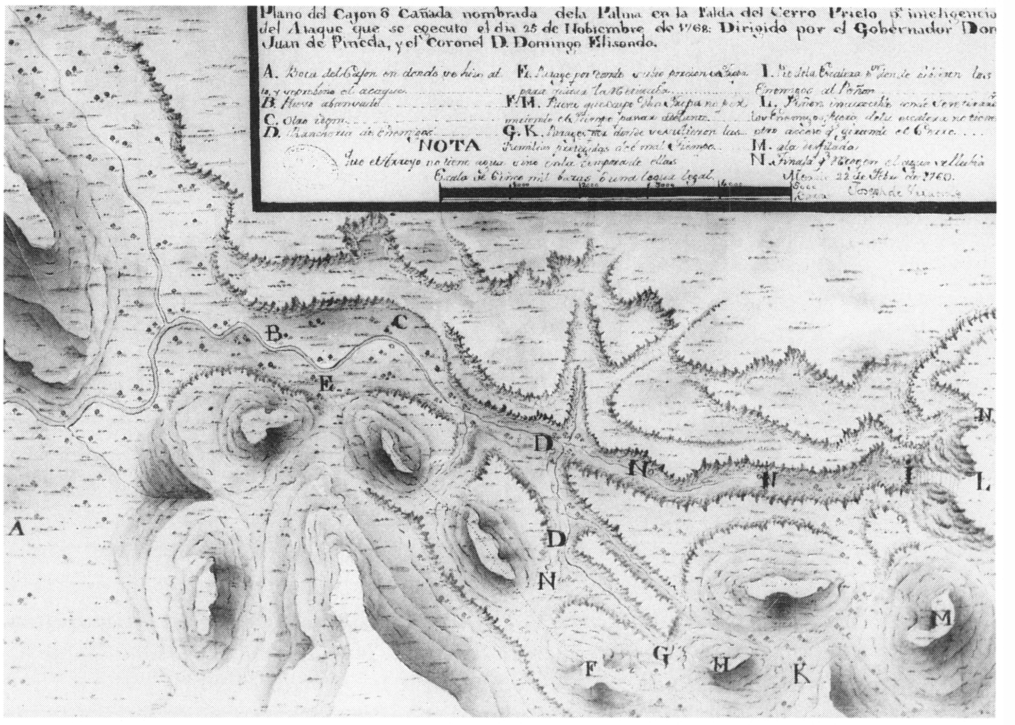
Fire and Blood

(1751–1771)

The two long documents in this chapter graphically detail a critical turning point in the history of northwestern New Spain. Although the Jesuits were not expelled from Spain and its dominions until 1767, their hopes for northward expansion of the mission frontier effectively died with the guerrilla warfare triggered by the collapse of the Seri mission system and the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion. As the "Breve Resumen" reveals, Apache raids intensified as Seri and both Upper and Lower Pima rebels attacked missions, mines, and ranches from the Pimería Alta to Ostimuri. And while the number of Spaniards and gente de razón continued to grow, the Jesuit missions were in decline. The optimism of pioneers like Kino had vanished, replaced by the dissatisfaction and desperation of missionaries like Juan Nentvig and Ignaz Pfefferkorn, who described Sonora's Indians, with the exception of the Opatas and Eudeves, as follows:

> *Imagine a person who possesses all the customary qualities which make one disgusting, base, and contemptible; a person who proceeds in all his actions blindly, without consideration or deliberation; a person who is untouched by kindness, unmoved by sympathy, unshamed by disgrace, not troubled by care; a person who loves neither faith nor truth and who has no firm will on any occasion; a person not charmed by honor, not gladdened by fortune, or sorrowed by misfortune; finally, a person who looks only at the present and the sensual, who has only animal instincts, who lives indifferently, and who dies indifferently. Such a person is the true picture of a Sonoran. (Pfefferkorn 1989:166)*

During the guerrilla warfare of the 1750s and 1760s, the Seris may have served as the nucleus of Indian resistance to Jesuits and Spaniards, but an equal if not greater number of Upper Pimas (Piatos) and Lower Pimas (Sibubapas) fought as well. The "Breve Resumen" discusses the depredations of Ciprián and Nicolás,



José de Urrutia's 1769 plan of La Palma Canyon in the Cerro Prieto, drawn after Colonel Domingo Elizondo's and Governor Juan de Pineda's invasion of the Cerro Prieto on November 25, 1768. The letters indicate various important locations in the campaign: I, *for example, shows the* escalera *(stairs or ladder) by which the Seris and their Pima allies ascended* L, *an "inaccessible peak." (Archivo General de Indias, MP México, 528; courtesy Arizona State Museum)*

the sons of Luis Oacpicagigua, who continued raiding communities in southern Arizona and northern Sonora until they were killed by Juan Bautista de Anza in 1760. Moreover, the anonymous author of the "Relación of the Expedition into the Provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora in the Kingdom of Nueva España" noted that until an epidemic of "yellow vomit" decimated them, the Sibubapas "numbered more than both the Piatos and Seris combined." All in all, the relación claimed that there were six hundred families of Seris and Upper and Lower Pimas in rebellion before the Sonoran Expedition reduced their numbers to 181. Unlike the Seris, the Piatos and Sibubapas still had missions to go back to, but a significant number of them chose to live their lives outside the missions, taking refuge in multiethnic strongholds such as the Cerro Prieto rather than submitting to missionary discipline. The Jesuit mission system—that "frontier institution" historian Herbert Eugene Bolton (1917) lauded—was fraying because of internal dissension between Indians and missionaries and external pressure from Spanish settlers and officials.

The result was a fundamental change in the Spanish philosophy of conquest. As the Yaqui revolt of 1740, the Upper Pima rebellion of 1751, and the raids of Seris and Upper and Lower Pimas in the 1750s and 1760s eroded confidence in

the efficacy of missionization, Comanches drove many of the different Apache groups off the Great Plains and limited their access to its buffalo herds (John 1975). Apaches therefore turned southward and westward with renewed vengeance, raiding deep into the Pimería Alta, Sonora, and Nueva Vizcaya. To counter these internal and external threats, the Spanish government shifted from missionization to militarization as the primary means of pacifying the Indians of the northern frontier. In Sinaloa y Sonora alone, the number of presidial soldiers more than tripled, from 80 to 250, between 1740 and 1760 (Polzer and Sheridan 1997; Sheridan 1992; Weber 1992).

The strongest expression of this new doctrine of militarization were the Regulations of 1772, based upon the inspection of the northern presidios carried out by the Marqués de Rubí from 1766 to 1768. Rubí came to the northern frontier as one of four field marshals in Lieutenant General Juan de Villalba y Angulo's military mission to streamline and strengthen the defenses of New Spain after British forces seized Havana during the Seven Years' War. Recognizing that New Spain's enormous silver deposits were vulnerable to British and perhaps even Russian attack, Rubí and his staff compiled the Regulations to reform the often corrupt and ineffective presidios. Rubí also attempted to establish a "cordon of presidios" at one hundred-mile intervals along the thirtieth parallel between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California to serve as an impenetrable line of defense. In the words of historian David Weber (1992:215–16), "Reflecting the thinking of Rubí and his staff, as well as many of his compatriots, the Regulations of 1772 emphasized force over diplomacy. Indeed, by authorizing an offensive war against pagans, the Crown departed for the first time since 1573 from its ill-enforced but well-intentioned policy of peaceful expansion. In military terms, the Regulations of 1772 offered essentially European solutions to American problems."

*The expedition led by Colonel Domingo Elizondo reflected this sea change. The Elizondo campaign was the largest single military operation in the history of colonial Sonora. More than 1,100 troops, including 544 professional soldiers from Mexico City, participated. The total cost of the expedition was more than 450,000 pesos, much of which came from donations from merchants and wealthy individuals, and the rest from revenue from the sale of tobacco (*rentas de tabacas*) (Rowland 1930). Not even the Apache campaigns that followed mustered more manpower. Furthermore, Elizondo—following the policies of his patron, Visitor General José de Gálvez—initially tried to fight a European-style war against the Seris and their allies. On four different occasions, he gathered his troops to invade the Cerro Prieto, one of the mountain strongholds of the rebels. During the largest attack, in October 1769, more than 1,000 troops scrambled up the steep slopes and through the dense subtropical thornscrub of the Cerro Prieto in a vain attempt to decimate the rebels in a single pitched battle. Only after these expeditions failed did Elizondo heed the advice of his frontier commanders such as Juan Bautista de Anza and fight a guerrilla war against the Seris and the Pimas. Relentless pursuit, not massed battle, forced most of the rebels to sue for peace.*

Nevertheless, the impact of the Sonora Expedition was immense. Although Seris and Sibubapas continued to carry out sporadic raids after Elizondo and his troops marched back to Mexico City, they no longer threatened the survival of Sonora or the prosperity of Ostimuri. That allowed Spanish officials to mount offensives against the Apaches in the 1770s and 1780s, culminating in the so-called "peace policy" of Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez. Under comandantes gen-

erales *of the new Provincias Internas Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola (1786–90) and Pedro de Nava (1790–1802), Apaches who surrendered were settled in* establecimientos de paz, *or peace establishments, near Spanish presidios. There they were furnished with rations of corn, beef, brown sugar, and tobacco. By 1793, eight peace establishments along the northern frontier contained a population of nearly 2,000 Apaches (Griffen 1988a), and by the end of the century, an uneasy peace existed between New Spain and the Apaches. Without the Elizondo Expedition, however, the forces of Sinaloa y Sonora could never have taken prolonged and effective action against the Western or Chiricahua Apaches.*

The Sonora Expedition had additional consequences. By making Guaymas its port and both Guaymas and Pitic its bases of operations, Elizondo's forces established permanent Spanish communities in those two strategic locations. During the next century, Guaymas and Pitic, which was renamed Hermosillo in 1828 after Mexican Independence, became the axis of a new class of commercial entrepreneurs who eventually dominated Sonora (Voss 1982). The demographic, economic, and political shift from the river valleys of central and eastern Sonora to the coastal plains had begun (West 1993).

The Sonora Expedition also had profound repercussions for the Pimería Alta. In 1770, mule drivers providing supplies for a detachment of soldiers discovered gold nuggets southwest of Altar at a place called Cieneguilla. This triggered a gold rush that brought thousands of gambucinos (prospectors) into Upper Pima territory. One discovery led to another over the next century. In the process, Spanish and later Mexican settlers gradually overwhelmed the Upper Pima communities of the Magdalena-Altar-Concepción drainage system. The old mission settlements of San Ignacio, Magdalena, Tubutama, Oquitoa, Pitiquito, and Caborca became Mexican, not O'odham, towns. Meanwhile, the Seris settled at what came to be called Villa de los Seris just outside Pitic or retreated deeper into the desert or to Tiburón Island.

Breve Resumen de los Desastres, 1760

The anonymous author of the "Breve Resumen," undoubtedly a Jesuit because of the document's provenience in the Temporalidades section of the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, was engaging in something of an established literary genre in Sonoran documentary history. According to Jesuit historian John Donohue (1969:139), "Settlers, governors and other officials, and missionaries had in the years since 1711 often played one theme. The 'ruin of the province' would inevitably follow if some course of action were not implemented." He goes on to say "the Jesuit era's final twelve years shrilly chorused this sentiment," and then he cites the "Breve Resumen" as an example. Yet both he and historian (and climatologist) James Rodney Hastings (1961) point out that both mining and the Spanish population grew despite the Indian hostilities of the mid-eighteenth century. Hastings (1961) notes that the number of gente de razón in Sinaloa y Sonora rose from 3,000 in 1678 to 17,000 in 1763. "Although the incessant Apache-Seri warfare unquestionably resulted in widespread murder and destruction," Hastings (1961:338) concludes, "its deterrent effect on the fundamental processes of colonial growth has probably been overstated."

Hastings believes the dismal portrait of Sonora at midcentury stemmed from one account—Father Juan Nentvig's famous Rudo ensayo, *whose proper title is* Descripción geográfica, natural y curiosa de la provincia de Sonora *(Nentvig 1971, 1980). Hastings also compares Nentvig's "shrill and contentious tone" with "an even longer, even more detailed, quite dispassionate account by the Bishop of Durango, Pedro Tamarón y Romeral" (Hastings 1961:337–338). In his words, "The two agree in virtually no respect about the extent to which Sonora had been depopulated. For example, in what Nentvig refers to as the 'ruins of Mazatán' and 'those of Quisuani' and the 'depopulated Rebeico,' Tamarón finds 266 people" (Hastings 1961:338). The "Breve Resumen," along with Father Provincial Ignacio Lizasoáin's "Informe sobre las provincias de Sonora y Nueva Vizcaya" (Polzer and Sheridan 1997), clearly line up with Nentvig, not Tamarón, and it is interesting to speculate whether Nentvig relied upon the "Breve Resumen" when he wrote his longer work. It is even possible that Nentvig himself was author of the "Breve Resumen"; its handwriting and that of Nentvig's letters in AHH, Temporalidades, 17, 24 are similar in many respects. Individual letters occasionally differ, but both hands are clear and bold, with broad initial strokes.*

Further documentary research needs to be done to disentangle and deconstruct these discrepancies. The Jesuits may have had a vested interest in portraying Sonora on the brink of abandonment and collapse; missions were frontier institutions. In contrast, Tamarón argued strongly that the Jesuit missions of Sinaloa y Sonora should be secularized. He may have wanted to portray a more populated and potentially prosperous Sonora to win support for secularization and extend his control over the mission congregations.

Regardless of the reality of these two portraits of Sonora in the late 1750s and early 1760s, however, Spanish officials viewed Seri and Pima rebels and Apache raiders as major threats against whom they had to take action in order to secure the northern frontier against European enemies. Documents such as the "Breve Resumen" therefore set the stage for the militarization that followed. The "Breve Resumen" also demonstrates that in the 1750s, the Seris and their Upper and Lower Pima allies threatened lives and property from the Pimería Alta to Ostimuri. Military and civil officials alike realized they could not take effective action against the Apaches until these internal enemies were pacified or destroyed.

A brief summary of the disasters, deaths, robberies, and pillage which have befallen the province of Sonora because of the hostilities of Apaches, Seris, and Pima rebels, especially those that occurred between 1755 and the present year of 1760. In order to shine more light on the map of this province,[1] the letters A. B. C. correspond to the numbers added to the places on the map.

1. The pueblo and mission of San Francisco Xavier del Bac is the northernmost of the Pimería missions. Its Indians were reduced at the end of the last century, and it has been supported by His Majesty since 1730. In 1756, Jabanimó[2] and his band of rebel Pimas attacked San Xavier and, with the help of Indians from the same pueblo, looted the home of the reverend father[3] as well as the huts of loyal Indians. In response to this attack, the alférez arrived with fifteen soldiers from the presidio of Tubac.[4] Though the rebels received these soldiers with the utmost resistance, they were soon defeated, suffering fifteen dead and many injuries. The rebels then fled inland. Only three soldiers were slightly injured. The governor and his company promptly followed the fugitives, but without result. In addition to this attack, San Xavier and its Indians have suffered continuous thefts of their cattle, mule droves, and horseherds.

2. The royal presidio of Tubac was founded on lands belonging to the pueblo of the same name as a result of the 1751 Pima rebellion. It is a visita of Guevavi whose natives are now in Tumacácori,[5] even though they do not have adequate

1. The "Breve Resumen" is keyed to a map of the province of Sonora. That map does not accompany the report in the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda.

2. Jabanimó (*Havañ Mo'o*, 'Crow's Head') was a leader of the Akimel O'odham living along the Gila River. Dobyns (1976) argues that the sacking of San Xavier was a nativistic revolt in response to Jesuit missionary Alonso Espinosa's attempts to suppress the fall harvest festival of the Pimas living at San Xavier.

3. Bernardo Middendorff, S.J. (1723–1794), who was born in Westfalia, Germany, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1741. He arrived in Sonora in 1756 and was stationed in Sáric, Batuco, and Movas until the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. He died in Germany.

4. The presidio of San Ignacio de Tubac was established along the Santa Cruz River in 1752 in what is now Tubac, Arizona. In response to the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion led by Luis Oacpicagigua of Sáric (Polzer and Sheridan 1997), the government created several presidios in an attempt to establish a chain of garrisons to stem the tide of Apache depredations on the northern Spanish frontier. Fifty soldiers originally manned the presidio. In 1775, Hugo O'Conor ordered the presidio moved to Tucson (Moorhead 1975).

irrigated fields. In the immediate vicinity of this presidio, rebels killed a Spaniard in February 1759. Five Indians of this village were also seized in their cornfields and taken alive, while another Indian died at the hands of the same rebels at the beginning of this year, 1760. Each month [*luna*] these renegades steal as many cattle as they like. Four to five hundred head have been stolen so far. The captain of this presidio was Don Tomás de Beldarraín, who died and was succeeded at the beginning of this year by Don Juan Bautista de Anza.[6] Anza has managed to punish the armed band led by the sons of Luis of Sáric, leader of the 1751 revolt. Anza killed nine, among them Ciprián and Nicolás, who had continued their father's uprising.

3–4. Between the pueblo of Arivaca[7]—which was once a visita of Guevavi and now has been laid waste by the Pimas—and the deserted ranch of Tucubabi.[8] Ciprián and his companions killed Miguel de la Cruz, a soldier who had been from the presidio [of Tubac], just before they fell into the hands of the captain of Tubac [Anza]. They were dancing around his scalp when the captain surprised them.

5. In Sonoita,[9] a visita of Guevavi, even though the insurgents surrounded [the community] in June 1759, they accomplished nothing more than killing one native and running off all the saddle horses they found in the surrounding area.

6. While the mission of Guevavi has always been harassed by these enemies, none of its inhabitants have been killed. Many of its cattle and horses, however, have been stolen. Apaches also committed three such thefts in 1757 and 1758. Each time they ran off a portion of the herd. On Holy Saturday in 1758, and in

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5. The mission of Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, also known at various times as San Rafael Archangel and San Gabriel Archangel, was situated on the east bank of the Santa Cruz River in modern Arizona about eight miles north of the present international border. Founded by Kino in the early 1690s, the mission did not have a resident missionary who remained for any length of time until 1732. In 1771 San José de Tumacácori, which was closer to the protection of Tubac, became the cabecera and Guevavi the visita. Tumacácori mission had been established by Father Kino in the late seventeenth century on the east bank of the Santa Cruz River, but it was moved to the west bank and closer to the Tubac presidio in 1753 for health and safety reasons (Gerhard 1982:280–84; Weber 1992:209; Woodward 1993:155–56).

6. Juan Bautista de Anza (the Younger; 1734–1788) was one of the most illustrious frontier commanders in northern New Spain. Of Basque extraction, he was born at the presidio of Fronteras, where his father of the same name was captain. He served as captain of that presidio before assuming command of Tubac. Anza led or participated in numerous campaigns against the Upper Pimas, Lower Pimas, Apaches, and Seris, including the Sonora Expedition. In the winter of 1774, he led the expedition that established a land route between Sonora and the new Spanish settlements of Alta California. From 1778 to 1788, he served as governor of New Mexico, where he negotiated a series of peace treaties with the Comanches, Navajos, and Utes, and turned them against the Apaches. He died in Arizpe.

7. Arivaca is located along Arivaca Creek west of Tumacácori. Spanish forces defeated Upper Pima rebels there in the decisive battle of the 1751–52 Upper Pima revolt. It became an important mining center during the mid-nineteenth century.

8. Tucubabi, also spelled Tucubavia, was located at the headwaters of the Río Altar north of Sáric. The name derives from the Tohono O'odham word *s-cuk wahia*, which means 'black wells or springs'.

9. Sonoita was a community of Upper Pimas along Sonoita Creek northeast of Guevavi. Like Guevavi, it was abandoned because of Apache attacks by 1775.

October 1759, Pima rebels stole a large number of horses from a corral within the very same town. On both of these occasions, the natives of the pueblo had the good luck to thwart the marauders. One of the natives even wounded Ciprián, the principal leader of the rebels, and recovered the animals they were driving away.

7. Buenavista, San Luis, and Santa Bárbara are three ranchos located near one another upriver from Guevavi.[10] Like Guevavi, they have suffered greatly from thefts committed by Ciprián and his companions. Last May Ciprián succeeded in running off the mules of Nicolás Romero's[11] herd. Earlier he stole most of the mules from the corral guarded by the presidio of Tubac. At these ranches, the Apaches have carried out additional thefts of livestock. In 1758 they ran off the herd of Ignacio Romero[12] without leaving a single animal, even though these animals were located very close to the royal presidios of Terrenate and Tubac. At Buenavista in November 1758, these same enemies killed Francisco Figueroa, a resident of Tubac, at the abandoned ranch of Sicurisutac. On the road to Imuris,[13] Apaches attacked Juan de Medina and Francisco Machado. The victims escaped with their lives, but one carried away six wounds from the encounter.

8. Neither the mission of Santa María Soamca[14] nor Cocóspera,[15] its *pueblo de visita,* has been assailed as greatly by the rebels. Nevertheless, these settlements have been harassed by Apaches, who ran off nearly eighty broken horses from Cocóspera in 1757 and more than one hundred head from Santa María, counting both horses and mules, in June of that year alone. For two nights in a row in 1759, the Apaches removed the district's horseherd from the corral but were not able to drive away the animals because of the vigilance of the cowboys. On the third

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10. Buenavista, San Luis, and Santa Bárbara were located south and upstream from Guevavi along the Santa Cruz river just before it loops to the north in modern Sonora. During Spanish colonial times, this stretch of the Santa Cruz was known as the Valle de San Luis. Founded by Spanish frontiersmen, the ranches were occupied during three periods: the late 1660s, the 1720s to the 1760s, and the 1780s to the present. Upper Pima and then Apache hostilities forced their abandonment between those periods (Hadley and Sheridan 1995).

11. Nicolás Romero was a prominent Spanish settler of the Valle de San Luis who arrived there in the 1720s. He founded the Romero family, which went on to play an important role on the northern Sonoran frontier.

12. Ignacio Romero was *comisario de justicia,* or deputy magistrate, of the Valle de San Luis and a member of the Romero clan.

13. In 1652, Father Pedro Pantoja visited the Upper Pimas of the ranchería of Imeris along the Río Magdalena. For a time, the Spaniards referred to Pimas in that area as Himeris. In 1687, Father Kino established the mission of San José de Imeris at the same location. Much later the name was changed to its present spelling of Imuris.

14. The mission of Santa María de Soamca was established by Father Kino in 1698 along the upper Santa Cruz River. It was destroyed by Apaches in 1768 and its population of Upper Pimas moved to Cocóspera. The presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate was transferred there from Las Nutrias on the San Pedro River in 1787. By the 1820s, both the presidio and the community surrounding it were known as Santa Cruz (Hadley and Sheridan 1995).

15. Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocóspera was founded by Kino on the upper reaches of the Río Magdalena in 1689. Originally a visita of Kino's headquarters at Dolores, it became the cabecera after Remedios and Dolores were abandoned because of disease and Apache attacks in the 1740s. The present ruin, which looms impressively on a bluff overlooking the floodplain of the river, consists of an earlier Jesuit adobe shell sandwiched between Franciscan fired brick. It has suffered extensive damage from treasure hunters.

night, however, they took all of the tractable cattle and horses from the governor's corral without being discovered. The governor [the O'odham governor of Soamca] and some other Indians left the next day in pursuit. But when the governor caught up with the Apaches, there were so many of the latter that they overpowered him, and he, his son, and another Indian died at their hands. The others managed to escape with their lives but not without injuries.

9. Concerning the royal presidio of Terrenate[16] and its captain Don Francisco Elías González,[17] one cannot help but relate that the Apaches have twice run off most of the horseherd. In 1759, the same enemies stole all of the tractable livestock of the residents from the corrals within that very presidio. They did so without the least opposition or punishment whatsoever, despite the fact that the entire [presidial] company was present.

10. The Cuesta de las Bolas [Arizonac] is the place where those astonishing pieces of virgin silver were found in 1737. Some of the pieces weighed more than fifty *quintales.*[18] Covetous arguments and plots arose over these pieces of silver, and they have now disappeared. Nothing can be found of them within the recesses of that hill or in the possession of the miners and their heirs. At present, not even a tiny piece [*adarme*] can be found. Settler Nicolás Espinoza and Tubac soldier Bartolo Estrada, along with his wife and their unweaned child, were killed here in August. Some say the Apaches killed them; others think it was Pima rebels.

11–12. Although no one has been killed in the pueblos of Arizona[c] and Aquimuri, visitas of Sáric,[19] they have experienced the same thefts and hostilities from various enemies.

13. Agua Caliente is an old mining *real* now nearly depopulated. Rebels killed a Yaqui Indian here in October 1759. Two years before, the Apaches killed a Spaniard called El Borador. On another occasion, these same enemies killed a Yaqui servant of the settlers, while both Pima and Apache attackers left them without horses or livestock.

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16. The presidio of Terrenate was originally intended to be located near the mission of Guevavi or between it and the mission of Santa María Soamca. For that reason, it was christened San Felipe de Jesús Gracia Real de Guevavi. Governor Agustín de Vildósola located it at Terrenate, however, more than fifty miles southeast of Guevavi in 1742 (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). In 1772, as part of a major readjustment in the frontier fortifications, Field Marshal Marqués de Rubí ordered Terrenate moved to a site called Santa Cruz, and it was renamed Santa Cruz de Terrenate. In 1780, Teodoro de Croix moved the presidio again to Las Nutrias "about five miles southeast of its initial position at Terrenate" (Moorhead 1975:52, 71–72). It eventually came to rest at the abandoned mission of Santa María de Soamca, giving the name of Santa Cruz to both the community and the river itself (Hadley and Sheridan 1995).

17. Francisco Elías González de Zayas (?–1790) was born in La Rioja, Spain, and founded the famous Elías González family in Sonora. As a young man he settled in Alamos and served as a captain in the militia during the 1740 Yaqui revolt. In 1751, he became captain of the presidio of Terrenate (Officer 1987).

18. A *quintal* weighed 100 *libras* (101.5 lbs.).

19. Santa Gertrudis de Sáric was an Upper Pima community along the Río Altar missionized by Kino in 1689. The visita of San Bernardo de Aquimuri was established the same year. Both Aquimuri and Arizonac were located northeast of Sáric.

14. The pueblo of Búsanic,[20] a visita of Sáric, was attacked by Ciprián in April 1759. Two natives of the town sustained injuries in its defense, while one of the attackers died and Ciprián and others were wounded. These attackers stole seven horses to carry off their wounded as they retreated. Although Ciprián attempted another assault in October, he was repelled without incident because the natives of Búsanic had been warned of the attack. Nearly every day, the rebels drive off livestock from the estancia near this pueblo where the herds of the two missions of Sáric and Tubutama are kept.[21] The rebels have stolen no less than six hundred cattle during the last four or five years. To the north of this pueblo, on the road to Tubac, insurgents killed two Indian messengers from Sáric in 1757 as they were traveling to that presidio. In 1758, two natives of Búsanic were killed by the rebels while another was carried off alive.[22]

15. The most agitated pueblo of all has been the cabecera of Sáric, where everything was reduced to ruins by Luis, the leader of the 1751 uprising. Because of its Indians and the mission's great debts, four successive missionaries assigned to Sáric have been unable to subsist there. Now the town is administered by Tubutama so that the natives can have no opportunity to murder the missionaries. There were many indications they planned to do just that in the time of Father Bernardo Middendorff. Indeed, one morning a bunch of rebel arrows was found stuck in the door of the priest's house despite the escort of soldiers who slept next door. Another day, the priest was standing in the doorway of the same house, enjoying the view of the countryside without a single fear until he finally realized that an Indian with his arrow notched was lying in wait for him, hoping to catch him off guard. Unable to ambush him or to win over the few loyal Indians, the rebels tried to destroy what they could of the priest's supplies. One of them ran off the mission's entire horseherd, even though it was located inside the pueblo and next to the priest's house, where the soldiers were stationed on his porch. The year before, in 1757, the insurgents also succeeded in killing two loyal Indians.

16. Because they demanded more foodstuffs from Tubutama than from any other mission, the rebels quickly exhausted Tubutama's supplies. They also left the natives of that pueblo with hardly any horses or livestock, and fired upon them to prevent them from sowing their fields. By October 1759, the rebels had wounded five in those fields. By the middle of February 1760, they had killed two other natives near the pueblo.

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20. San Ambrosio de Búsanic y Tucubavia was founded as a visita of Sáric in 1698. It was north of Sáric along the Río Altar.

21. Father Kino established the mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama in 1689 among Upper Pimas living along the Río Altar. It had four visitas. The mission was attacked and burned in 1695 by Upper Pima rebels.

22. In the aftermath of the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion, factionalism wracked the Pimería Alta, with O'odham rebels attacking O'odham who chose to remain in mission communities.

23. Santa Teresa de Adid was founded as a stock ranch of Tubutama by Kino in 1701. Four years later, it became a visita. It is not to be confused with San Francisco de Ati, Atil, or Adid farther downstream on the Río Altar.

17. In Santa Teresa,[23] a visita of Tubutama located one league away, the vigilance of the natives has prevented the loss of lives. Nevertheless, the insurgents have been able to run off and kill livestock and horses on various occasions.

18. Even though it was greatly threatened by the insurrection, Atil,[24] cabecera of the mission of the same name, has not suffered any greater damage than a strong blow to its horseherd, which was carried off in 1758.

19. One must view Oquitoa,[25] a visita of Atil, as totally destroyed by a great number of united Seris and Pimas over the past few years. They have killed seven of its natives, wounded many others, and reduced the houses of the mission to ashes. In 1758, the same enemies killed one of the town's natives nearby. In this year, 1760, the arrogant Pimas wounded another native from the same pueblo and stole some burros. The alférez of Altar was killed as he pursued them. Another soldier was also killed, three were wounded, and all were obliged to retreat.

20. The presidio of Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea[26] was moved from Caborca to this place called Altar in 1757. In Caborca, only some cattle, goats, and sheep, and a few of the captain's horses were stolen. This year, 1760, however, the captain's mule team was driven off while it was resting near the pueblo of Pitic[27] [Pitiquito]. Neither this mule team nor the previous animals were recovered.

21. A large number of united Seris and Pimas launched themselves upon this pueblo of Pitic [Pitiquito] in 1756. Despite the resistance of five or six soldiers and a few friendly Indians, one soldier died and various people were wounded. The rest took refuge in the house of the mission, where 250 people might have died if Captain Urrea had not arrived promptly with soldiers and friendly Indians. He succeeded in dislodging the enemy and killing sixteen rebels. Aware of this, the rebels who preyed upon the pueblo set out to kill the captain and the pueblo's priest, Antonio María Bens.[28] For this purpose, the rebels were waiting for the captain and the priest in a small ravine on the trail to the pueblo of Oquitoa. However, God willed that they be saved. The rebels were discovered by other good Indians, who seized the bad ones and took the lives of the three principal leaders. But this exemplary punishment was not sufficient to contain the rebels. Instead, a large number of Indians from Pitiquito fled to join the enemy.

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24. San Francisco de Atil, Ati, or Adid was founded as a visita of Tubutama in 1689. It became a cabecera in 1756, when Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn arrived.

25. Located farther downstream along the Río Altar, San Antonio del Oquitoa, founded in 1689, was first a visita of Caborca, then of Tubutama, and finally of Atil.

26. Another member of the Basque frontier military elite, Bernardo de Urrea (1710–1777) was born in Culiacán, Sinaloa, but his family moved to Sonora when he was a child. He served as captain of militia units in campaigns against both the Seris and Upper Pimas. Because of his success during the 1751–52 Upper Pima rebellion, he was appointed captain of the wandering presidio of Sinaloa in 1752. The presidio came to rest in the Pimería Alta at Altar, located at the junction of the Río Altar and Río de la Concepción, in 1757 (Polzer and Sheridan 1997). He served on more than one hundred expeditions against the Indians and was governor of Sinaloa y Sonora three different times—from November 1760 to April 1761, from December 1762 to May 1763, and from May to November 1773. He retired in February 1777 and died two months later.

27. Located along the Río de la Concepción east of Caborca, San Diego del Pitiquito was founded as a visita of Caborca in 1689.

28. Antonio María Bens, S.J. (1716–1766) was born in Diligen, Germany, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1732. He reached Sonora in 1751 and worked in the missions of Onavas, Tecoripa, and Caborca, where he died.

22. While Captain Urrea's presidio was stationed in the pueblo of Caborca in 1756, the governor decided to push forward the reduction of the Papago Indians and permanently settle them in the pueblos. This undertaking has always been carried out by the missionary priests, who have been sent to contact the Papagos and offer them food. But the priests have never been able to keep the Papagos in the pueblos, because as soon as the wild seeds ripen in their territory, they return there, even those whom the governor brought with him. As soon as the governor began his return march to the presidio, however, the Papagos, resentful of the punishments he leveled against them, succeeded with great ease in uniting themselves with the enemy Pimas and Seris. Aroused by their leader, Jabanimó, a Pima from the Gila River, the Papagos, accompanied by the sons of the rebel leader Luis of Sáric, have gone to war. Together with the Seris, they hatched a plan to destroy the settlements of both Spaniards and loyal Pimas on a given day. But God willed that the rebels should misunderstand the day when they were to convene. They erred and their intentions became known, so the troops prepared themselves in Caborca. Even though the Pimas attacked in great numbers, they were repelled by the first volley of shots. Meanwhile, the other camp, composed of Seris and Pimas, had mistaken the day upon which the attack was supposed to take place. When they stationed themselves within sight of the pueblo of Pitic [Pitiquito], they found a small party of Urrea's company awaiting them there. But the enemy never carried out the assault. Once the Seris realized that the Pimas had failed to appear along the planned route of the advance, they retired to a nearby hill. A few days later, the force broke up and left by various routes.

23. Scared by the repeated threats of the rebels, the Indians of the pueblo of Bísanic,[29] a visita of Caborca, abandoned their pueblo one night in 1756. But Captain Urrea overtook them and succeeded in calming most of them and returning them to their pueblo; the rest remain intermingled with the enemy.

24–25. The estancias of Ocuca[30] and Arituaba,[31] both depopulated since the uprising.

26. The settlement of Spaniards at Santa Ana[32] used to be large. Today, however, it is reduced to a small number of residents because of the frequent losses suffered at the hands of the rebels. In 1758, the rebels killed a Yaqui and another Indian who was a Nijora.[33] In 1759, they killed Ignacio García. On May 28 of the

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29. Located southwest of Caborca along the Río de la Concepción, San Valentín de Bísanic, also spelled Bísanig, was founded by Kino as a visita of Caborca in 1691. It was later renamed Santa María del Pópulo de Bísanic.

30. Ocuca is located in a broad valley along a tributary of the Río Magdalena south of Tubutama. In the aftermath of the 1751–52 Upper Pima rebellion, it was considered as a possible presidio site.

31. Arituaba was a ranchería of Upper Pimas during Kino's time.

32. Santa Ana originally was an estancia of the mission of San Ignacio de Caburica along the Río Magdalena.

33. Dobyns et al. (1960) argue convincingly that Nijoras were not a separate tribal group but instead were Indian slaves passed from one group to another in a slave trade that extended from the Great Basin to the Spanish communities of northern New Spain. The Yuman tribes of the Colorado River and the O'odham of the Pimería Alta served as particularly important middlemen in this trade.

same year, they killed Juan José García. On September 1, they killed Miguel de Alviso. On July 26, 1760, they killed a Pima servant of Salazar's. On other occasions during the same years, many fled for their lives, but not those who had been injured by the enemies. So great was their audacity, in fact, that the rebels also ran off (livestock) from their corrals and stole whatever products of the land the people had. To avoid a lengthy account, those events are not discussed in any detail.

27. La Soledad, a settlement of Spaniards, is today totally depopulated due to the Pima and Seri attacks in 1756 and 1757. Because the requested individual report is not available, no specific reference is given to the deaths and destruction with which the enemy desolated this settlement. Nonetheless, it is known that some deaths, as well as many and repeated thefts of horseherds, mule droves, and cattle, were the cause of the depopulation.

28. San Lorenzo,[34] a growing settlement of Spaniards, was assaulted on November 2, 1757, by a large number of Seris and Pimas. The attackers set fire to the houses, thereby killing thirty-two people. The few that escaped took refuge in Santa Ana, while the Seris and Pimas carried off all the products of the land, sacking and burning Escalante's clothing shop. Today, in this settlement one sees only ruins.

29–30. Santa María Magdalena[35] is a pueblo de visita not far from San Ignacio. Despite repeated enemy invasions, these two pueblos have received no more damage than the loss of products of the land of the natives and those of the mission. This they have in common with all the other towns.

31. Imuris, a visita of San Ignacio, has experienced the cruelty not only of the enemy Pimas but also the Apaches. In August 1757, Ciprián and his followers ran off nearly eighty head of broken horses. On February 4, 1759, the Apaches killed a cowboy and drove off the remaining horseherd. This year, in April 1760, the same enemies killed a native of this pueblo and wounded another.

32. The pueblo of Remedios,[36] which was a visita of Dolores, has been abandoned.

33. The same thing happened to the pueblo of Cocóspera, a visita of Santa María Soamca, as occurred in number 8 [Soamca itself].

34. Dolores, the first mission founded in the Pimería [Alta], long ago lost its natives because of its poor climate as well as because of the Apaches. Now it is

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34. San Lorenzo is now an *ejido* located between Santa Ana and Magdalena along the Río Magdalena.

35. Magdalena, now known as Magdalena de Kino, is the most important commercial center in the region today. Father Kino is buried there and his bones are on display in a rotunda in the town's main square. Magdalena is also the site of the most important pilgrimage in the Sonoran Desert—a pilgrimage to the miraculous reclining statue of San Francisco located in an alcove of the parish church. The statue itself is of St. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit saint. But the pilgrimage peaks on and around October 4, the feast day of St. Francis Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans. To many O'odham, Mexicans, and Yaquis, however, San Francisco is simply San Francisco—a supernatural with traits attributed to Father Kino as well as St. Francis Xavier and St. Francis of Assisi. Pilgrims have been making the journey to Magdalena for several hundred years, and the fiesta continues to grow.

36. The mission of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios de Coágibubig was founded by Kino in 1687 among the Himeris, an Upper Pima group. Located along the headwaters of the Río Dolores, it was abandoned by 1740 because of Apache attacks.

populated by Spaniards. The Spaniards have experienced frequent robberies of their products of the land by the Apaches. The Apaches also killed two Spaniards nearby on the road to Saracachi.

35. About four years ago, the natives of Saracachi,[37] which was a visita of Cucurpe, abandoned that pueblo and retreated to the cabecera [Cucurpe]. Today, Saracachi is inhabited by Spaniards who are working gold mines and placers discovered in the vicinity.

36–39. The awaited reports from the pueblo of Cucurpe and its visita of Tuape—along with those from the cabecera of Opodepe and its visita of Nacameri—have not arrived. Nonetheless, it is known that they have experienced much damage from Apaches, Pimas, and Seris, even though the exact details of these misfortunes cannot be told. This year, 1760, at the beginning of June, Lieutenant Cosío was gathering his stock at a place called Alameda west of these two districts. The Seris killed two of his servants there and stole his staff of office.

40. The *real* of Antunes and Minas del Oro, discovered in 1753, are now both depopulated. This decline has come about not so much because of the shortage of rich ores and placer deposits, which continued in abundant supply until about 1759—but because of the repeated assaults of the Seris. The Seris killed Don Pedro Zavala and two other individuals in those mines. A short while later, they also killed a tailor named Casillas.

41. The pueblo of Pópulo, which was the cabecera of the Seri mission, is totally devastated.

42. The *villa* and presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas has been the target of enemy Seris since the departure of interim governor Don Pablo de Arce y Arroyo.[38] Those same Indians who, in their time, contented themselves with a few thefts of little value and sometimes when reproached even returned the stolen goods, have since left the inhabitants of that region without possessions. They have burned their wheat granaries. They have attacked the soldiers, killing and wounding a number of them, and have run off their horseherd on various occasions. They have carried off some youths and, in the surrounding area, they have caused a large number of deaths. All of which, combined with the other ruin the Seris have wreaked, cannot be diminished simply because no one has the courage to speak or write about them.

43. The pueblo which was Los Angeles, a visita of Pópulo, is totally destroyed. Today it is inhabited only by Don José de Mesa. The Seris have caused various injuries here which, for the previously stated reason, are not mentioned. In 1759, while the mule drove of Valencia was being taken out to graze, however, the Seris captured one of his sons. They returned him naked, but they took the mules.

44. In the hacienda of Pitic and its fields, the Seris have committed repeated robberies, caused many deaths, and carried away a number of captives. It has not been possible to verify the exact number of prisoners because of the fear insinu-

37. Saracachi was located along the Río Saracachi, a tributary of the Río San Miguel, near where the narrow canyon of the Saracachi broadens into the Valle de Agua Fría. It became an important mining district during the mid-eighteenth century.

38. Pablo de Arce y Arroyo replaced Diego Ortiz Parrilla as governor of Sinaloa y Sonora in 1753 and served until 1755.

ated above. Here it is affirmed, however, that on the morning of October 19, 1757, the Seris assaulted the hacienda, killing seven servants, wounding five others, and carrying away one captive along with all of the cattle, oxen, mares, colts, horses, and both male and female mules in the corrals. Later, from March 29 until April 26, 1759, the same enemies besieged the hacienda. The hacienda requested the help of the governor, who sent ten settlers. The Seris retreated then, but returned to cause more harm when they stole the broken horses, mules, and oxen from the corrals where they had been put once again for cultivating the hacienda's fields.

45. San Francisco, a pueblo which was composed of Lower Pimas, is now totally deserted, as is Las Animas, which was once its visita. Las Animas was later inhabited by Don Manuel López. Here, in April 1757, the Seris surrounded and besieged Bachiller Noriega and his two servants, who were able to liberate themselves only with help sent from San José de Gracia. As a result of all this, López abandoned Las Animas.

46. The inhabitants of this *real* [San José de Gracia] have lost all their products of the land, which have been carried off by the Seris. Some of their servants have also been killed. The same thing happened in the *real* of El Gavilán, a short distance away. The people there retreated to [San José de Gracia], and then the enemies burned their homes.

47. In the pueblo of Ures, the Seris have totally destroyed all the products of the land. The Seris have also killed many people in the immediate area, but the details of those deaths cannot be specified for the same reasons insinuated in number 42.

48. Santa Rosalía,[39] a visita of Ures, has been insulted and destroyed in the same fashion as its cabecera, with the Seris repeatedly killing people or taking them captive.

49. The *real* of Aguaje[40] was totally destroyed and annihilated years earlier by the Seris, who caused many deaths there. Aguaje was an abundantly rich silver mining district, but it is no longer worked because of the great risk there.

50. The *real* of Quisuani is likewise depopulated because of the great danger of the Seris, who have carried out frequent killings and robberies there. In 1756, they killed a Spanish woman and a few Indian servants.

51. Mazatán,[41] a settlement of Spaniards, was deserted for the same reasons—killings and robberies. A Spaniard named Rosendo was the last person the Seris killed there in August 1757.

52. Near Nácori,[42] a visita of Mátape, the Seris killed an Indian of that pueblo on March 28, 1757. On February 28, 1758, they killed two other natives. On Feb-

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39. Santa Rosalía is located south of Ures along Arroyo La Junta.

40. Aguaje was located southeast of Pitic (Hermosillo) and west of La Colorada. There is a Cerro de Aguaje in the vicinity now.

41. Mazatán is located near the Río Mátape about sixty-five kilometers east of Hermosillo. It was founded as a Spanish, not a mission, community in the territory of the Eudeve Indians during the seventeenth century.

42. Nácori Grande is situated north of Mazatán on the Río Mátape. The visita of Santa Cruz de Nácori was founded in 1629 among the Eudeve Indians.

ruary 6, 1760, the Seris slew five more natives and wounded another, who died later. On February 21 of the same year, they murdered a resident named Lázaro Valenzuela between this pueblo and Mazatán.

53. Even though there were more deaths in Alamos,[43] a visita of Mátape, the numbers are not available at this time. It is known, however, that at the end of July 1760, while the governor was campaigning against the Seris, they killed a native of Alamos very close to that pueblo. As they were retreating to their territory, the Seris also ran off the tame livestock of Santa Rosalía.

54. In Mátape, the cabecera of this mission, the Seris captured a boy of that pueblo on March 27, 1757. The same day along the road, they also killed the *mayordomo* and a cowboy at the ranch of Don Antonio Solia, a league away from Mátape. Both were Spaniards, and both were hung from the beams of the corral in order to give them a very cruel death. The Seris also killed the entire horseherd within the corral. While the Indians were being pursued by our forces, the captive fled, but not without three arrow wounds. Cured of those wounds, he survived. In August 1759, the Seris killed a Spaniard named Pablo Moraga in the fields near Mátape. On March 17, 1760, they murdered a native of the pueblo of Chinapa, three leagues away. Seris as well as Apaches have totally devastated this mission with its pueblos de visita, stripping it of all the vast amounts of produce it used to have. Eight or nine years ago, the Seris wiped out the large settlement of Batasaguari, eight leagues north of Mátape, with fire and blood. They also destroyed the surrounding ranchos, which, along with many other settlements, reales, estancias, and ranchos, do not appear on the map because they have fallen into oblivion.

55. The pueblo of Batuco[44] and its visita, Santa María Tepupa,[45] have been persecuted by the Apaches, who have frequently robbed the mission's horseherd as well as the horses of its natives. Worse, the Apaches killed the foreman of the mission's estancia.

56. Rebeico[46] used to be a pueblo de visita of Mátape and then was settled by Spaniards. The Spaniards abandoned it and its mines this year, 1760, because of the attack carried out by the Seris. After killing Don Vicente Rosales as well as another Spaniard and an Indian, who were his servants, the Seris stole all the horses and mules they had within the corrals. Then, a few days later, they set fire to the houses. For this reason, all one can see of Rebeico today is ruins.

57. The pueblo of Tecoripa has been so infested with Seris that they have carried out their most frequent invasions in the surrounding area, particularly in this year, 1760. The attacks are such that the priest stationed there, after seeing what befell San José, his pueblo de visita, and aware that his small number of Indians

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43. The visita of La Asunción de Nuestra Señora de Alamos was founded in 1629 among the Eudeve Indians. It is located north of Nácori.

44. Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Batuco, or Batuc, was founded among the Eudeve Indians in 1629. Formerly situated along the Río Yaqui, the original pueblo was inundated with the completion of El Novillo Dam in 1963. San José de Batuc was relocated west of the reservoir.

45. Tepupa is located south of Batuc. It also was a community of Eudeve Indians.

46. Located along a tributary of the Río Yaqui, San Francisco Xavier de Rebeico was founded as a visita of Mátape among the Eudeve Indians in 1673.

could not provide security, thought it best to retreat to Mátape just as his predecessor had done in 1755. The missionary informed the governor of this, and the governor sent the priest the escort he had requested. By the end of June, however, the priest was able to obtain only five soldiers, who had to be supported by the mission itself. At present, that number has been reduced to three, two of whom, according to the priest, are boys. This mission used to have the most abundant crops and livestock, selling its horses for seven pesos, two *reales*, the lowest price in the province, as noted in various accounts. The last account reveals that in 1755, the mission even sold the governor horses at six pesos, three reales a head. At present, however, the current priest has been left nothing, not even for the administration of the mission, except for a few animals that were too wild for the enemies to run off or kill. At the beginning of May, for example, the Seris killed twelve herds of mares and ran off the mission's broken horses and mules. They did the same thing on January 16 with four other herds of mares and the broken horses belonging to the mission and other owners.

58. United Seris and Pimas attacked San José de los Pimas, a visita of Tecoripa, on December 13, 1759. The ministering priest was there with three settlers. The attackers burned the homes of the natives, killing sixteen and wounding fourteen. They might have killed many more if the three settlers with their firearms had not taken shelter in the priest's residence [*casa de misión*], where the Indians from the community sought refuge as well. The Seris and Pimas finally retreated, taking with them all of the livestock and horses belonging to the mission and the natives.

59–60. In the *real* of Mortero[47] or its surrounding fields, the Seris killed the comisario de justicia and others who, along with a few women, had gone to see them around 1757 or 1758. From then on, the residents of the region experienced frequent robberies of their property. At four in the afternoon on January 16, 1760, the *real* was assaulted by the Seris. They killed a muleteer from the mission of Ures, stealing his cargo and running off his mule train. The Seris also killed many other animals belonging to the settlers there. That was the reason the settlers abandoned Montero, just as the residents of the *real* of La Ventana had done earlier.

61. Suaqui, a visita of Tecoripa, was deserted in the time of Governor Vildósola[48] and resettled in 1755. It was completely depopulated again, at the same time and for the same reasons, as the *real* of Mortero.

62. San José de los Guaymas,[49] the only pueblo of the nation of the same name,[50]

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47. The mining community of Mortero was probably located at or near the modern ranch of the same name near Tecoripa.

48. Another Basque, Augustín de Vildósola was born in Spain and came to New Spain in the late 1720s. He was active in pacifying the rebellious Indians of Sonora and served as governor and captain general of the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa from 1741 to 1748.

49. Father Juan María Salvatierra, S.J., founded San José de Guaymas as a mission visita (among the Lower Pimas and Seri-speaking Guaymas) and as a port to supply the missions of Baja California in 1701. After Salvatierra's death in 1717, Guaymas was abandoned. Fathers Ignacio Lizasoáin and Lorenzo Salgado made unsuccessful attempts to establish missions there in 1751 and 1756, respectively. A permanent Spanish settlement did not take root until the Elizondo Expedition made Guaymas its port of entry.-

50. The Guaymas, the southernmost Seri group.

was erected as a mission in 1751. Because the missionary priest was unable to subsist there, however, it was administered—as it had been before its erection—from the now-deserted mission of Huirivis.[51] A portion of its natives united with the Seris, except for those who are scattered throughout the mining settlements.

63. Belén, a visita of Huirivis, was assaulted in 1759 by the Seris, who killed fifteen to twenty natives and stole three hundred head of cattle. The natives, along with Spanish settlers and the sargento mayor of the militia, pursued them. Even though they caught up with the raiders in a mountain range and attacked them, some fled when the enemies resisted, with the loss of thirty natives [of Belén]. The Indian captain general of Guaymas initiated this flight, and as a result he was removed from that position by the governor.

64. Vicam,[52] a visita of Torim, was assaulted by the Seris and their allies at eleven o'clock on one of the first days of May of this year, 1760. The Seris killed fifteen to twenty of Vicam's natives, and wounded others.

65. The mission of Cumuripa and its pueblo de visita, Buenavista,[53] were exposed to the same risks. It was feared, some said, that the natives would unite with the Seris. Until now, however, nothing is certain except that the natives have little respect for and pay no attention to their missionary father. They refuse to provide him with water and firewood, as is required.

66. Until 1759, neither the mission of Onavas nor its visita of Tónichi[54]—nor their immediate surroundings—had experienced any damage from the Seris, the rebel Pimas, or the Guaymas. Last year at the end of August, however, the rebels attacked the estancia of those two pueblos, which is located nearby. All the horses belonging to the mission, its natives, and the settlers of the region were pastured there. The rebels killed three cowboys. Some drove off the horses and mules while others attacked people in the fields around Onavas. Its natives, eighty in all, crossed the river and came to their defense. Once they experienced the force with which the enemies attacked, however, they retreated rapidly. In the first encounter, the enemies killed five natives, among them the Indian governor who had inspired the natives. During the precipitous retreat, the rebels killed another native and wounded five, two of whom died shortly thereafter. The enemies also stole the broken horses and sheep and goats which were grazing in those environs.

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51. Located along the Río Yaqui until the river changed course in the nineteenth century, Huirivis was the westernmost of the eight Jesuit missions established among the Yaquis. As the Yaquis transformed mission Christianity into their own religion, it became one of the Eight Sacred Yaqui towns. *Wivism*, the Yaqui term for Huirivis, means 'bronzed cowbirds'.

52. The mission of Santísima Trinidad de Vicam was established among the Yaquis in 1617. One of the Eight Sacred Towns, *Vikam* means 'arrow points' in Yaqui.

53. Located along the Río Yaqui, San Pedro de Cumuripa was founded as a visita of Tecoripa among the Névomes, a Lower Pima group, in 1619. Buenavista was situated about thirty kilometers downriver and was called Suadacari (Pennington 1980:26).

54. The mission of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio de Onavas was founded among Névomes (Lower Pimas) in 1622. Its visita, Santa María del Pópulo de Tónichi, was founded in 1628. Both are situated along the Río Yaqui. Onavas was a Lower Pima community, but Tónichi was an Eudeve community in the early 1600s. By the 1660s, however, it had become a mixed Lower Pima—Eudeve community.

Meanwhile, the natives quickly sent three messages to the governor, who happened to be at Río Chico with twelve soldiers, four or five leagues from Onavas. They described the route the enemies were following and how the governor could easily intercept that route and follow them, as the lieutenant general of the province had done with the few natives he was able to round up. One does not know the motives His Grace might have for not dispatching those soldiers. With them it would have been possible to punish the enemies, who remained nearby the entire next day, killing livestock, milking cows and goats, shearing animals, and making halters. Later in their march, the enemies stole the horseherds of other nearby ranches. Because of that, those ranches are now entirely depopulated.

67. On the same day in the same month of August, the same number of Seris entered the *real* of San Antonio,[55] where the placers of gold were discovered in 1759. They came through the arroyo where the placers are located. There, in a field where the arroyo empties into the river, they killed three natives of Tónichi and a boy. Two Spaniards who had been nearby escaped.

68. The *real* of Soyopa[56] is a large community of Spaniards and some merchants. Fearful because of the frequent thefts, injuries, and hostilities that the Seris have committed in the vicinity, those inhabitants completely deserted the *real,* with its rich mines, at the beginning of this year, 1760.

69. The Seris have committed a few murders and horse thefts in the vicinity of the pueblo of Soyopa, a visita of Onavas, since 1757. On Good Friday in April of this present year of 1760, however, Soyopa was assaulted. Some of the homes of the natives were sacked and three natives were killed. When the Seris retreated, they ran off the mule team of someone named Núñez, who had stopped in the community the night before. Dispatched by the alcalde mayor, a few vecinos took off in pursuit. The enemies attacked them, killing three. Many more would have died if the Seris had not used up their arrows in the previous assault.

70. From both the *real* of Todos Santos and Carrizal, the Apaches have run off horses and mules, killing others in the surrounding area. In Todos Santos, they seized a large cross with such fury that they broke it into small pieces. Between these two reales are visible the ruins of three other small settlements of Spaniards—Cajón Real de Abajo, El Ojito, and to the west, the estancia of Los Carrizosas. All are deserted because of the Apaches. On the day of the Holy Kings [Epiphany] in 1758, the Apaches killed nine men and women, all Spaniards, three leagues north of Carrizal in a narrow pass called El Salto. On other occasions at the same place, they have wounded and harassed others.

71. During the year of 1756, the Seris attacked the Spanish settlement of Soniviate, killing Don Cristóbal de Ochoa and other persons. They burned the houses; for this reason, the settlement was totally abandoned. On the first day of

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55. San Antonio de la Huerta, just north of Tónichi on the west bank of the Río Yaqui, was the center of an enormous mining boom in the province of Sonora. Father Ignacio Lizasoáin, S.J., claimed it attracted more than 50,000 people, which was undoubtedly an exaggeration given Sonora's population in the mid-eighteenth century (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

56. Soyopa is located upriver from San Antonio de la Huerta on the Río Yaqui. It was an Eudeve ranchería that later became an important Spanish mining community. This account indicates that the Spanish and Indian communities were distinct, even though they shared the same name.

1757, a short distance to the south of Soniviate at a deserted rancho of the mission of Ures, the Seris murdered Don Andrés de Figueroa, his two brothers, and the head muleteer of his mule team, all of which the Seris ran off.

72–73. The *real* of Concepción and its nearby settlements of Spaniards is south of Buenavista and Estancia de Núñez. Between these settlements, the Seris killed five people, both Spaniards and Indians, in 1755. The Apaches have also stolen the horseherds and mule droves, which the settlements used to have in abundance, on repeated occasions.

74. Baviácora is a visita of Aconchi, while Aconchi serves as Baviácora's cabecera.

75. In 1755, during the term of the present governor, the Seris killed four Yaqui Indians and another native of Baviácora.

76–77. In 1755, between Huépac[57] and its cabecera, Banámichi, the Seris killed seven settlers along the camino real. On August 16, 1760, the Apaches captured and carried off a boy from Banámichi.

78. In the *real* of Motepori, there is nothing to report except that the Apaches have left the inhabitants destitute of all their products of the land. For that reason, many have left to live in other places.

79. In Sinoquipe,[58] a visita of Banámichi, the Apaches killed a native of Arizpe in March of this year. Between this pueblo and Baviácora, throughout the Valle de Sonora, the thefts of the horseherds by the enemy have been so continuous during the last six years that it would be a waste of time, paper, and patience to report them in any detail. It is enough to state that all the inhabitants of the area pass from one place to another on burros because they have been left no better mounts.

80. In the settlement of Tetuachi,[59] one sees only the ruins of what it once was. Today it is deserted because of the frequent invasions of the enemy.

81. In the mission of Arizpe, the enemy has carried out repeated robberies and has killed many natives.

82. The settlement of Quepanevache and the *real* of Basochuca[60] are both populated by Spaniards. They have experienced frequent robberies and outrages by the enemies, who have killed off their livestock and beasts of burden. In May of this year in Basochuca, the enemies wounded a Spaniard and carried off a ten-year-old boy. A few days later, the Indians surrounded three others, killing one.

83. In Chinapa,[61] a visita of Arizpe, the enemies have frequently stolen horses, mules, and livestock. They have also murdered various people, but the number of dead is not included because it is not known.

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57. The mission of San Lorenzo de Huépac was founded among the Opata Indians of the Río Sonora in 1639.

58. Nuestro Padre San Ignacio de Sinoquipe was originally founded as a visita of Huépac among the Opata Indians along the Río Sonora in 1646.

59. Tetuachi was a mining settlement near Sinoquipe. Ore was discovered there in 1719.

60. Basochuca was probably situated along the Arroyo Basochuca, which drains into the upper Río Sonora, northwest of Nacozari.

61. The mission of San José de Chinapa was founded among the Opata Indians along a tributary of the Río Sonora northwest of Arizpe in 1648.

84. In the *real* of Bacanuchi[62] and its nearby ruins, the enemies have carried out assaults on various occasions. They have killed many people and carried off captives. They have also stolen all the products of the land and, at the beginning of this year, all the oxen and cattle.

85. The enemies have assaulted Bacoachi,[63] a visita of Arizpe, many times. They have killed natives and frequently carried off horseherds belonging to the inhabitants of the mission as well as to settlers who have taken shelter there in order to save their lives.

86. In the mission of Cuquiárachi,[64] there have been repeated robberies and other outrages committed by the enemies who, in years past, have murdered natives here as well. Exact losses cannot be stated. All that can be said is that the enemies have carried off the products of the land belonging to both the mission and its natives.

87. At the presidio of Fronteras[65] (whose captain is Don Gabriel de Vildósola[66]) the enemy runs off small numbers of horses just about every week. In the vicinity of this presidio, the Indians killed a woman and a little girl on July 5 of this year. The lieutenant of the presidio left in pursuit with a party of soldiers. He caught up with them in terrain favorable to the enemy, who numbered more than three hundred. After a drawn-out battle, the lieutenant retreated at nightfall. He and five other soldiers and one Indian auxiliary were wounded. They lost most of their horseherd as well. With this news, the captain left with the rest of the troops to seek revenge. But even though he waited for them at strategic locations along their retreat, the enemies split up into small groups, so the captain managed to recover only the livestock taken from Bacanuchi and the captive from Banámichi. When he returned to his presidio, the captain dispatched the troops again with his alférez and lieutenant in pursuit of the same enemy. It was known that most of

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62. Silver was discovered at Bacanuchi along the Río Bacanuchi, the northwestern tributary of the Río Sonora, around 1680. Despite Apache hostilities, ore deposits continued to be mined in the eighteenth century. In the 1760s, new deposits were discovered (West 1993).

63. San Miguel de Bacoachi was established as a visita of Chinapa among the Opata Indians in 1650.

64. Franciscan missionaries established a mission at Cuquiárachi in the 1640s. The Jesuits complained of the intrusion into their territory, and the Franciscans relinquished Cuquiárachi and their other missions in the area in 1651. The Jesuits renamed it Nuestro Padre San Ignacio in 1653 (Polzer 1972b). The presidio of Fronteras was established nearby in the late 1690s.

65. Viceroy Conde de Galve authorized a new "Presidio de las Fronteras de la Provincia de Sonora" in 1690. For most of the following decade, the garrison was a flying company with no established base. By the end of the century, however, the presidio settled at Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi in the Valle de Cabullona along the headwaters of the Río Moctezuma. It became known simply as Fronteras presidio.

66. A Basque, Gabriel de Vildósola was born in Villares, Spain, in 1722. He came to New Spain with his father, Agustín de Vildósola, and became captain of the Fronteras presidio in 1754 in compensation for his services during the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion. He retained that post until his death in 1784.

the attackers were from the pueblos of New Mexico because of their tribal markings, their clothing, and the information provided by the captive. The soldiers caught up with the enemies, even though they were still split up, between the Gila and San Francisco Rivers. They attacked a group of them, who took refuge in some craggy mountains after experiencing the soldiers' fire. Two were punished on the spot. Another was taken alive. The soldiers returned to the presidio with seven other prisoners. At the presidio, the captives explained that because of the tribal markings they all wore, they were people from the New Mexican pueblos referred to above. Moreover, only these people, not the Apaches, wear their long hair cut so that it falls over the face [three words scratched out in the original]. Their noses are pierced in order to wear rings in them. They also have a variety of accouterments for riding. This evidence, along with similar evidence that has repeatedly been ascertained in years past, was presented to Mexico by some presidial captains. But the report of the governor of that province [New Mexico] was given greater weight than the statement of those captains, which was disregarded. As a result, those enemies have continued to invade the province with even greater force. Sometimes they come alone. Other times they come with the Apaches, who buy the horses and mules that they steal. On August 15 of this year, they ran off sixty head of cattle from the vicinity of this presidio. In September, they stole another eight.

88. In the pueblo of Cuchuta,[67] a visita of Cuquiárachi, the enemy has frequently stolen horses and killed natives of the community. The total number of deaths is not available at present, but it is known that on June 23, 1758, enemy Indians killed three of the four natives who were building a cart. Then, after running off all the horses of the natives and the herds of the mission in 1759, they killed another six natives and wounded another one in March 1760.

89. Teuricachi,[68] a visita of Cuquiárachi, was assaulted by the enemy on April 5, 1757. They killed two natives and one woman, taking captive her five-year-old child. In May 1759, they murdered another woman and captured her six-year-old grandson. In March 1760, the enemies wounded five natives. They have carried off all the horses, oxen, and livestock belonging to the natives and the mission.

90. The *real* of Aguaje,[69] along with its rich mines, is deserted because of the frequent assaults, robberies, and deaths caused by the enemies since 1755 and 1756.

91. The *real* of Nacozari[70] used to be one of the richest mining districts in the province. Until 1755, it had a vast number of Spanish settlers. Now only one continues living there with a small squad of servants and children, taking refuge

67. San Francisco Xavier de Cuchuta was established as a visita among the Opata Indians along the headwaters of the Río Moctezuma in 1653.

68. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Teuricachi was founded as a visita among the Opata Indians along the headwaters of the Río Moctezuma in 1653.

69. There were at least two mining communities called Aguaje. This one was clearly in northern Sonora. Another was located south of Pitic (Hermosillo) and west of Aigamé between the Río Sonora and the Río Mátape (West 1993).

70. Nacozari was located along the upper Río Moctezuma south of modern Nacozari de García.

in the church, which is the headquarters of that parish. The other settlers retreated from Nacozari because of the weekly assaults, robberies, and murders carried out by enemy Indians, who enter the rest of the province through there. Between these two reales [Aguaje and Nacozari], there were three other settlements of Spaniards, and they were abandoned completely for the same reasons.

92. In the pueblo of Cumpas,[71] a visita of Oposura,[72] the natives of the mission and the settlers who have taken shelter there have experienced frequent thefts of their horses, mules, and livestock during the past six years. One cannot bear in mind all that has occurred, but in 1759, the enemies wounded an Indian war captain and a Spaniard during a fight there, while the people of Cumpas killed three Apaches and stopped them from robbing the place. In August of this year, the enemies returned in great numbers, settling in the vicinity with their women and children. They caused one death and other grave injuries among the households of Cumpas. On August 20, the natives of Cumpas and some Spaniards went to look for them. There were so many Apaches, however, that they killed three of our men, wounded three others, and carried off alive the captain, whom they had already wounded. One of the wounded men wandered around lost among the Apaches. After two days, he almost miraculously escaped after commending himself fervently to the Holy Virgin of Rosario. The most lamentable thing about this whole affair was that the Apaches got away before the natives of the surrounding area were able to join together to punish them. When they finally left to do so on August 27, there were 250 natives and more than twenty soldiers and Spaniards under the command of the lieutenant of Fronteras. But by then, the Apaches had gone, and the party was unable to overtake them during the next three days. This same year, 1760, the Apaches killed two gente de razón about six leagues from Fronteras. Twenty-five soldiers pursued them, killing three enemies and wounding others. Five of our troops were wounded. They were forced to retreat in the same fashion as was mentioned at the beginning of number 87.

93. The *real* of San Juan Bautista,[73] was once the cabecera of the entire province and for ten years the cabecera of this region. But because of the danger of enemy Apaches, it began to be depopulated, and it is completely deserted today. The enemies executed their attacks without mercy even for the sacred images, which they broke into pieces after the settlers left them in the church because they fled in such a hurry.

94–95. The settlement of Jamaica, like that of Jécori,[74] is made up of Spaniards

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71. Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Cumpas was founded as a visita among the Opatas along the Río Moctezuma in 1644.

72. San Miguel Arcángel de Oposura was founded as a mission among the Opatas along the Río Moctezuma in 1644. Its name was changed to Moctezuma in 1828.

73. Located southwest of Cumpas in the mountains between the Moctezuma and Sonora river valleys, San Juan Bautista was the most important mining community in Sonora during the seventeenth century. Silver was discovered there in 1657, and the alcalde mayor of Sonora resided there for nearly a century. Production declined by the 1680s because of flooding in the shafts.

74. Jamaica and Jécori are located along the Río Moctezuma south of Cumpas. The corrupt presidial captain Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós had mines there in the 1720s (Polzer and Sheridan 1997).

and Indians. Both of these places have experienced frequent thefts—so many that the enemies have carried off all their horses and mules and are doing the same with their cattle. In July 1758, about half a league away from Jécori, the enemies killed a Spanish woman and wounded a youth who was traveling with her.

96. In 1759, the enemies wounded a native in the fields of the mission of Oposura. Even though this mission used to have one of the largest horseherds, enemy Indians over the past few years have left it without any horses for rounding up its tame livestock. Finally, in May of the present year, 1760, the enemy attacked while the mission herd and a small herd belonging to the settlers were being driven together. They ran off just over one hundred head.

97. The *real* of Tonivabi is the largest settlement of Spaniards in the province. About four leagues away along the road to Guásabas, the Apaches killed a Yaqui Indian and a [Spanish] woman, mortally wounding another. At the end of June 1757, about a league to the south at a place called Racoverache, the Apaches killed four Indians and took another two captive. In August 1758, the Apaches ran off the animals that worked the fields of the *real* during the day and were confined within them and tied to the fences at night. In December of the same year, they killed a young man and harassed other settlers from Tonivabi next to those same fields. On June 6, 1759, the Apaches attacked Julián Moreno's mule drove, killing a young *hombre de razón* and wounding another two. If one had to list all the daily thefts of horses, mules, and cattle carried out by these enemies, it would be necessary to fill a large quantity of paper, and so I say only that the Apaches have left these people without animals to ride.

97. [*sic*] For the last two years, the Spanish settlement of Sivipa has experienced the same [misfortunes] as Tonivabi. In July 1757, the enemies killed an Indian servant in Juan Terán's field.

98. Terapa is a small pueblo de visita and the livestock estancia of Oposura. Most of the horse thefts noted in the discussion of the cabecera (Oposura) took place here, where the enemy dared to steal them from the corral in the middle of the pueblo itself. Finally, on August 28, 1758, eight Apaches on horseback killed a cowboy and fatally wounded an hombre de razón less than a quarter league away. They found the man sleeping, but he managed to escape from their hands by availing himself of his agility and jumping bareback on a horse. They followed him but he wrested a lance away from one of the enemies. They left him then with only the lance, carrying off his saddle and all his other tack.

99. Tepache[75] is a Spanish and Indian settlement. The enemies have robbed its horseherds so continuously that most people do not have a horse on which they can leave to enjoy the benefaction of Holy Mass. Nor do they or their families have the food they need. For much of the year, in fact, they sustain themselves on a wild root called *temaqui*,[76] which abounds in the region. In May 1760, the enemies killed a Spaniard named Trejo on the communal lands of the pueblo.

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75. Tepache lies along a tributary of the Río Moctezuma southeast of Moctezuma (Oposura). It was founded in 1678.

76. The root of *temaqui* or *saiya* (*Amoreuxia palmatifida*) is similar to camote. It was also an antidote to Seri arrow poison; the root was ground into powder and applied to the wound (Sobarzo 1966).

100. San Mateo,[77] once a visita of Sahuaripa, was finished off years ago by the Apaches.

101. Concerning Sahuaripa,[78] the cabecera of San Mateo, Arivechi,[79] with its visitas of Bacanora and Pónida, Onapa with its visita of Taraichi, and Tacupeta,[80] a settlement of Spaniards, one does not know what to report, because all of these places lie far from the enemy frontiers. Matemaneco is a deserted *real.* Likewise, the pueblo of Nátora[81] no longer shelters a soul.

102. Teópari,[82] a visita of Sahuaripa, and Chipajora, an estancia of the same mission, are also far from the Apache frontier. Nonetheless, a few years ago they experienced frequent thefts of horses and even a few deaths. Chamala is a ranchería of Christian Jova Indians which also falls under the same number [on a map that accompanied this report].

103. Serbas is an old pueblo that was depopulated many years ago.

104. Sátachi is a ranchería of Christian Jovas which belongs to the mission of Bacadéguachi.[83] Enemy Indians killed three natives from there in 1759, and another in 1758, the year before. This year, 1760, they killed five natives two days' walk from there toward the east. One of these victims defended himself alone against seven or eight enemies for an entire day, killing four of them before he fell. The enemies took from these poor souls the animals which they were accustomed to raising.

105. Two leagues from Mochopa, a visita of Bacadéguachi, enemy Indians killed two of its natives and injured another near Curedo. Others have been wounded by the same enemies this year, 1760.

106. In Nácori,[84] a visita of Bacadéguachi, the same enemies killed the Indian fiscal in 1758. In 1759, during Lent, they killed the captain of the pueblo.

107. In 1753, about a quarter league away from the mission of Bacadéguachi, the Apaches wounded four natives of Bacerác,[85] two of whom died. The Apaches

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77. Lying along the Río Sahuaripa north of Sahuaripa, San Mateo de Matzura was founded as a visita in 1674.

78. Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Sahuaripa was an Opata community along the Río Sahuaripa, a tributary of the Yaqui. Jesuits founded a mission there in 1627.

79. San Francisco Xavier de Arivechi was founded among Opatas on the Río Sahuaripa in 1627. Its visita of San Ignacio de Bacanora was established the same year.

80. Lying south of Arivechi on the Río Sahuaripa, Santa Rosalía de Onapa was founded as a visita of Arivechi in 1677 among Lower Pimas now known as the Mountain Pimas. Taraichi was a community of Mountain Pimas, while Tacupeta was a mining community where silver was discovered in 1675.

81. Nátora was a community of Jova Indians, linguistic relatives of the Opatas, in the Sierra Madre.

82. The visita of San José de Teópari was founded among the Jovas in 1676.

83. San Luis Gonzaga de Bacadéguachi was founded as a visita of Nácori among the Opatas in 1645. It lies along the Río Bacadéguachi, a tributary of the Río Bavispe.

84. According to Polzer (1976), Santa María de Nácori, now known as Nácori Chico, was the cabecera and Bacadéguachi its visita when it was founded in 1645 among the Opatas.

85. The mission of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Bacerác was founded among a community of Opatas along the Río Bavispe in 1645.

ran off five mule droves, killing most of them along the road except for a few that were recovered three days later by the natives of Bacadéguachi, who had given chase to the thieves. A native of this pueblo was lanced to death in the campaign against the Apaches which the governor instituted in 1756. The mission also lost some mules which the natives used to carry their goods, and has sustained increasing damage to its products of the land and its natives.

108. Two leagues from Huachinera,[86] a visita of Bacerác, enemy Indians killed a native of that pueblo in 1753. In 1760, they took captive another, younger native.

109. Tamichopa, which for a short time was a visita of Bacerác, was deserted because of fear of the enemies. Consequently, on the eve of Palm Sunday, the enemies burned the houses and the chapel of the community.

110. This year, 1760, in the mission of Bacerác, the enemies killed an Indian from there near the pueblo's flour mill. This mission and its visitas and natives have been destroyed more than any other, because the enemies have extracted, carried off, and torn away all the products of the land from the corrals to the plazas of the pueblos.

111. Bavispe[87] is a separate mission even though it is presently administered by the missionary from Bacerác. Northeast of there, five leagues away, is the Cuesta de Carretas,[88] an indispensable pass along the camino real. At the beginning of 1755, the Apaches killed two traders from El Paso and wounded several others there, one of whom later died in Bacerác. They also captured a little Indian girl, ran off some pack animals, and left the place destroyed. At the foot of this pass, the Apaches killed a native of Bavispe in 1756. In 1758, they killed another half a league away, taking captive his companion. On August 2, 1760, they killed another native in his fields. All the products of the land have been destroyed. All that are left are a few animals, which the natives have been able to preserve only by diligently and heavily guarding them in the fields by day and in the pueblo by night.

112. Teras, inhabited long ago, now contains only worthless ruins.

113. The old *real* of San Juan del Río is nothing more than ruins because of the many deaths inflicted by the enemies upon its settlers, who abandoned it years ago.

114. The old *real* of Nuri[89] is also depopulated.

115–116. Oputo,[90] a pueblo de visita of the mission of Guásabas, its cabecera,

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86. San Juan Evangelista de Huachinera was founded as a visita among Opatas on the Río Bavispe in 1645.

87. The mission of San Miguel de Bavispe was originally founded as a visita of Bacerác among Opatas on the Río Bavispe in 1645.

88. One of the most important passes in the northern Sierra Madre, Carretas linked Sonora with the presidio of Janos and Nueva Vizcaya.

89. Nuri is located south of Movas and Río Chico and was a mining community in the province of Ostimuri. The visita of Santa Ana de Nuri was founded among people who may have been Cáhita speakers. Lying on the border between Mountain Pima territory and territory occupied by various Cáhita-speaking groups, it later became a multiethnic community that included Lower Pimas (Pennington 1980).

90. The visita of Nuestro Padre San Ignacio de Oputo was founded among Opatas in 1645.

is treated in number 116. There have been no deaths to mourn [in Guásabas]. Over and above the continuous thefts of horses, mules, and cattle, however, some have been wounded, particularly in 1757, when about twenty Apaches attacked two natives of Guásabas three leagues from there. These natives defended themselves so forcefully that they were able to mortally wound some of the enemies. After a few hours of battle, they managed to retreat. As they came closer to the pueblo, the enemies finally had to leave them alone, even though each of them sustained three wounds. That same year eight Apaches wounded another native of Guásabas while they were being chased after killing thirty-five calves in a corral and running off a portion of the mission's broken horseherd. Nevertheless, the same enemies lost various weapons, and three or four of them were fatally wounded during the fray.

117. Because it is a constant refuge of the enemy Seris, the famous Cerro Prieto has been and continues to be a theater of war during the past few years. Despite being accompanied by large numbers of well-regulated militia and Indian auxiliaries from the pueblos, our forces have accomplished nothing during campaigns there other than their hasty retreat. Some have died, many have been wounded, and many horses have been lost; the enemy has always been left triumphant.

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DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Breve resumen de los desastres, muertes, robos, y asolamientos acaecidos en la provincia de Sonora hostilizada de apaches, seris, y pimas alzados, y en particular desde el año de 1755 hasta el presente de 1760 que para dar mas luz al mapa de esta provincia queda asentada según el A.B.C. correspondiendo éste con los números añadidos a los lugares de dicho mapa.

1. El pueblo y misión de San Francisco Xavier del Bac, reducidos sus indios a fines del siglo pasado, y dotada por su majestad por los años de 1730 es la última por el norte de la Pimería. Esta acometió Jabanimó con su parcialidad de indios alzados pimas el año de 1756 y, ayudado de indios del mismo pueblo, saqueó la casa del padre reverendo y chozas de los indios leales. En eso llegó el alférez con 15 soldados del real presidio de Tubac en socorro, y aunque los rebeldes los recibieron con la mayor resistencia, fueron en breve derrotados, con 15 muertos y muchos heridos y huyeron con precipitación la tierra adentro, quedando solo tres soldados levemente heridos. A los huídos fue siguiendo con su campo inmediatamente el señor governador, pero sin ningún fruto. A más de lo dicho ha padecido esta misión y sus indios continuos robos de sus ganados, mulada y caballada.

2. El real presidio de Tubac, fundado por resulta de la asonada pímica del año de 1751 en tierras del pueblo del mismo nombre, visita de Guevavi, cuyos naturales ahora estan en Tumacácori, aunque sin tierras de riego poco acomodados. En estas inmediaciones dieron muerte los alzados a un español por febrero de [17]59, y a cinco indios de dicho pueblo que cogieron en sus sementeras de maíz llevaron

vivos, y otro murió a sus manos a principios de este año de 1760. De dicho real presidio han hurtado los alzados de 400 a 500 reses, lo que cada luna acostumbran; su capitán fue don Thomás de Beldarraín, por cuya muerte sucedió en él a principios de este año don Juan Bautista de Anza, quien por mayo de este mismo año logró el castigo de la cuadrilla de los hijos de Luis del Sáric, cabecilla del alzamiento de 1751 dando muerte a nueve, y entre ellos a Ciprián y Nicolás, mantenedores del alzamiento de su padre.

3–4. Entre Arivaca, pueblo desolado por los rebeldes pimas que era visita de Guevavi, y el rancho despoblado de Tucubabi, mató el dicho Ciprián con los suyos, poco antes de caer en manos del capitán de Tubac, a Miguel de la Cruz, soldado que había sido de dicho presidio, cuya cabellera estaban bailando cuando los sorprendió dicho capitán.

5. En Sonoitag [Sonoita], que es visita de Guevavi, aunque los sublevados lo cercaron en crecido número por junio de [17]59, no lograron más, que dar muerte a un natural, y llevarse todas las cabalgaduras que hallaron en sus contornos.

6. La misión de Guevavi, aunque siempre acosada de dichos enemigos, no ha padecido en las vidas de sus naturales; sí mucho por los continuos hurtos de ganado y caballada, la que también los apaches, por los años de [17]57 y [17]58, en tres ocasiones acometieron, y cada vez llevaron alguna porción. Dicho año de [17]58, por Sábado Santo, y el siguiente de [17]59, por octubre, llevaron los pimas alzados del corral dentro del mismo pueblo, gran porción de caballos, pero tuvieron la dicha los naturales de quitarlas en ambas ocasiones, y la una de ellas de herir a Ciprián, cabeza principal de los rebeldes, y quitarles aún las bestias en que habían venido.

7. Buenavista, San Luis, y Santa Bárbara son tres ranchos a poca distancia uno del otro, río arriba de Guevavi, que han padecido los mismos robos que dicho pueblo, de Ciprián y sus compañeros, que por mayo último acabó de llevarle a Nicolás Romero las mulas de su recua, habiéndole robado antes la mayor parte de ellas del corral de la guardia del presidio de Tubac, los apaches han ejecutado en estos ranchos otro tanto en hurto de bestias, y el año de [17]59 llevaron la recua de Ignacio Romero, sin que se les quitara una bestia, siendo tan inmediato a los presidios reales de Terrenate y Tubac. En Buenavista mataron dichos enemigos por noviembre de [17]58 a Francisco Figueroa, vecino de Tubac, en el rancho despoblado de Sicurisutac. Camino de Imuris, acometieron los apaches a Juan de Medina y Francisco Machado, y aunque salieron estos con la vida, el uno llevó del encuentro seis heridas.

8. La misión de Santa María Soamca, no ha sido tan hostilizada de los alzados, como ni Cocóspera, su pueblo de visita, pero si de los apaches, que el año de [17]57 llevaron cerca de 80 caballos mansos de Cocóspera, y por el mes de junio de dicho año, mas de cien cabezas entre caballos y mulas de Santa María. El año de [17]59 aunque dos noches seguidas, habiendo sacado ya del corral las manadas del partido, no lograron llevárselas por la vigilancia de los vaqueros. La tercera noche, sin ser sentidos, sacaron del corral del gobernador el ganado manso y bestias que tenía, y habiendo éste salido el dia siguiente con algunos otros indios en su alcance, hallólos en tanto número, que, oprimido de él, él, un hijo suyo, con otro indio, murieron a sus manos; los demás lograron escapar con la vida pero no sin heridas.

9. Del real presidio de Terrenate y su capitán don Francisco Elías González no se ofrece que referir, sino que los apaches dos veces llevaron gran porción de la

caballada, y en año de 59, no obstante de hallarse toda la compañía junta en dicho presidio, sacaron los dichos enemigos de los corrales dentro de él todo el ganado manso de los vecinos, sin contraste ni castigo alguno.

10. La Cuesta de las Bolas se llama el paraje donde se hallaron el año de [17]37 aquellas asombrosas piezas de plata virgen, que algunas de ellas pasaban de cincuenta quintales, las que con los pleitos embargos [ilegible] que luego tramó sobre ellas la codicia, se han desaparecido, de suerte que ni en las entrañas de aquel cerro, ni en poder de los que con ellas cargaron y sus herederos, no se halla al presente un adarme. Aquí mataron, hay quien diga los apaches y quien los pimas alzados, por el mes de agosto, a Nicolas Espinoza, vecino, y a Bartolo Estrada, soldado de Tubac, con su mujer y un hijo de pechos.

11–12. Los pueblos de Arizona y Aquimuri, visitas del Sáric aunque sin muertes han experimentado los mismos robos y hostilidades de unos y otros enemigos.

13. El Agua Caliente es real antiguo pero ahora poco menos que despoblado: aquí mataron los alzados por octubre de [17]59 a un indio yaqui, y dos años antes, los apaches, a un español llamado "el Bordador." Los propios enemigos mataron en otra ocasión a otro yaqui sirviente de los vecinos, a los que han dejado sin ganados y cabalgaduras entre ambos enemigos.

14. El pueblo de Busani [Búsanic], visita de Sáric, fue acometido por Ciprián, por abril de [17]59, y heridos en la defensa dos de sus naturales, con muerte de uno de los contrarios y heridos el mismo Ciprián con otros, para cuyo transporte llevaron en la retirada siete caballos, y aunque por octubre intentó otro asalto, fue rebatido sin desgracia alguna por haberse tenido aviso. De la estancia que tienen las dos misiones del Sáric y Tubutama cerca de este pueblo, llevan los alzados casi diariamente ganado, y no bajan de 600 las reses que han hurtado estos últimos 4 o 5 años sucesivamente. Al norte de este pueblo, camino de Tubac, mataron el año de [17]57 los alzados a dos correos naturales del Sáric que iban para dicho presidio. El año antecedente de [17]58 fueron muertos dos naturales de este pueblo por los rebeldes, y a otro llevaron vivo.

15. Sáric, cabecera, de donde por Luis, cabecilla del alzamiento de 1751 dimanaron todos los estragos. Ha sido el pueblo mas alborotado de todos, a causa de sus hijos y deudos, de género que de cuatro misioneros que sucesivamente fueron destinados a aquella misión ninguno ha podido subsistir, y ahora es administrada por el de Tubutama, para no darles ocasión los superiores de asesinar alguno pues para ello hubo bastantes indicios en tiempo del padre Bernardo Middendorff; así en haberse hallado una mañana clavadas las flechas de los alzados en la puerta de la casa del padre, a despecho de la escolta de soldados que dormían por junto a ella, como otro día, estando dicho padre en el portal de la misma divertido en mirar al campo sin recelo alguno, advertido por fin que un indio con su flecha enarcada lo estaba acechando para emplearla al descuido, y ya que esto no consiguieron, ni el arrastrar a su partido a los pocos leales, se aplicaron por todos modos a destruir cuanto podía coadyuvar a su subsistencia, siendo uno de estos llevarse toda la caballada de la misión de dentro del mismo pueblo y junto a la casa del padre, en cuyo portal estaba la escolta de soldados, habiendo conseguido los sublevados el año antecedente de [17]57 dar muerte a dos naturales de los leales.

16. Esto de acabar con los bienes de la misión lo solicitaron en el de Tubutama mas que en otra alguna los sublevados, pues no solo a ésta, sino también a sus naturales los dejaron casi del todo sin ganado ni caballada; a más de esto tiraron a

estorbarles sus sementeras, pues en ellas por octubre de [17]59 hirieron a cinco, y a mediados de febrero de [17]60 mataron a dos que estaban cerca del pueblo.

17. En Santa Teresa, visita de Tubutama a una legua distante, aunque la vigilancia de sus naturales burló la de los sublevados en orden a destruir vidas, no pudo estorbar el que en diferentes ocasiones se llevaran y mataran sus ganados y caballada.

18. Ati, cabecera de la misión de este nombre, aunque fue amenazada mucho de los sublevados, no ha padecido mas daño que el de buen golpe de caballada que llevaron el año de [17]58.

19. Oquitoa, visita del antecedente, se vio los años antecedentes en términos de su total destrucción por los pimas y seris unidos, con muertes que dieron a siete de sus naturales, muchos heridos y reducida a cenizas las casas de la misión. El año de [17]58 fue muerto por los mismos enemigos cerca de este pueblo un natural de él. Este de [17]60 hirieron los pimas altaneros a otro del mismo pueblo y se llevaron unos burros, en cuyo alcance fue muerto por dichos enemigos el alférez del Altar, con otro soldado, tres heridos, y todos obligados a la retirada.

20. A este puesto llamado El Altar, se mudó el año de [17]57 el presidio del capitán don Bernardo de Urrea, del pueblo de Caborca, en donde sólo se advirtió algunas llevas de ganado mayor y menor, y algunos caballos del capitán. Sí en el presente año de [17]60 le llevaron a dicho señor su recua, que parada estaba junto al pueblo del Pitic [Pitiquito] sin que ni esta, ni lo antecedente se hubiese podido recobrar.

21. A dicho pueblo de Pitic [Pitiquito] se arrojaron el año de [17]56 en gran número seris y pimas unidos, y no obstante la resistencia de cinco o seis soldados y algunos indios amigos, muerto un soldado y varios heridos, se hubieron de acoger a la casa de la misión donde hubieran sido muertas más de 250 personas si no hubiera acudido prontamente el capitán Urrea con soldados e indios amigos quien consiguió desalojar al enemigo y matar a diecíséis rebeldes. Sentidos de esto los que alzados vivían de dicho pueblo, emprendieron dar muerte a dicho capitán y a su padre ministro Antonio María Bens, para lo que los estuvieron esperando en un cajón preciso tránsito para el pueblo de Oquitoa, pero Dios dispuso libertarlos haciendo fuesen descubiertos por otros indios buenos, los cuales apresaron a los malos, y a los tres principales cabecillas de tal determinación se les quitó la vida; pero no fue bastante este ejemplar castigo para contenerlos, antes bien se huyeron un crecido número de los de dicho pueblo a incorporarse con los enemigos.

22. Manteniéndose el presidio del capitán Urrea el año de [17]56 en dicho pueblo de Caborca, determinó el señor gobernador adelantar la reducción por los indios pápagos, bajándolos a los pueblos, diligencia que siempre se ha conseguido por los padres misioneros cuando los han enviado a llamar, ofreciéndoles comida, pero nunca se han mantenido porque apenas llegaba el tiempo de que sazonasen las semillas campestres de sus territorios, se volvían a ellos, como hicieron los que trajo consigo dicho señor. Luego que emprendió su marcha para su presidio y por las mismas justicias que su señoría les puso, consiguieron con más facilidad, resentidos de esto, juntarse con los enemigos pimas y seris dando guerra, hasta la presente, levantando por su jefe, al indio Jabanimó, pima del río Gila, en compañía de los hijos del cabecilla Luis del Saríc. Estos con inteligencia de los seris formaron el plan de destruir poblaciones de españoles y de pimas leales en día determinado, pero permitió Dios que no se entiendiesen los unos a los otros el día en que se aplazaron, y así equivocados, sabidos sus intentos, se preparon las armas en Caborca;

y aunque asaltaron en gran número los pimas, fueron rechazados a la primera descarga, y el otro campo compuesto de seris y pimas, habiendo errado el día, se apostó la noche siguiente a vista del pueblo del Pitic [Pitiquito], donde se hallaba una corta partida de la compañía de Urrea, que sobre las armas esperaba el acometimiento que no ejecutó el enemigo, que viendo que los pimas no se aparecían por su prevenido rumbo para el avance se retiraron los seris, a un cercano cerro de donde en pocos días se separaron por varios rumbos.

23. Los indios del pueblo de Bísanic, visita de Caborca, atemorizados por las repetidas amenazas de los alzados, una noche del citado año de [17]56 abandonaron todos su pueblo, pero alcanzados por el capitán Urrea, se logró volver a su pueblo y sosegar la mayor parte de ellos, quedando los demás incorporados con el enemigo.

24–25. Estancia del Ocuca y Arituaba, ambas despobladas desde el alzamiento.

26. Población de españoles de Santa Ana, antes crecida, y hoy reducida a un corto número de vecinos por los daños que de los alzados con frecuencia han recibido. El año de [17]58 mataron a un yaqui y a otro indio nijora. El de [17]59 a Ignacio García, a 28 de mayo del mismo año a Juan José García, y en 1° de septiembre a Miguel de Alviso. En 26 de julio de [17]60 a un pima sirviente de Salazar, y en otras ocasiones los mismos años muchos huyendo escaparon sus vidas, pero no el que los hiriesen los enemigos. A tanto llegó el atrevimiento de estos, que de dentro de los corrales les sacaban y llevaban cuantos bienes de campo tenían; no se expresen por menor las ocasiones que esto hicieron, por excusar una dilatada relación.

27. La Soledad, población de españoles, despoblada hoy del todo por los pimas y seris en los años de [17]56 y [17]57, no se refieren las muertes, y estragos con que dichos enemigos la desolaron por no haberse tenido la relación individual que se pidió, si se sabe que unos y otros, con repetidos robos de caballada, mulada y ganados, que fueron muchos y causa de su despueble.

28. San Lorenzo, población crecida de españoles, fue asaltado el día 2 de noviembre del año [17]57 por los seris y pimas en crecido número, a cuyas manos, y las de un fuego que pegaron a las casas, murieron treinta y dos personas; las pocas que escaparon se guarecieron en Santa Ana, les llevaron todos los bienes de campo, saquearon y quemaron la tienda de ropa de un Escalante; y en esta población sólo se ven hoy sus ruinas.

29–30. Santa María Magdalena, pueblo de visita de San Ignacio, poco distantes uno de otro. Estos dos pueblos en las repetidas invasiones enemigas no han recibido mas daño que el de los bienes de campo de los naturales y de la misión, común a todos los demás pueblos.

31. Imuris, visita de San Ignacio, ha experimentado el rigor no solo del enemigo pima, sino también del apache. Por agosto de [17]57, llevó Ciprián con sus secuaces cerca de 80 cabezas de caballada mansa. En 4 de febrero de [17]59, mataron los apaches a un vaquero, y arrearon la caballada que había quedado. Este año de [17]60, por abril, mataron los dichos a un natural de este pueblo e hirieron a otro.

32. Pueblo de Remedios, visita que fue de Dolores, despoblado.

33. Pueblo de Cocóspera, visita de Santa María Soamca, lo que ocurrió en este pueblo queda dicho al número ocho.

34. Dolores, misión primera que se fundó en esta Pimería, acabados sus naturales así por su mal temple como por los apaches años ha, y poblado hoy de españoles. Estos han experimentado frecuentes robos de sus bienes de campo por los apaches, y dos españoles que mataron en sus inmediaciones, camino de Saracachi.

35. Este pueblo, que fue visita de Cucurpe, ha como cuatro años que lo despoblaron sus naturales, retirándose a su cabecera; hoy lo habitan españoles, por las minas y placeres de oro que han descubierto en sus cercanías.

36–39. Pueblo de Cucurpe, y Tuape su visita. Con Opodepe, cabecera, y Nacameri su visita, no habiendo llegado las noticias que se esperaban, aunque se sabe han experimentado muchos daños de apaches, pimas, y seris, no se pueden decir a punto fijo sus desgracias, y si el que a principios de junio de este año de [17]60, estando el Teniente Cosío juntando sus ganados en el paraje de la Alameda, al poniente de estos dos partidos, le mataron los seris a dos sirvientes y le llevaron su bastón.

40. Real de Antunes, y Minas del Oro. Descubiertas el año de [17]53, hoy despoblado uno y otro, no tanto por falta del rico metal, y placeres de que se mantenía en opulencia hasta cerca del año de [17]59, cuanto por los repetidos asaltos del seri. En dichas minas mataron estos a don Pedro Zavala y a otros dos individuos y poco después a un sastre Casillas.

41. Pueblo de Pópulo, cabecera que fue de la misión de seris, del todo asolado.

42. Villa y presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, que desde la salida del gobernador interino don Pablo de Arce y Arroyo ha sido el blanco de la enemiga del seri; los que en su tiempo se contentaron con algunos robos de poca monta, y aun tal vez, reconvenidos los volvían, pero desde entonces hasta la presente han dejado aquel vecindario sin bienes de campo; les han quemado sus galeras de trigo; han asaltado y llevado varias ocasiones caballada de los soldados; han matado y herido a varios de estos; llevadose vivos algunos mancebos; y en sus cercanías han causado crecido número de muertes, las cuales con los demás estragos que allí han experimentado en dicho tiempo, no se ponen por menor por no atreverse ninguno a decirlas, ni escribirlas.

43. Pueblo que fue de Los Angeles, visita de Pópulo, del todo asolado, hoy poblado por don José de Mesa. Aquí han causado varios daños los seris, que por la razón dicha antecedente, no se expresan, y si el que el año de [17]59 sacando a pastar la mulada de Valencia apresaron a un hijo suyo, y desnudo lo volvieron, llevandose la mulada.

44. Hacienda del Pitic, en ésta y sus sementeras, han causado repetidos robos los seris, han hecho muchas muertes, y se han llevado varios cautivos; no se ha podido averiguar el número fijo, por el temor arriba insinuado, pero se asienta aquí lo que hicieron en dicha hacienda el 19 de octubre de [17]57 por la mañana, que fue asaltada por el seri: mataron a siete sirvientes, hirieron a otros cinco y se llevaron un cautivo con todo el ganado mayor, bueyes, yeguas, potros, caballos, mulas, y machos de los corrales. Después desde 29 de marzo hasta 26 de abril de [17]59 se mantuvieron dichos enemigos sitiando dicha hacienda, pidióse socorro al señor gobernador que envio diez vecinos, y se retiraron después de dicho tiempo los enemigos, causando el daño de volverse a llevar de los corrales las bestias y bueyes mansos que de nuevo habían metido en ella para su cultivo.

45. San Francisco, pueblo que fue de pimas bajos, del todo despoblado, como el que era su visita de Las Animas, poblado después por don Manuel López. En esta cercaron y sitiaron los seris al Bachiller Noriega por abril de [17]57 con dos criados suyos, y se libertaron por el socorro que se les envio de San José de Gracia. Por esto, lo despobló dicho López.

46. En dicho real han experimentado sus habitadores la pérdida de todos sus bienes de campo, llevados por los seris, y algunas muertes que han hecho de sirvientes. En el de El Gavilán, que está a corta distancia, experimentaron lo propio. Retiráronse al antecedente, y luego les quemaron los enemigos las casas.

47. Pueblo de Ures, destruído de todos sus bienes de campo por los seris, que en sus inmediaciones han causado muchas muertes, que no pueden especificarse por lo insinuado al número 42.

48. Santa Rosalía, visita de los Ures, igualmente insultado, y destruído que su cabecera por dicho enemigo, con repetidas muertes y cautiverios.

49. Real del Aguaje del todo destruído, y aniquilado años ha por el seri, que hizo en él muchas muertes; fue abundantísimo y rico mineral de plata y no se trabaja por el sumo riesgo.

50. Real de Quisuani, igualmente despoblado, por las frecuentes muertes, y sumo riesgo del seri, y robos de éste. El año de [17]56 mataron a una mujer española y a unos indios sirvientes.

51. Mazatán población de españoles, desierta por las mismas causas de muertes y robos, habiendo sido el último que mataron en ella por agosto de [17]57 a un español llamado Rosendo.

52. Nácori, visita de Mátape: cerca de él mataron a un indio del mismo pueblo en 28 de marzo de [17]57, y en 28 de febrero de [17]58, a dos naturales. En 6 de febrero de [17]60 mataron cinco naturales, e hirieron a otro que murió después. En 21 de febrero de dicho año, mataron a un vecino Lázaro Valenzuela entre este pueblo y Mazatán.

53. Alamos, visita de Mátape. Aunque en él hubo mas muertes, no se tiene presente su número, y sí él que a últimos de julio de [17]60, estando el señor gobernador en campaña contra el seri, mataron estos a un natural de dicho pueblo, muy cerca de él, y de retirada para sus tierras, se llevaron ganado manso de Santa Rosalía.

54. Mátape, cabecera de esta misión. En 27 de marzo de [17]57, cautivaron los seris a un muchacho de dicho pueblo, y de camino mataron el mismo día en el rancho de don Antonio Solia, una legua distante, al mayordomo y a un vaquero, ambos españoles, colgándolos para darles muerte más cruel de las abujas [agujas] del corral, dentro del cual mataron toda su caballada, y siendo seguidos por los nuestros, se les huyó el cautivo, pero no sin tres flechazos, de que fue curado y vive. En agosto de [17]59 en las sementeras cerca de dicho pueblo, a Pablo Moraga, español. En 17 de marzo de [17]60 a un natural del pueblo de Chinapa, distante como tres leguas de Mátape. Esta misión con sus pueblos de visita, se halla totalmente talada de crecidísimo número de bienes de campo que tenía, así por los seris como por los apaches, los que habrá como ocho o nueve años, acabaron a fuego y sangre la crecida población de Batasaguari, ocho leguas al norte de Mátape, y otros sus inmediatos ranchos, los que por olvido no se asentaron en el mapa, como ni otras muchas poblaciones, reales, estancias, y ranchos.

55. Pueblo de Batuco, y su visita Santa María Tepupa. Ha sido perseguido del apache que ha causado frecuentes robos de caballada así de la misión como de sus naturales, a más de la muerte del caporal de su estancia.

56. Rebeico pueblo de visita que fue de Mátape, poblado después de españoles que lo desampararon con sus minas este año de [17]60 por el asalto que dió el seri,

después de haber dado muerte a don Vicente Rosales, a otro español y a un indio, criados suyos, y llevado toda la caballada y mulada que tenían dentro de los corrales, y días después prendieron fuego a las casas, por lo que solo se ven las ruinas.

57. Pueblo de Tecoripa, ha sido tan infestado de los seris, como que por sus inmediaciones han hecho sus más ordinarias invasiones, especialmente este año de [17]60, de modo que su padre ministro, después de lo acaecido en San José, su pueblo de visita, y atento el corto número y poca seguridad de sus propios indios, que representó al señor gobernador (habiendo hecho lo mismo desde el año de [17]55 el padre ministro que entonces era) tuvo por mejor retirarse a Mátape, mientras por dicho señor se le enviaba la escolta que tenía pedida, y no pudo conseguir hasta fines de junio [más de] solo cinco soldados, mantenidos a costa de la misión, y al presente se ha reducido a tres, los dos de ellos según dice dicho padre son muchachos. En bienes de campo era esta misión la más abundante, como que siendo el precio más inferior de siete pesos dos reales el a que en toda la provincia se vendían los caballos, se dieron varias partidas, y la última al señor gobernador el año de [17]55 a seis pesos tres reales cabeza. Al presente ni en que andar la administración han dejado a dicho padre, si no es algún ganado que por bronco no han podido llevar ni matar los enemigos, pues a principios de mayo mataron doce manadas de yeguas, llevándose la caballada y mulada mansa de la misión, habiendo ejecutado lo mismo en 16 de enero con otras cuatro manadas, y la caballada mansa que hallaron de la misión y otros dueños.

58. San José de los Pimas, visita de Tecoripa. En este pueblo dieron asalto los seris y pimas unidos en 13 de diciembre de [17]59, estando en él su padre ministro con tres vecinos; quemaron las casas de los naturales, dieron muerte a 16 de estos, hirieron a 14, y hubieran matado muchos más si, al refugiarse estos de las suyas a la casa de la misión, no los hubieran abrigado dichos tres vecinos con sus armas de fuego. Finalmente se retiraron, llevándose todo el ganado y caballada de la misión y de los naturales.

59–60. Real del Mortero. En éste, o sus sementeras, mataron los seris por los años de [17]57 o [17]58 al comisario de justicia y a otros que con unas mujeres habían ido a verlas. Desde entonces experimentaron frecuentes robos en sus bienes de campo, y en 16 de enero de [17]60, a las cuatro de la tarde, fue asaltado dicho real por los seris; dieron muerte a un arriero de la misión de los Ures, desvalijando la carga que llevaba, llevaron la recua, y mataron otras muchísimas bestias de aquellos vecinos, lo que dió motivo a su despueble, habiendo ejecutado antes lo mismo los del real de La Ventana.

61. Suaqui visita de Tecoripa, que se despobló en tiempo del gobernador Vildosola, y repoblado de nuevo el año de [17]55, pero vuelto a despoblar del todo al mismo tiempo, y por los mismos motivos que el real del Mortero.

62. San José de los Guaymas, pueblo único de la nación de este nombre, erigido en misión el año de [17]51, no pudiendo subsistir allí su padre ministro, fue administrado como antes de su erección desde la misión de Huirivis, hoy despoblado, y unidos parte de sus naturales a los seris, a excepción de otros que andan desparramados por los reales de minas.

63. Belén, visita de Huirivis, asaltado el año de [17]59, por los seris, que dieron muerte de 15 a 20 naturales; se llevaron 300 reces. Siguiéronlos los naturales, con vecinos y el sargento mayor de milicias, alcanzáronlos en una sierra; acometiéronles, pero en vista de la resistencia de los enemigos, huyeron aquellos,

con pérdida de treinta naturales, por cuya fuga a que dió principio el indio capitán general, fue depuesto de su empleo por el señor gobernador.

64. Vicam, visita de Torim, fue asaltado de los seris, y sus aliados a las once horas de uno de los primeros dias de mayo de este año de [17]60 y mataron de quince a veinte naturales de él, con otros que hubo heridos.

65. La misión de Cumuripa, y su pueblo de visita Buenavista, expuestos a los mismos riesgos. Se dijo que se temía se uniesen con los seris, aunque hasta ahora nada hay fijo, más que el poco respeto, y ninguna atención a su padre ministro, a quien se le niegan para proveer, como son obligados, de agua y leña.

66. Misión de Onavas, y su visita Tónichi. En estos, ni en sus inmediaciones, habían experimentado daño alguno de los seris, ni alzados pimas y guaymas, hasta el año pasado de [17]59 que, por fines del mes de agosto, asaltaron a la estancia de estos dos pueblos inmediata a ellos, y en que se mantenía toda la caballada de la misión, de los naturales y vecinos de aquellas cercanías; dieron muerte a tres vaqueros, arrearon la caballada y mulada unos, y otros asaltaron en las sementeras de Onavas. Sus naturales, en número de 80, cruzando el río salieron al reparo pero, experimentando la fuerza con que les acometió el enemigo, y que al primer encuentro mataron cinco naturales, y con ellos a su indio gobernador que los alentaba. Se retiraron precipitadamente, en la que mataron a otro natural e hirieron cinco, de los que en breve murieron dos, y los enemigos arrearon caballada mansa y ganado menor que pastaba en aquellos contornos.

Diéronse tres prontos avisos al señor gobernador (que con doce soldados se hallaba en Río Chico, cuatro o cinco leguas del dicho pueblo) del rumbo que llevaban, que era fácil atajarlo, y más siguiéndolos como los siguió el teniente general de esta provincia, con unos pocos naturales que pudo juntar. No se saben los motivos que tendría su señoría para no despachar a dichos soldados, con los cuales se pudieron haber castigado a dichos enemigos que toda la mañana se mantuvieron cerca matando ganado, ordeñando vacas y cabras, tusando bestias y haciendo cabestros. Después, en su marcha, robaron las caballadas de otros cercanos ranchos, por lo que del todo los despoblaron.

67. Real de San Antonio, en que se descubrieron los placeres del oro el año de [17]59. Por el mismo mes de agosto el mismo día, y el mismo número de seris entró por la cañada de dichos placeres y, en el desemboque de ella al río, mataron en una milpa a tres naturales de Tónichi y a un niño, habiéndose escapado dos españoles que estaban muy cercanos.

68. Real de Soyopa de crecido vecindario de españoles, y algunos comerciantes. Recelosos de los frecuentes robos, daños y hostilidades que los seris causaban en sus inmediaciones, enteramente lo despoblaron, con sus ricas minas, a principios de este año de [17]60.

69. Pueblo de Soyopa, visita de Onavas. En sus inmediaciones han hecho algunas muertes y robos de caballadas los seris desde el año de [17]57; pero el presente de [17]60, por el mes de abril, Viernes Santo, fue asaltado, saqueadas parte de las casas de sus naturales con muerte de tres de estos, y se retiraron, llevándose la recua de un fulano Núñez que la noche antes había parado en la comunidad de él. Salieron en su alcance vecinos que despachó el alcalde mayor, a los cuales atacó el enemigo, matando a tres, y hubieran sido muchos más los muertos, si no hubieron acabado sus flechas en dicho anterior asalto.

70. Real de Todos Santos y Carrizal. De uno y otro han llevado los apaches

caballadas y muladas, matando otras en sus cercanías, y arrebatando en el primero una cruz grande, con tanta rabia que la hicieron menudos pedazos. Entre estos dos reales se ven las ruinas de otras tres poblaciones cortas de españoles, que son la del Cajón Real de Abajo, El Ojito, y al poniente la estancia de Los Carrizosas, desamparadas del todo, por los apaches. Estos, al norte de dicho Carrizal, a distancia de tres leguas en un estrecho paso que llaman El Salto, día de los Santos Reyes del año de [17]58 dieron muerte a nueve personas mujeres y hombres, todos españoles, y en otras ocasiones en el mismo paraje han herido y corrido a otros.

71. Población de Soniviate de españoles. En esta por el año pasado de [17]56, asaltó el seri, dando muerte a don Cristóbal de Ochoa, y a otras personas; quemaron las casas, y por esta causa se desamparó del todo. A corta distancia al sur de dicha población, en un despoblado rancho de la misión de Ures, transitando con su recua el primer día del año de [17]57, mataron a don Andrés de Figueroa, a dos hermanos suyos, y al cargador de la recua que se llevaron toda dichos seris.

72–73. Real de la Concepción y sus cercanas poblaciones de españoles, al sur de Buenavista y Estancia de Núñez, en cuyos intermedios mataron los seris el año de [17]55 a cinco personas españolas e indias, y los apaches, en repetidas ocasiones, les han llevado las caballadas y muladas que con abundancia tenían.

74. Baviácora, visita de Aconchi, y éste su cabecera del primero.

75. El año de [17]55 en el presente gobierno, mataron los seris a cuatro indios yaquis, y a otro natural de Baviácora.

76–77. Huépac, y su cabecera Banámichi. El año de [17]55 entre estos dos pueblos, en el camino real, mataron los seris a siete vecinos. El de [17]60, en 16 de agosto, llevaron los apaches cautivo a un muchacho de Banámichi.

78. Real de Motepori. En éste no se ha sabido otra cosa que el haber los apaches dejado a sus habitadores destituídos del todo de los bienes de campo, por lo que muchos se han salido de él a vivir a otras partes.

79. Sinoquipe, visita de Banámichi. En éste por marzo de este año mataron los apaches a un natural de el de Arizpe. Desde este pueblo hasta el de Baviácora, valle todo que llaman de Sonora, han sido tan continuados los robos de caballadas hechos por los enemigos de 6 años a esta parte, que querer referirlas por menor, sería gastar mucho tiempo, papel y paciencia. Baste decir que todos sus habitantes transitan de unos a otros parajes en burros, por no haberles dejado otras cabalgaduras.

80. Población de Tetuachi. En ésta solo se ven las ruinas de lo que fue, hoy desierta por las frecuentes invasiones del enemigo.

81. Misión de Arizpe. En ésta han sido repetidos los robos que ha hecho el enemigo y las muertes en sus naturales.

82. Población de Quepanevache y Real de Basochuca, uno y otro de españoles; en estos experimentan frecuentes robos e insultos de los enemigos en sus ganados y bestias, que les han acabado. En este real por el mes de mayo de este año hirieron a un español y se llevaron a un niño de 10 años, y pocos dias después cercaron a otros tres, de los que murió uno.

83. Chinapa, visita de Arizpe. En él han sido frecuentes los robos de caballada, mulada y ganado que han hecho los enemigos; han hecho también varias muertes, que se omite expresarlas por ignorarse el número.

84. Real de Bacanuchi. A éste, y en sus cercanas ruinas, han asaltado los enemigos varias ocasiones; mataron a muchos, se llevaron cautivos, con todo[s los] bienes de campo, y a principios de este año toda la boyada y ganado.

85. Bacoachi, visita de Arizpe. En él han asaltado muchas veces los enemigos; han dado muerte a naturales, y llevádose con frecuencia las caballadas de estos de la misión, y de vecinos que por asegurar sus vidas se habían acogido a él.

86. Misión de Cuquiárachi. En ésta han sido repetidos los robos e insultos de los enemigos y muertes que años pasados han hecho en sus naturales; no se expresan por no haber razón fija, y solo se tiene de haberse llevado de esta misión y sus naturales los bienes de campo.

87. Presidio de Fronteras (su capitán, Don Gabriel de Vildósola). En éste, aunque en corto número, son casi semanarios los robos de caballada que les hace el enemigo. Estos, en las cercanías de él, el día cinco de julio de este año, mataron a una mujer y a una niña. En su alcance salió con una partida de soldados el teniente del presidio. Consiguiólo en terreno favorable al enemigo, que pasaba su número de 300 y, después de una dilatada pelea, se retiró con la noche, herido con otros 5 soldados, y un indio auxiliar, perdiendo la mayor parte de su caballada. Con esta noticia, y con el resto de la tropa, salió a la venganza el capitán, y aunque los esperó en proporcionados parajes de su salida, como divididos la hicieron los enemigos, solo consiguió quitar a estos el ganado que llevaban de Bacanuchi, y el cautivo de Banámichi. Vuelto a su presidio despachó la tropa con su alférez y teniente en seguimiento de dicho enemigo, que por las señas, vestuario, y relación del cautivo, se conoció ser la mayor parte naturales de los pueblos de la Nueva México. Alcanzólos, aunque divididos, entre los ríos Gila y San Francisco y acometiendo a un trozo de ellos, que ya por haber sentido las armas se iban amparando en unas fragosa sierra, y castigando a dos, apresando vivo a otro con otras 7 piezas se volvió al presidio. En él calificaron por sus anteriores señas que todos traían, ser gente de los referidos pueblos de la Nueva México, pues estos solo, y no los apaches, traen [tres palabras tachadas en el original] pelo largo cortado lo que cae sobre la cara; agujereadas las narices, como para colgarse zarcillos; y diversos aperos de montar a caballo. Esto, por otras repetidas iguales evidencias, que se reconocieron en los pasados años, se presentó a México por algunos capitanes presidiales pero, habiendo creído más el informe del gobernador de aquel reino, fue desatendida la representación de dichos capitanes, y con esto han continuado a entrar con más fuerza a la provincia aquellos enemigos; unas veces solos, y otras con los apaches, a quienes compran las caballadas y muladas que roban. El dia 15 de agosto de este año de la cercanía del presidio se llevaron 60 reses, y por septiembre otras ocho.

88. Pueblo de Cuchuta, visita de Cuquiárachi. En éste han sido frecuentes los robos de caballadas y muertes de sus naturales causadas por el enemigo; no se tiene presente el número de ellas, pero si se sabe a punto fijo que el 23 de junio de [17]58 mataron tres naturales de 4 que estaban haciendo una carreta. Por marzo de [17]60 mataron a otros 6 naturales e hirieron a otro, habiéndose llevado el antecedente de [17]59 toda la caballada de estos y manadas de la misión.

89. Teuricache, visita de Cuquiárachi, fue asaltado por el enemigo en 5 de abril de [17]57; mataron a dos naturales y a una mujer, a quien le llevaron cautivo a un hijo de 5 años. En mayo de [17]59 mataron a otra mujer y le cautivaron a un nieto de 6 años. Por marzo de [17]60 hirieron a 5 naturales, y se han llevado toda la caballada, boyada y ganado de estos y de la misión.

90. Real del Aguaje, despoblado, y sus ricas minas, por los frecuentes asaltos, robos, y muertes hechas por los enemigos hasta el año de [17]55 y [17]56.

91. Real de Nacozari, uno de los más ricos minerales que ha tenido esta

provincia, abundantísimo de vecinos españoles hasta el año de [17]55, y hoy solo con uno que con su corta cuadrilla de sirvientes e hijos se mantiene en él, amparando la iglesia cabecera de aquel curato. Retiróse de él el vecindario por los asaltos, robos y muertes que semanariamente hacían los enemigos (como que es su entrada para la provincia). Entre estos dos reales había otras tres poblaciones de españoles que, por los mismos motivos, las desampararon del todo.

92. Pueblo de Cumpas, visita de Oposura. En él han experimentado frecuentes robos de caballadas, muladas y ganados de los nativos de la misión y de los vecinos acojidos a él de 6 años a esta parte; no se tienen presente los que han sido pero sí el que el año de [17]59 hirieron al indio capitán de la guerra y a un español los enemigos, en una pelea que tuvieron con ellos, en la que mataron a 3 apaches y les quitaron el robo. Por agosto de este año volvieron en gran número los enemigos que, rancheados en estas inmediaciones, con mujeres e hijos, hicieron una muerte y otros daños graves entre las casas de dicho pueblo; y buscados el 20 de agosto por dichos naturales y algunos españoles, se hallaron tantos que mataron a 3 de los nuestros, y se llevaron vivo al capitán que antes habían herido, hirieron a otros tres, y uno anduvo perdido y después de dos días, casi milagrosamente escapó de entre ellos, según dice, por haberse fervorosamente encomendado a la Santísima Virgen del Rosario. Lo más sensible de todo esto fue que se escaparon estos enemigos antes que se pudieran juntar los naturales circunvecinos que fueron a castigarlos en número de 250 con más de 20 entre soldados y españoles al comando del teniente de Fronteras el día 27, pero ya eran idos, y no les pudieron dar alcance los tres días siguientes. Este mismo año de [17]60 mataron a dos de razón como seis leguas de Fronteras; salieron sobre ellos 25 soldados, mataron 3 de los enemigos, hirieron a otros, y de los nuestros salieron heridos 5, y se hubieron de retirar en la forma que queda dicho al principio del número 87.

93. Real de San Juan Bautista, antes cabecera de toda esta provincia y de 10 años a esta parte, por el riesgo del enemigo apache, se empezó a despoblar, y hoy lo está del todo. Lo cual ejecutaron sin perdonar dicho enemigo ni aun las sagradas imágenes, que por la prisa con que salieron los pobladores, dejaron en alguna iglesia, y las hicieron pedazos.

94–95. Población de Jamaica, de españoles e indios, y lo mismo la de Jécori. En ambas han experimentado de los enemigos frecuentes robos tanto, que del todo les han llevado sus caballadas, muladas y lo mismo van haciendo con sus ganados. En dicho Jécori por julio de [17]58 mataron a distancia como de media legua a una mujer de razón e hirieron a un mancebo que iba con ella.

96. Misión de Oposura. En las labores de ella el año de [17]59 hirieron a un natural. Dichos enemigos de algunos años a esta parte, aun siendo como ha sido una de las más abundantes de caballada, la han dejado sin con que poder juntar el solo ganado manso y ultimamente, por mayo del presente año de [17]60, transitando la recua de dicha misión junto con otra de los vecinos, aunque cortas, lo asaltó el enemigo, llevándose más de ciento y tantas cabezas.

97. Real de Tonivabi. Población de españoles, y la más cuantiosa de la provincia, a distancia como 4 leguas camino de Guásabas, mataron los apaches a un indio yaqui y a una mujer e hirieron de muerte a otra. A distancia como de una legua al sur de dicho real, en un puesto que llaman Racoverache, por fines de junio de [17]57 dieron los apaches muerte a 4 indios, llevándose otros dos cautivos. Por agosto de [17]58, de las labores de este real, han llevado a los que en ellas trabajaban

las bestias que de noche encerraban en ellas y amarraban en sus cercos. Por diciembre del mismo año mataron a un mozo y persiguieron a otros vecinos de dicho real junto a dichas labores. En 6 de junio de [17]59 asaltaron la mulada de don Julián Moreno, dando muerte a un mozo de razón e hiriendo a otros dos. Si se hubieron de expresar los robos que de por temporadas, diariamente les han hecho los enemigos en caballadas, muladas y ganados, m[ilegible] sería necesario llenar mucho papel, y así solo diré que los han dejado sin bestias en que andar.

97. [*sic*] Población de Sivipa de españoles. Estos han experimentado de 2 años ahora [?] lo mismo que se dice de Tonivabi, y el año de [17]57, por julio, en la labor de Juan Terán, mataron los enemigos a un sirviente indio.

98. Terapa, pueblo corto de visita y estancia de ganado de Oposura. En él fue donde se experimentaron la mayor parte de los robos de caballada que se relacionan en su cabecera, atreviéndose al corral que está dentro del pueblo. Ultimamente el 28 de agosto de [17]58, no medio cuarto de legua distante, mataron a un vaquero; y a un cuarto de legua hirieron de muerte a un hombre de razón que hallaron dormido ocho apaches, todos a caballo, de entre cuyas manos se escapó, valiéndose de su agilidad, montando en un caballo en pelo, y seguídolo, quitó a uno de los enemigos una lanza, con lo cual lo dejaron, llevándole su silla y con que andar a caballo.

99. Población de Tepache (de españoles e indios). En ésta han experimentado continuos robos por los enemigos en sus caballadas, de modo que la mayor parte no tienen ni en que salir a lograr el beneficio de la Santa Misa, ni sus precisos alimentos para sí, y sus familias, que la mayor parte del año se mantienen de una raíz silvestre que abunda en sus cercanías, llamada temaqui. Por mayo de [17]60 mataron en sus ejidos a un español llamado Trejo.

100. San Mateo. Visita que fue de Sahuaripa, años ha terminado por los apaches.

101. Su cabecera Sahuaripa. La de Arivechi, con Bacanora y Pónida sus visitas. Onapa con su visita Taraiche. Tacupeta, población de españoles. En todo esto no se ofrece que decir, por estar retiradas de las fronteras enemigas. Matemaneco es real despoblado, y Nátora pueblo asimismo desamparado.

102. Teópari, visita de Sahuaripa y Chipajora, estancia de la misma misión, aunque también están distante de la frontera del apache, de pocos años a esta parte experimentan ya frecuentes robos de caballadas, y aún algunas muertes. Chamala es ranchería de jovas cristianos que cae también debajo del mismo número.

103. Serbas. Pueblo antiguo que fue, despoblado muchos años ha.

104. Sátachi es ranchería de jovas cristianos, perteneciente a la misión de Bacadéguachi. El año de 59 mataron a 3 naturales de ella, y a otro el año antecedente de [17]58. En éste de [17]60 mataron a 5 naturales dos días de camino de ella al oriente. Uno de estos sólo se defendió de 7 u 8 enemigos todo un día, y antes de caer [les?] dio muerte a 4 de aquellos. A estos pobres les han llevado las bestias que solían criar.

105. Mochopa, visita de Bacadéguachi. Dos leguas de este pueblo mataron a 2 naturales, y a otro cerca de Curedo, quedando heridos otros varios por los mismos enemigos el presente año de [17]60.

106. Nácori, visita de Bacadéguachi. Los mismos enemigos mataron el año de 58 al indio fiscal, y el de [17]59, por la cuaresma, al capitán de dicho pueblo.

107. Misión de Bacadéguachi. El año de [17]53, como un cuarto de legua de él, hirieron los apaches a 4 naturales de Baceraca [Bacerác], dos de los cuales murieron,

llevándose los enemigos 5 atajos de mulas, que casi todas mataron por el camino, a excepción de unas pocas que al cabo de tres días les quitaron los naturales de Bacadéguachi en el alcance que les dieron. Un natural de este pueblo murió lanceado en la campaña que contra el apache mandó hacer el señor gobernador el año de [17]56, y perdió la misión unas mulas en que los naturales llevaron cargados sus bastimentos. Esta misión ha padecido crecidos daños en sus bienes de campo y sus naturales.

108. Huachinera, visita de Baceraca [Bacerác]; a un natural de este pueblo mataron a 2 leguas de él el año de [17]53, y éste de [17]60 se llevaron cautivo otro de pocos años.

109. Tamichopa, visita que fue de Baceraca [Bacerác] aunque corta, fue despoblada por temor de los enemigos, los que consiguientemente, víspera de ramos del año de [17]58 quemaron sus casas y la capilla que en él había.

110. Misión de Baceraca [Bacerác]. Este año de [17]60, mataron a un indio de ella cerca del molino de dicho pueblo. Esta misión y sus visitas ha sido destruída de los bienes de campo de ella y sus naturales, más que otra alguna, porque hasta de sus corrales y de las plazas de sus pueblos se las han sacado, llevado y desgarretado.

111. Bavispe, misión aparte, aunque al presente administrada por el misionero de Baceraca [Bacerác]. Al nordeste de ella, a distancia de 5 leguas, cae la Cuesta de Carretas, paso forzoso del camino real; en ella dieron muerte los apaches a principios del año de [17]55 a dos traficantes del Paso, e hirieron a otros varios, de los cuales uno murió después en Baceraca [Bacerác]. Cautivaron a una indizuela, se llevaron varias bestias de carga, dejando destrozada esta. Al pie de dicha cuesta, mataron el año de [17]56 a un natural de dicha misión; el de [17]58 a otro, media legua distante de ella, llevándose cautivo a su compañero; y en este de [17]60 en 2 de agosto dieron muerte a otro en su sementera. Aquí han acabado con todos bienes de campo, y solo se conservan algunas pocasbestias a diligencia de una gruesa guarnición que las cuida de día en el campo y de noche en el pueblo.

112. Teras, antiguamente poblado, del cual no se conservan sino unas tenues ruinas.

113. Real de San Juan del Río antiguo, sin más que las ruinas por las muertes que habían dado los enemigos a los vecinos que, años ha, lo despoblaron.

114. Nuri, real antiguo, asimismo despoblado.

115–116. Oputo, pueblo de visita de la misión de Guásabas, su cabecera, con el número de 116. No han tenido muertes que llorar, pero sobre continuos robos de caballadas, muladas y ganados, han tenido algunos heridos, en particular el año de [17]57; habiendo acometido cerca de veinte apaches a dos naturales de Guásabas tres leguas de él, se defendieron estos de suerte que, hiriendo a varios de los enemigos mortalmente, lograron, después de algunas horas de pelea, retirarse, acercándose tanto al pueblo, que tuvieron por bien dejarlos los enemigos, aunque con tres heridas a cada uno. A otro natural de Guásabas hirieron el mismo año en un alcance que hicieron de ocho apaches que habían matado treinta y cinco becerros en un corral y llevádose porción de caballada mansa de esta misión, aunque dichos enemigos en la refriega perdieron varias armas, y fueron heridos de muerte 3 o 4 de ellos.

117. El famoso Cerro Prieto, por segura acogida del enemigo seri ha sido estos últimos años, y es, el teatro de la guerra; en las campañas hechas a él por nuestras armas, con crecido número de tropas arregladas milicianas e indios auxiliares de los pueblos, no se ha conseguido otra cosa que violentas retiradas de nuestras armas, con muertes de varias personas, muchos heridos, y pérdida de caballada, dejando siempre al enemigo triunfante.

Relación of the Expedition to Sonora, 1771

The author of the "Relación of the Expedition into the Provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora in the Kingdom of New Spain" is also anonymous. If Domingo Elizondo did not actually write the lengthy relación, *however, he undoubtedly supervised its drafting and provided documentation for it. Many sections mirror or duplicate letters between Elizondo and his commanders or between Elizondo and Viceroy Marqués de Croix. In some cases, earlier documents, such as the diary of the October 1769 invasion of Cerro Prieto, are incorporated.*

Elizondo himself is something of a mystery. Many of the men who served under him went on to greater fame and glory on the northern frontier. Gaspar de Portolá, one of the captains of the Regiments of Spanish Dragoons, became governor of Baja California in 1767 and carried out the expulsion of the Jesuits there. Then he led the expedition that colonized Alta California in 1769. Juan Bautista de Anza opened a land route between Sonora and Alta California from 1774 to 1776 and served as governor of New Mexico from 1778 to 1788, where he hammered out an effective peace with the Utes, Navajos, and Comanches. Pedro Corbalán, the expedition's quartermaster, was governor of Sinaloa y Sonora from 1777 to 1787. Elizondo himself rode back to Mexico City and out of frontier history.

While he was in Sonora, however, he proved to be an effective yet sympathetic commander. A protégé of José de Gálvez's, he struggled to turn Gálvez's grandiose European dreams of one great final victory over Spanish Sonora's Indian enemies into reality. But after Gálvez's mental health deteriorated and the massed campaigns into the Cerro Prieto failed, Elizondo changed his tactics. After the Seri and Pima resistance fighters eluded the largest invasion of Cerro Prieto in October 1769, Elizondo broke his forces into smaller detachments and scoured the deserts and mountains of central and western Sonora. As one old man captured in the Cerro Prieto told Elizondo, "tranquility was not possible among his own people because they lived in constant tribulation. If a stone rolled in the hills at night or if a bird moved among the branches, they became frightened and fled for the thickets and rugged places of the terrain."

After more than three years of campaigning, the sheer persistence of the Sonora Expedition's troops—and the defection of Seri leaders such as Crisanto and Lower Pima leaders such as Cristóbal Cainabac—wore down the resistance of the rebels, who began to surrender in small family groups. "This plan has assured that wherever and in whatever number the enemies have been encountered, they have been successfully dislodged and obliged to take precipitous flight," the relación concluded. "Neither the thick brush of the hills nor the confusing labyrinth of the thickets—in which they regularly resided—have been an obstacle." According to the relación, the number of rebel families declined from more than 600 at the height of the rebellion to 181 at the end of the expedition. "The rest have

been killed through war and diseases." Of those 181 families, 59 were Seris settled "a musket shot's distance away from the garrison of Pitic." The rest were Upper and Lower Pimas, who were sent back to their communities of origin.

As the introduction to this chapter points out, there were more Lower Pima than Seri rebels. Deep divisions existed among the Seris and their Upper and Lower Pima allies, but the different groups cooperated in their resistance to the Spaniards. They even camped together in refuges such as the Cerro Prieto until the rigors of war eroded their alliances and turned them against one another. Interestingly, however, the relación does not identify different Seris as Tepocas, Salineros, or even Tiburones. More than two decades of warfare, attrition, and pursuit may have broken down or at least weakened those distinctions, yet they reappear in the documents in chapter 5.

The relación also provides fascinating glimpses of an environment that has been plowed under by agricultural development or desiccated by groundwater pumping in the Costa de Hermosillo since World War II. The great thicket of Monte Tenuaje, for example, was described as being "eight leagues long and four leagues wide" (17 to 21 miles long and 9 to 10.4 miles wide). Located somewhere between Tastiota and Bahía de Kino about five leagues (11 to 13 miles) away from Siete Cerros, this vast stretch of mesquite and other desert trees and shrubs provided a natural refuge for the Seris and their allies. Early in 1770, the Spaniards even tried to set Monte Tenuaje on fire but soon learned that desert thornscrub does not burn easily. Fire, an important instrument of hunting, ecological modification, and warfare in the grasslands and woodlands, was not particularly effective in the Sonoran Desert. In the end, methodical sweeps of the countryside by experienced frontier commanders such as Juan Bautista de Anza and Bernardo de Urrea, combined with pardons issued by Elizondo acting under the authority of Viceroy Marqués de Croix, ended most of the guerrilla warfare and raiding that had threatened the security of Spanish Sonora for more than twenty years.

Relación of the Expedition of the Provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora in the Kingdom of Nueva España

An individual relation of the military expedition into Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora,[91] *its happy success, and the advantageous state of peace that the three provinces have maintained because of the complete surrender of the rebellious Indians who had for a long time terrorized them.*

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91. The province of Sonora encompassed the Pimería Alta, including southern Arizona, on the north and stretched to the north bank of the Río Yaqui on the south. The province of Sinaloa extended from the Río Mayo on the north to Nueva Galicia on the south. Sonora became a jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya with its own alcalde mayor in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1732, Sinaloa y Sonora was separated from Nueva Vizcaya and given its own governor (Editorial Porrúa 1986:2784–88; Almada 1983:749–67). Within this new *gobernación*, Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora remained provinces under alcaldes mayores.The province of San Ildefonso de Ostimuri comprised the region between the Río Yaqui and

Ever since the year 1746,[92] the provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimuri, and Sonora have suffered from internal uprisings. Because of the many robberies, deaths, and every type of ruin, the best reales de minas[93] were depopulated and the inhabitants of that rich region suffered extreme anguish. The government had no little fear that the entire region would be lost.

The Seri, Piato, and Sibubapa[94] nations, with the restraint of obedience broken, gathered together in the rugged mountains of the vast and renowned Sierra de Santa Rosa, commonly known as the Cerro Prieto.[95] They also gathered in other mountain ranges of indescribable ruggedness. From there, they set forth to lay waste to the countryside. They ran off all the cattle they found, and did not spare any person on account of their age, sex, or status. All were pitiful victims of their cruel atrocities, until the vapor of so much innocent blood reached heaven and the clamor of those inhabitants reached the merciful ears of our incomparable sovereign, who hears all his vassals, even the most remote, with equal clemency. In his royal order of December 21, 1764, our sovereign gave notice that he had sent generals, officers, and troops to help by righting those grave wrongs with great zeal.

The following year, 1765, the governor of Sonora, Don Juan de Pineda,[96] con-

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the Río Mayo. The Jesuits began evangelizing the region in 1617 at the request of the Yaqui Indians. The province was created in 1673 when the discovery of mineral deposits at San Ildefonso by Don Domingo de la Paz and Alférez Pedro Coronado opened the country for settlement. In 1676, Ostimuri was established as a justicia mayor independent of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora but part of Nueva Vizcaya. In 1732, it was incorporated into the new gobernación of Sinaloa y Sonora. It remained a separate province during the period of the Sonora Expedition, but, in 1786, it was considered part of Sinaloa. The inhabitants of Ostimuri rejected this decision and opted to become part of Sonora in 1822 (Editorial Porrúa 1986: 2158).

92. There was a series of indigenous rebellions in northwestern New Spain between the 1720s and the 1770s. Some Seris rebelled in 1725 (see chapter 2, "The de la Huerta Affair"). Lower Pimas from Tecoripa and Suaqui rebelled in 1737. Three years later, the Yaquis revolted, and in 1749, Seris began two decades of guerrilla warfare. The Upper Pimas rose up in 1751, and some Upper Pimas continued to resist for another twenty years. The author is referring to this near-constant state of unrest, although it is unclear why he selected 1746 as its beginning date (Ortega Soto 1985:166–72).

93. Silver and gold mines and placer deposits were discovered in northwestern New Spain at irregular intervals beginning in the latter half of the sixteenth century. These mineral deposits served as magnets that drew Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes who, in turn, established shifting enclaves of Spanish influence on the northern frontier. These settlements were frequently abandoned during indigenous rebellions. There were at least thirty-six mines being exploited in Sinaloa and Sonora between 1700 and 1767 (Gerhard 1982; Ortega Soto 1985:174).

94. The Piatos were Upper Pima rebels. The Sibubapas were Lower Pima rebels, most of whom were from the pueblos of Tecoripa, Cumuripa, and Suaqui. Lower Pimas from the multiethnic community of Belén were also included.

95. Now known as the Sierra Libre, the Cerro Prieto is a rugged but not particularly high mountain range between Hermosillo and Guaymas.

96. Juan Claudio de Pineda was born in Sort, Spain, in the province of Lérida in 1710. He entered the military in 1731 and served in the Italian campaign. In 1760, he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel and sent to Mexico as governor and captain general of Sinaloa y Sonora. He resigned in June of 1772 for health reasons and died one month later in Mexico City.

tinued to vigorously petition His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy[97] to remedy the damages that desolated those important territories. The captains of the Buenavista,[98] Terrenate, Fronteras,[99] Altar,[100] and Tubac presidios expressed the same desire, arguing that it was impossible to pursue and contain the enemy with the forces of their companies alone. On January 4, 1767, this subject was discussed at the first junta de generales. [The following officials] attended: His Most Excellent Lord the Marqués de Croix, the lord viceroy and captain general of this kingdom; the intendant general Don José de Gálvez;[101] the field marshals Don Juan Fernando Palacios and Don Antonio Ricardos; the *decano* of the Real Audiencia, Francisco Antonio de Echavarri; the auditor de guerra, Don Domingo Valcárcel;[102] the *fiscal de crimen,* Don Juan Antonio Velarde; and the assessor general, Don Diego Cornide. But even though these proceedings did not resolve to delay the fulfillment of the royal order, the problem of not having the resources to support the costs of an expedition proved insuperable.

In these circumstances, His Most Excellent Lord the visitor general persuaded the Spanish merchants who congregated at the market of Jalapa[103] to prove their constant loyalty. As a result, they donated 78,620 pesos, providing a generous example that others later followed. The royal consulate of Mexico City contributed a subsidy of 100,000 pesos in response to the proposal of His Most Excellent Lord the Marqués de Croix. [All this was done] to pacify these crippled provinces.

At the other [first] junta de guerra de generales on January 4, 1767, the second junta was scheduled to convene on January 8. The same gentlemen who attended the first meeting attended the second. They again examined, with the greatest attention, the reports of the governor of Sonora and the captains of the presidios. [These reports] gave individual accounts of the ruinous state of those provinces caused by the continuous invasions and forays of the three rebel Indian nations: the Seris, Piatos, and Sibubapas.

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97. Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix (1766–1771).

98. The presidio of San Carlos de Buenavista was established in 1765 to combat the Seris and keep peace among the Yaquis. It was located on the lower reaches of the west bank of the Río Yaqui east of Guaymas.

99. In 1772, Rubí moved Fronteras to the San Bernardino Valley. In 1780, Teodoro de Croix moved it back to its original location (Moorhead 1975).

100. Rubí ordered that Altar be moved to the southeast in 1772, but it remained where it was. Altar was not moved in 1780 either, when Teodoro de Croix shifted the frontier presidios (Moorhead 1975).

101. The quintessential Bourbon reformer, José de Gálvez was born in Vélez de Málaga, Spain, in 1729. King Charles III appointed him visitor general of the Viceroyalty of New Spain on February 20, 1765, and he carried out his inspection from 1768 to 1770. He served as secretary of the Indies from 1775 until his death in 1787.

102. Domingo Valcárcel (1700?–1780) was born in Granada, Spain. While serving as decano of the audiencia in Mexico City, he opposed the royal decree ordering the expulsion of the Jesuits.

103. The Jalapa Market was established between 1718 and 1720 in response the arrival of the fleet from Cádiz. The merchants at the market exported agricultural and metallurgical products, indigo, coffee, tobacco, sugar, and vanilla. They imported textiles, paper, weapons, books, and cloth from Flanders (Editorial Porrúa 1986).

In their reports, the presidial captains expressed the opinion that militia soldiers were more useful than dragoons.[104] But Governor Don Juan de Pineda convinced the junta of the advantages that attended the latter rather than the former. There were some who argued that it would be easy to quickly destroy the enemies if they would stand in face-to-face combat with the presidial troops and some auxiliaries in convenient locations. But enemies who must be tracked like wild beasts, who always live in entangled thickets, and who secure their victory in flight require men who can take possession of the heights. They require men who are expert marksmen, and who [possess] the valor and constancy to endure the grievous toil and continual pursuit that this type of warfare requires. Experience shows that campaigns of two or three months without a suitable number of soldiers in constant pursuit of the enemy only result in exhausted troops and more insolent enemies.

The previous governors have carried out repeated campaigns after making the most prudent and appropriate plans. The officers and soldiers conducted themselves with enviable and gallant bravery in all of them. But many of those who are still serving question whether the gains have ever justified the effort. It appears it is soon necessary to find another method to conquer the insolent pride of such cruel savages and subdue their arrogance. This cannot be accomplished, however, without the use of veteran troops, who have already been requested in the plan the governor sent to higher authorities.

The junta deliberated for a long time about each of the points mentioned in the reports. They also had before them the governor's plan with regard to the number and quality of troops that, in his judgment, should be employed in the expedition. He believed that an expedition had been necessary ever since October 1765. In fulfillment of His Majesty's orders and at the request of the *fiscal* and the auditor de guerra, the junta agreed by unanimous vote to take, among other resolutions, the following:

To immediately forward His Most Excellent Lord's orders to the governor of Sonora so that he without any loss of time could organize the militia to replace the soldiers taken from the presidios for the expedition. To enlist Indian auxiliaries from the friendly and obedient nations, choosing from among them the most faithful and courageous to serve in the expedition. To send their instructions and resolutions to Don Pedro Corbalán,[105] the commissary appointed by Don José de Gálvez, to gather abundant foodstuffs and other necessary provisions at the hacienda of Pitic and the port of Guaymas. The warehouses and barracks of the military depot were going to be established in these two places situated north and

104. Dragoons were mounted soldiers who often fought on foot. They usually marched on horseback and then dismounted to fight, although they were expected to fight on horseback if the occasion required. Because of this dual role, these soldiers were generally equipped with short boots, pistols, muskets, and bayonets. When they were mounted, instead of carrying a saber in hand, they carried a musket that they rested against the right thigh (Moretti 1828).

105. Pedro de Corbalán was born in Barcelona, Spain. He was a relative of Viceroy Marqués de Croix, with whom he came to New Spain in 1766. The following year he went to Sonora to be the subintendant of the treasury of the Sonora Expedition. In 1770, he became governor of Sinaloa y Sonora. In 1775, he returned to Mexico City to complete the liquidation of the accounts for the Sonora Expedition. He died in Alamos in 1797 (Editorial Porrúa 1986).

south of the Cerro Prieto. The port was deserted, yet it was still the most appropriate anchorage for the disembarkation of the troops and the provision of a safe harbor for the ships that would come there from San Blas.[106] [San Blas] was built for this purpose near the Río Santiago in the province of Nueva Galicia.[107] Governor Don Juan de Pineda expected in time to occupy and construct villages at the port of Guaymas and the hacienda of Pitic.

In order to secure in every way possible the success of the expedition against the rebel Indians, [the junta] allocated the two hundred dragoons requested by Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan de Pineda and the presidial captains. They were taken from the regiments of Spain and Mexico[108] with their corresponding officers. In addition, [the junta] sent a picket[109] of the regiment of the Infantry of America, the Company[110] of Mexican Fusiliers,[111] the Catalan Volunteers,[112] the two flying companies of cavalry[113] raised in Sonora, and two hundred men from the six

106. The port of San Blas was established in 1767 in order to provide a safe port from which to launch expeditions of exploration to California. These expeditions were partly a response to the southward advance of the Russians from Alaska. San Blas is located just west of Tepic on the Río Santiago (Editorial Porrúa 1986). In 1768, it became part of the naval department with a military governor and a civilian administrator who were appointed by the viceroy. The garrison and its officers stayed at Tepic.

107. The province of Nueva Galicia included the modern state of Jalisco, a large part of Zacatecas, Aguas Calientes, Coahuila, Durango, San Luis Potosí, and Nayarit. The initial conquest of this territory began in 1523. It remained under military government until 1549, when the Audiencia de Nueva Galicia was established. This audiencia functioned independently of the one in Mexico City but was subject to the viceroy. Nueva Galicia became the Intendancy of Guadalajara in 1786.

108. A regiment (*regimiento*) was a body of troops, either infantry or cavalry, commanded by a colonel. The regiment was usually composed of several squadrons and companies, although the numbers and size of each shifted over time (Moretti 1828).

109. A picket (*piquete*) referred to a group of fifty infantrymen or twenty to twenty-five cavalry men. Piquetes were under the command of a captain, a lieutenant, and an alférez. They were expected to be ready to fight twenty-four hours a day. For this reason, their horses were left saddled and their arms were constantly ready. Their purpose was to guard against surprise attack (Moretti 1828).

110. A company (*compañía*) was commanded by a captain and several lesser officers. An army could be divided into compañías that formed regimientos. The compañías were distinguished by the kind of company they were. For example, a company of infantry was called a *compañía de infantería* (Moretti 1828).

111. Fusiliers, also called musketeers, were infantry soldiers who did not belong to the light infantry or the grenadiers. The Fusileros de Montaña were soldiers of the *tropa ligera* (light troops). Their primary responsibilities were to scout beyond enemy lines, fight in small groups, distract the enemy, harass their flanks, and observe their movements (Moretti 1828).

112. Volunteer companies consisted of men who volunteered without compulsion and sometimes without pay. These men joined the army to defend their homes or were sometimes the sons of wealthy families seeking adventure and faster advancement or a more brilliant career (Moretti 1828).

113. Flying companies differed from presidios in that they were not fixed at a certain place. Their mission was to reconnoiter the territory under their jurisdiction.

presidios. One hundred and ten militiamen from the region replaced the [presidio soldiers] and defended the frontier.

It was not possible to expect only one leader to command and direct troops divided into columns that had to operate over such distances in such a vast expanse of terrain. The junta therefore left it to the discretion of His Most Excellent Lord the viceroy to select another leader to command the infantry and dragoons. His Most Excellent Lord appointed the colonel of the regiment of Spanish Dragoons, Don Domingo Elizondo.

A copy of the order sent by His Most Excellent Lord the Marqués de Croix to Colonel Domingo Elizondo.

I have enclosed for your lordship the attached list of the officers and troops that should be placed under your command to serve in the Sonora Expedition. [I have sent this list] so that your lordship can present the corresponding information in order to be recognized as the commander and inspector. May God preserve your lordship for many years. Mexico City, April 11, 1767.

The rank of the officers and troops designated for the expedition to the provinces of Sonora:

Rank	*Officers*	*Troops*	*Total*
Commander			
Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo	1		
Adjutant			
Don Domingo Langlase	1		
Regiment of Spanish Dragoons			
Captains			
Don Gaspar de Portolá			
Don Manuel de Medina	2		
Lieutenants			
Don Juan Lumbreras			
Don Francisco Vellido			
Don Andrés Navarro			
Don Baltasar de Aguirre	4		
Alfereces			
Don Joseph Laso			
Don Cristóbal Navarro	2		
Sergeants		4	
Drummers		2	
Dragoons		96	102
Regiment of Mexican Dragoons			
Captains			
Don Miguel Gallo Villavicencio			
Don Vicente Moreno	2		
Lieutenants			
Don Francisco Blanco			

Rank	*Officers*	*Troops*	*Total*
Don Pedro Allande			
Don Joaquín de Torres	3		
Alfereces			
Don Francisco Viana			
Don Manuel de Vargas	2		
Sergeants		4	
Drummers		2	
Dragoons		93	99
Regiment of the Infantry of America			
Captain			
Don Diego Peirán	1		
Lieutenant			
Don Gerónimo Vallancourt	1		
Sublieutenant			
Don Francisco Salablanca	1		
Sergeants		2	
Drummers		2	
Soldiers		47	51
Total			252
Company of Catalan Volunteers			
Captain			
Don Agustín Callis	1		
Lieutenants			
Don Pedro Tagis	1		
Sublieutenants			
Don Esteban Villaseca	1		
Don Pedro Alberni	1		
Sergeants		4	
Drummers		2	
Soldiers		94	100
Company of Highland Fusiliers			
Captain			
Don Antonio Pol	1		
Lieutenants			
Don Cayetano Perea			
Don Gaspar Jiménez	2		
Sublieutenant			
Don Esteban Sola	1		
Sergeants		4	
Drummers		2	
Soldiers		144	150
Sum total			502

Rank		*Officers*	*Troops*	*Total*
Artillery	*Military Staff*			
Officers				
Lieutenant	Don Antonio Daroca			
Other	Don Francisco Martínez	2		
Engineers	Don Miguel Constanzo			
	Don Francisco Fersem	2		
Capitán Mayor	Don Pedro Fernández			
Sencillo	Don Pedro Tordecillas	2		
Chief Surgeon	Don Guillermo Sir			
Other Sencillo	Don Pedro Prats			
Orderly	Don Guillermo Lasala	3		
Apothecary	Don Joseph Ubina	1		
Gunsmith	Juan García	1		
Bakers		2		

By virtue of the order of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix the troops marched forth in the following order:

On April 20, 1767, the picket from the regiment of the Infantry of America with the Company of Highland Fusiliers left Mexico City under the command of Captain Don Diego Peirán.

On April 26, 1767, the pickets from the regiment of Spanish Dragoons left under the command of Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo.

On April 29, 1767, the pickets of the Mexican Dragoons left under the command of Captain Don Miguel Gallo.

On October 15, 1767, the Company of Catalan Volunteers left under the command of Captain Don Agustín Callis.

On June 1, 1767, the first division arrived at Tepic.[114] The second arrived on the fifth, the third on the tenth, and the fourth on December 12 of the same year.

The troops united and established their quarters two hundred leagues from Mexico City, in the pueblo of Tepic.

The orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy compelled the colonel, with all possible speed, to effect the embarkation of the expedition to the California peninsula in order to carry out the momentous expulsion of the regular clergy [the Jesuits] from their missions. To this end, twenty-five dragoons from both corps and an equal number of Highland Fusiliers embarked from the port of San Blas on July [illegible], 1767. Don Gaspar de Portolá,[115] captain of the regiment of the Span-

114. Tepic was an Indian village where, in 1531, Nuño de Guzmán established a town named Espíritu Santo. One year later, the name was changed to Santiago de Galicia de Compostela, but Compostela moved south in 1540 and Tepic regained its indigenous name. In 1768, when San Blas became a naval department, "the San Blas garrison and its officers resided much of the time" in Tepic (Gerhard 1982:140).

115. Gaspar de Portolá was born in Balagner, Cataluña, in 1723. He served in Portugal and Italy before he was named political and military governor of Baja California in 1767. He was sent to expel the Jesuits and take possession of the peninsula before the Russians did (Editorial Porrúa 1986).

ish Dragoons and appointed governor of the peninsula, commanded these men. After three days at sea, however, the expedition returned to port because the ship had taken on a lot of water.

On August 24, 1767, the same captain embarked again with the alférez of the same corps, Don Joseph de Laso, a sergeant from the Mexican Dragoons, and another from the Fusiliers, together with the principal chaplain Don Pedro Fernández[116] and two priests of the Propagation of the Faith.[117] When they rounded the first of Las Marías Islands,[118] however, they encountered a furious tempest of winds and currents so contrary that after eight days at sea they were forced to return to San Blas for the second time. These coasts of the southern sea experience such strong hurricanes during this season that the navigators and experienced [seamen] believed it was not possible without clear risk to navigate [these waters] until after the full moon in October. For this reason, the colonel in command was obliged to disembark the troops and transfer them to Tepic to await a more favorable season. His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix approved this resolution.

On October 19, 1767, the same captain, alférez, sergeants, and troops, joined by ten dragoons and ten fusiliers, returned to the ship. Their lieutenant, Don Gaspar Jiménez, the principal chaplain, and twelve regular Franciscan clergymen from the province of Jalisco[119] [accompanied them]. They set sail on the twentieth aboard the king's sloop *Sinaloa* and the schooner *Sonora.* The aforementioned captain governor [Portolá] carried an order and special commission to send the two ships back accompanied by the two that served the peninsula as soon as they disembarked at the port of Loreto or Escondido.[120] Upon returning from California, these four ships, together with the brigantine *San Carlos,* which was nearing completion at San Blas, were to bring about the departure of troops destined for the Sonora Expedition.

The orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy were exceedingly explicit that the expedition should leave as soon as possible, which Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo was anxious to do. With unceasing vigilance, he rushed the departure, even though the expedition lacked some foodstuffs and other things necessary for the voyage; it embarked on December 24, 1767, with the four pickets of dragoons aboard the brigantine *San Carlos.* Only a great zeal to discharge so special a duty could stimulate [the expedition] to set sail with 225 men, counting the soldiers and the crew. The vessel was supposed to carry no more than 160 men, but none

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116. Pedro Fernández was a secular priest and the chaplain of Portolá's squadron (Engelhardt 1908).

117. These two priests were probably Fathers Francisco Palóu and Juan Gaston (Engelhardt 1908). The Apostolic Colleges for the Propagation of the Faith were Franciscan missionary colleges.

118. This probably refers to the Tres Marías Islands, which are located about one hundred kilometers off the coast due west of San Blas. These islands were uninhabited at contact.

119. Franciscan missionaries in northern New Spain came from the Franciscan provinces of Santo Evangelio (Mexico City), Jalisco, Zacatecas, and the Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Querétaro.

120. Juan María Salvatierra, S.J., established the mission of Loreto Conchó in 1697 on the east coast of Baja California. It became the center for the missionary expansion into the northern part of the peninsula. The port of Escondido is located just south of Loreto.

of the soldiers wanted to wait for another embarkation. Because they yearned to reach their destination, they scorned the obvious inconvenience.

[The expedition] finally set sail on the stated day. During seven days at sea, however, either the completely contrary northwesterly wind continued to blow or [the sea] became becalmed. On December 30, [the expedition] encountered such heavy, rolling seas that the main mast splintered into three parts and the boom broke. Because these accidents occurred before they reached Las Marías Islands, the navigator and experienced sailors informed the colonel in command [Elizondo] that it was impossible to continue sailing. The colonel rejected an emergency return to the port of San Blas and ordered them to make every effort to reach the port of Mazatlán.[121] The vessel's officers agreed to try it, but after two hours the navigator, boatswain, and experienced seamen returned to the colonel to tell him that the ship could not be steered. They protested that some fatal accident would occur and they could see no other choice than to return to the port of San Blas. The colonel was obliged to agree with this opinion. The packet boat reached the outer limits of the port and entered the harbor on the last day of the year. On the first day of 1768, the troops disembarked and marched to the pueblo of Guaristemba[122] to wait for the ship to be repaired.

Before they left San Blas for the pueblo of Guaristemba, the colonel summoned experienced seamen familiar with the coast to ask them how long it would take to reach Guaymas by ship. They unanimously agreed that it would take at least fifty days, considering the northwesterly winds that prevailed during that time of year and that usually lasted until the end of May. [Elizondo] then calculated the time it would take to assemble the expedition in Guaymas, the place designated as the barracks or temporary quarters, now that the packet boat *San Carlos* had to return and be repaired for a second voyage. He concluded that it would not be possible to reunite the troops until the end of June.

The imagination of the colonel vacillated unceasingly as he sought and reflected upon the best way to [overcome this difficulty] without deviating from the intentions of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy, whose ardent vigilance directed him to embark the troops as soon as possible. However, [Elizondo] could not find any other way to achieve the desired end except to begin the march by land with the four pickets of dragoons. This decision enabled the departure of the companies of Volunteers and Fusiliers in the brigantine *San Carlos,* which had just been refitted, and in the packet boat *La Lauretana,*[123] which had just arrived from California. The picket of the [Infantry of] America sailed in the ship named *La Concepción,* which had been waiting for days and had also come from the same peninsula. Thus, the embarkation of all the troops destined for the expedition was accomplished.

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121. Mazatlán is located much farther north than San Blas in Sinaloa. It is a port that "was uninhabited and little used before the end of the colonial period" (Gerhard 1982:255).

122. Guaristemba was originally an Indian village named Tlagualachitipán where cacao was grown. In 1768, Guaristemba became part of a greater military enclave centered around the port at San Blas.

123. A brigantine (*bergantín*) was a two-masted, square-rigged vessel while a packet boat (*paquebote*) was similar to a brigantine but not as well equipped and with a rounder main sail. It generally followed a regular route and often carried the mail (O'Scanlan 1974). Note that the author of the relación refers to the *San Carlos* as both a bergantín and a paquebote.

The principal objective of the orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy and the requests of the governor of Sonora was to spread troops across the province and station them as a defense against the invasions with which the rebel Indians continually infested the [province]. The attainment of this goal would assure the success of the proposed resolution. Thus, even if the hazards of the sea delayed the assistance of the troops that traveled by ship, the troops that traveled by foot would expedite matters because they would arrive no later than mid-March. These powerful reasons obliged the colonel to make the trip by land with the four pickets of dragoons. He left the embarkation of the infantry to proceed according to prior arrangements.

To that end, Elizondo expedited matters by immediately forwarding thirty cargas[124] of flour along with a baker to the *real* of Rosario.[125] The flour would be turned into hardtack by the time the expedition arrived there so that it could be provisioned at that stopping place. [Elizondo] supplied the necessary equipment for such a lengthy journey, such as campaign tents, mattocks, two-handed axes, and rope and stakes for camping in the desert and digging wells in the absence of natural water holes. Nevertheless, they still lacked the most essential item in order to begin the march—horses for the dragoons. To gather them, [Elizondo] sent orders to the pueblo of Tepic and the hacienda of Papalote, which had many horses. [Vecinos] immediately sent 160 horses, the number the barracks at Guaristemba needed.

The colonel attempted to pay the owners the price of the herd, which is the custom of the country, but the owners refused. They explained that horses were scarce on the haciendas, so they graciously offered their horses until a *remuda* was located at another hacienda. In such fashion, the entire journey was made without the horses of one hacienda having to travel any more than two or three stopping places. This benefited the royal treasury and was carried out with the complete cooperation of the vecinos, who lent their horses with much pleasure. They wanted the expedition to succeed so they could enjoy the tranquility and freedom to carry out commerce with the Provincias Internas without the risks they experienced of being assaulted by rebel Indians, who attacked the roads, pueblos, and haciendas.

With these preparations and precautions, the colonel set out at a rapid pace with the four pickets of dragoons. They sent their equipment by sea from the pueblo of Guaristemba on January 14, 1768, overcoming the infinite difficulties the peoples of that region considered insurmountable and overwhelming: the many deserts to cross and the lack of water for distances of twenty or more leagues. All those difficulties were exaggerated, however. This is a journey that any group of soldiers could undertake during the months of November, December, January, and until mid-February with no shortage of water. Throughout those months, water can be found in sufficient quantities along the trail. But troops could not undertake the journey during the other months because of the many roaring rivers

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124. A carga was approximately equal to 3.1496 bushels and thirty cargas to roughly 94.488 bushels. In unit weights of wheat and flour, a carga was approximately 329.764 lbs., which is 9,892.92 lbs for thirty cargas.

125. Rosario is located on the Río Baluarte (formerly the Chametla) in what is now southern Sinaloa. Gold and silver were discovered there in 1655.

that could not be forded. The journey was accomplished without carrying any provisions other than hardtack, because meat abounded in all the resting places. The troops were supplied with one cow a day, and no one went without their four-peso cut [of meat] until [they reached] the *real* of Rosario.

After fifty-eight days of marching, these troops arrived at their quarters in Guaymas. Huts of mud and reed for the lodging of the four pickets had been constructed beforehand. Thus, the soldiers enjoyed plenty of comfort.

In all the succeeding stopping places since the *villa* of Culiacán the alcalde mayores with their vecinos and militia companies came out a distance of two leagues to receive the troops with discharges of rifles and other demonstrations of joy. As the soldiers entered the pueblos, vecinos celebrated their arrival with the ringing of bells. The mission Indians made similar demonstrations in their own fashion. They came out with the little drums they customarily use and beat on them as far as the entrance to the mission. At the entrance, men, women, and children formed lines on both sides of the road to extend their hospitality to the commander. In order to show his pleasure, he carried out the obligatory ritual of placing his hand on all their heads down to the youngest children, which was a custom among them.

On January 20, 1768, the brigantine *San Carlos* and the packet boat *La Lauretana* set sail from the port at San Blas. They carried on board the two companies of Catalan Volunteers and Highland Fusiliers mobilized in Mexico City. On February 14, the *San Carlos* with its company was forced to enter the port of Mazatlán because of inclement weather. On February 18, the ship set sail again. When they were within sight of the *villa* of Culiacán, they encountered such severe weather that they were obliged to return to San Blas, where they arrived on March 1. *La Lauretana* returned to the port at Mazatlán for the same reason on February 2. They set sail again on the ninth. On February 24, they were in sight of the *villa* of Culiacán when a furious northwester forced them to turn around. After infinite labor, they managed to reach the port at Mazatlán on that same day. They had sustained themselves for an entire month without resupplying the ship and were in need of every kind of provision. They set sail again on April 1 and cast anchor in the port of Guaymas on May 1. On the second, the troops disembarked and entered the garrison.

The packet boat *La Concepción* left San Blas port with twelve missionaries of the Propagation of the Faith assigned to the missions in the province of California. [The ship also carried] all of the artillery and munitions for the expedition. On April 1, they arrived at the port of Loreto on the California peninsula. The twelve priests disembarked and six Franciscan priests from the Jalisco province, who had been residing in the missions of California, came aboard. They set sail on April 10 and anchored at the island of Lobos,[126] which is very near the coast. All of the goods were unloaded and carried by land to the Río Yaqui. From there, they were sent by sea to the port of Guaymas.

On March 18, the brigantine *San Carlos* with the company of Fusiliers and the packet boat *El Príncipe* with the regiment of the Infantry of America, the treasury, and the remainder of the munitions of war set sail from the port of San Blas. [The *San Carlos*] anchored in the port of Guaymas on May 5 and *El Príncipe* on the tenth. After their respective arrivals, the troops disembarked.

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126. Isla de Lobos is located south of the mouth of the Río Yaqui.

As soon as the packet boat named *El Príncipe* was furnished with foodstuffs, the fifty expelled Jesuit priests rounded up from the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa boarded the boat and set sail on May 20. The brigantine *San Carlos* and the packet boat *La Lauretana* set sail on the twenty-seventh to return to the port of San Blas. Opposing winds obliged the three vessels to seek harbor in Puerto Escondido on the California peninsula. As soon as the *San Carlos* and *La Lauretana* had taken on fresh provisions and water, they set sail. But the packet boat *El Príncipe* was disembarked with the intention of wintering on the peninsula because some of the priests were sick. At that time, the illustrious José de Gálvez, visitor general of the royal treasury, had just disembarked at the beach of Serralvo after forty-one days at sea and delays in the port of Mazatlán and the Isabelas Islands.[127] When he learned of this plan, he ordered the captain of the packet boat to set sail immediately for the port of San Blas. The captain did so as soon as he furnished the vessel with provisions and water.

These delays in the departures of the *San Carlos* and *El Príncipe* from the port of San Blas caused His Most Illustrious [Lord José de Gálvez] anxiety because they postponed the important expedition he had planned to the port of Monterey,[128] which is located on the opposite coast of the Californias in route to the cape of Mendocino.[129]

Governor Don Juan de Pineda and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo received an order from His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix, dated April 3, 1768, which read:

> Don José de Gálvez, visitor general of the tribunals and offices of the royal treasury of this kingdom, travels to the peninsula of the Californias to carry out the important commissions entrusted to him by His Majesty. These are of the utmost gravity, and I have entrusted them to him [José de Gálvez] because of his well-known, distinguished, and extraordinary deportment and because of the conspicuous love of royal service that motivates this minister. To that end, and in order to avoid any minor impediments that might arise, I have conferred upon him all the most extensive powers that the sovereign has condescended to invest in my person. And after he has finished taking all the measures that he deems necessary, and has arranged matters in a commendable fashion in those parts, he will travel to the provinces of Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya to do the same there. When he does so, your lordships will give him an account of all affairs and incidents occurring in those locations, just as you would do for me, so he can respond with opportune decisions in order to achieve the desired ends. So that [the need to inform him] remains fixed in your minds, your lordships will send me the corresponding information as well.

The lack of water in the area caused the colonel [Domingo Elizondo], and the troops under his command at Guaymas to wait in impatient inaction until June 1,

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127. Isla Isabela is located off the Nayarit coast northwest of San Blas.

128. The port of Monterey in Alta California, along with the rest of the California coast, was first mapped and named by Sebastián Vizcaino in 1602–3.

129. Cape Mendocino in northern California.

1768. On that day, three detachments of seventy men each were sent out in accordance with a previous agreement with the governor of the province, Don Juan de Pineda. The first detachment, under the command of the colonel, traveled from Guaymas toward the canyon called Ana María on the slopes of the Cerro Prieto. They found sixteen horses of the enemy but did not see any of them. So they continued on to Opan Guaymas [Upanguaymas], where they found fresh tracks. They followed the tracks to the springs of Tastiota,[130] but they found only a family of seven. The [soldiers] killed two of them and took a woman and two children captive. The other two were lost among the thickets in the darkness of the night.

Captain Bernardo de Urrea commanded the second detachment. They left the temporary quarters at Pitic and traveled toward the Cerro del Tonuco and the Sierra Bacoachi.[131] In those two locations, they managed to kill five men and capture three women, four children, and forty-six horses. There were other men who fled, and some of these were wounded as they escaped.

The third detachment left the presidio of Buenavista under the command of Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio.[132] They reconnoitered the mountain ranges of Los Pilares and Bacatete.[133] They saw only two Indians, however, who quickly took flight. One of them must have been wounded because he was losing blood, but it was not possible to overtake them because they reached the rugged parts of the mountain.

Even though it had rained, the dryness of the season, the general lack of water that the three detachments encountered, and the great weakness of the horses obliged [the detachments] to return before the end of their projected fifteen-day forays. These unavoidable inconveniences regularly frustrated the efforts [of the expedition] and did not allow for the success that would have been achieved without them.

The undertaking did not have the desired effect, partly for the reasons already outlined and partly because the enemies were so dispersed. But it did make them notably uneasy to find themselves pursued in various parts during a season in which they were accustomed to living in tranquility. There had been no previous attempt to search them out because of the excessive heat and the lack of water in the countryside, which forced the rebels to abandon the Cerro Prieto.

On August 12, 1768, the governor of the province, Don Juan de Pineda, and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo met in the pueblo of San José de Pimas. On the thirteenth, they planned the operations for the next campaign with Captains Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Don Lorenzo Cancio, and Don José Bergosa.[134] Because

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130. The springs of Tastiota were in the area of modern Tastiota on the Sonoran coast halfway between Guaymas and Bahía de Kino. Seris today refer to the Comcáac who lived there as Tastioteños, which was also a term the Spaniards employed.

131. The mountains bordering the Río Bacoachi.

132. Lorenzo Cancio was an Austrian soldier who became an alférez of the Regiment of Spanish Dragoons in 1755. He became the first captain of the presidio of Buenavista in 1765, built the first buildings at Guaymas, and was involved in the expulsion of the Jesuits. He returned to Spain in 1770 and died in 1772.

133. The Sierra Bacatete is a mountain range east and north of the Yaqui pueblos. It served as a stronghold and a refuge for Yaqui and other Indian rebels into the twentieth century.

134. Juan José Bergosa was born in Jaca, Spain, in 1733. He began his military service in 1756 as a cadet in the Regiment of Guadalajara. He served in the presidios of Fronteras as a lieutenant and in Horcasitas as a captain.

Anza and Bergosa had just finished reconnoitering the terrain of the enemies, their information was very important in directing the detachments. The detachments' principal objective was to force the enemy to gather in some of the rugged places of the Cerro Prieto so that the entire expedition could attack them without the slightest loss of time. The enemies' own movements would dictate how our later operations would then be carried out.

Because there were reports that the enemies could be found in the estuaries, both leaders agreed that two detachments should leave on September 1. The first would be under the command of the colonel and would be composed of one hundred infantrymen, eighty dragoons, and thirty soldiers from the presidio. The second would be commanded by Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea and would consist of seventy men from the presidio. It would leave the temporary quarters at Pitic and reconnoiter the Cerro del Tonuco, the Pilas de Ibarburu, and the Sierra Bacoachi. The first would traverse all the shores of the estuaries. Both of them were to attack the enemies, compel them to reunite in the Cerro Prieto, and having done so, attack them in full force. This is what was hoped for. It was considered the only way to achieve the extermination of the rebels.

During this interval, Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza went out with fifty soldiers from the presidio and found a portion of the enemies in some rugged places in the Cerro del Cautivo. But even though he attacked them, he was able to kill only five Indian men, one boy of fifteen, and two women. He also seized twenty horses. He was not able to achieve more because the Indians had gained the crags of a very advantageous mountain pass. From there, they wounded the lieutenant of the party and two other soldiers—one of whom died a few days later. They also killed two horses and wounded eight.

A Spanish boy who had been captured nine months earlier managed to escape and join the detachment. He told them about some of the enemy's plans, such as waiting for the troops in La Nopalera Canyon in the Cerro Prieto. He also reported that the Indians despised the troops and did not fear the new ones because they saw that they were not wearing any leather armor. The boy said that a few days before this attack, his master, Captain Bor [or Box], had invited all the Pimas and Seris to drink. During the five days that the organ pipe cactus wine[135] lasted, the Indians got drunk and there were about seven hundred of them stretched out on the ground. [Anza] asked the boy if he knew how to count. He replied that he did and that he knew that ten times ten was one hundred, and he continued counting up to one thousand. [Anza] returned on August 16 with nothing else to report.

On September 1, the two planned detachments left with fifteen days' worth of provisions. On the third day of the march, the detachment commanded by Don Bernardo de Urrea, captain of the presidio, managed to surprise a ranchería of Seri rebels in the canebrake of Bacoachi. Eleven men and seven women were killed. Fourteen children of both sexes were taken prisoner, as well as a large Indian woman and an Indian man from Tiburón Island. The woman had been captured once before. In jumbled Spanish, she said that [Seri] Captains Marcos, Chepillo, and Crisanto had placed a cross about a quarter league from Pitic, near the Cerro de la Conveniencia.[136] They had placed two arrows without heads and with bro-

135. The Seris made organ pipe fruit (pitahaya; *Stenocereus thurberi*) into a syrup and fermented it into wine.

136. In modern Hermosillo. After the Seris had surrendered, they established a settlement below the Cerro de la Conveniencia.

ken nocks at the cross, and adorned the bowstring[137] with feathers. They had been waiting for a corresponding sign so that they could talk peace. But seeing that there was none, they returned very sadly to their companions, saying that the Spaniards were very angry with them.

The Spaniards were informed of this unexpected development soon after the enemies had placed their cross. But it did not seem wise to reciprocate because the [Indians] were accustomed to using these tricks to stall for time, waiting for the most opportune moment to attack and harass them. The peace offer was also refused to cause the enemies greater consternation. Acceptance was, therefore, postponed until it was clear that the [enemies] came in good faith to ask for it. This was done in consideration of the proposals of the junta de guerra[138] of the officials and generals as well as the orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy.

Six Indians managed to flee on horseback from the ranchería that had been attacked. Even though [the soldiers] followed them for more than three leagues at a full gallop, and even though they loosened their saddles in route, it was not possible to catch up with them. A few hours later, clouds of smoke were seen. These are the signs which [the rebels] use to spread the word that troops are in their lands. As a result, all the rancherías to the west joined together at Monte Tenuaje. With this development and nothing else to report, the detachment returned to the quarters at Pitic on September 14, 1768.

The detachment commanded by Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo marched toward the springs of La Pasión, Opan Guaymas [Upanguaymas], and Tastiota, as well as all the estuaries. By the sixth day of the march, some of the infantrymen were very fatigued and their feet were bruised. This was due to the excessive heat as well as the rocky terrain over which they were traveling. In addition, eight steers, which had been brought along to supply the troops because there was no jerked beef, had escaped during a thunderstorm one night. The result was a shortage of food. For these reasons, the colonel considered that it might be impossible for the infantry to continue marching for another three days to reach Monte Tenuaje—the reconnoitering of which was the primary objective of their endeavor. [The detachment] would also have to pass through several marshes, which the troops on horseback would have great difficulty in crossing. The colonel expressed these concerns to the captains of the detachment, and they all agreed that the troops should not be exposed to an obvious risk. In order to avoid this, [Elizondo] decided to send the infantry straight back to their quarters at Pitic, having them make the journey in four moderate days because that was the number of days' rations left.

With the rest of the troops on half rations, the colonel set out to look for the enemies. On the third day of the march, he found their tracks and followed them on the morning of September 9. After about a league and a half, he found a ranchería

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137. No bow is mentioned in the text. Arrows without heads and bowstrings without bows evidently symbolized peace.

138. The junta de guerra occurred on December 22, 1766, in Mexico City. Viceroy Marqués de Croix presided. Visitor General Don José de Gálvez attended the junta together with other government officials. The junta decided to send two hundred veteran dragoons to serve as examples to the presidial companies and the militias in the war against the rebel Indians. They also decided to collect donations so that the cost of the expedition would not have to come out of the royal treasury.

that had just broken camp, leaving behind sixteen horses and all their household belongings. He continued to follow the trail. When the soldiers reached Monte Tenuaje, the enemies with petulant pride greeted the troops with their usual outcry and a copious discharge of arrows, even though they were unable to see what they were aiming at because of the thickness of the thicket.

Realizing at first glance that the thicket was impenetrable on horseback, [Elizondo] ordered the troops to dismount with all possible speed. Once on the ground, the troops were carried along by their natural ardor and by their desire to fight the enemies. Scorning the [enemies'] great numbers and advantageous position, the soldiers threw themselves at the barbarians, who defended themselves on the paths and defiles of the densely tangled terrain as never before.

Once inside [the thicket], [the soldiers] realized their enemies had formed a half moon as reckoned by the trajectory of the arrows which were coming from the front and sides. This served as a guide to direct their fire. Through the dense growth and clearings where they could see the rebels crossing, the troops strafed their enemies with gunfire with such vigor that the rebels were obliged to give ground. The soldiers kept pressing them in such a way that they had to abandon a ranchería which they had fortified beforehand by digging pits around the circumference and covering them with brush so they would be hidden. The enemies had posted sentries on all the paths leading to the ranchería, and they had waited for the troops to attack, trusting in the advantage of their position, their secure retreat, and their numbers, which surpassed three hundred fighting men with bows and arrows. To free themselves from other impediments, they had removed their families and their horses to the roughest and most interior part of the thicket.

At about the time the enemies were retreating into the thicket, another ranchería had come to join the body of the rebels. Seeing the troops' horses lightly guarded (it had not been possible to leave a regular rear guard because there were only sixty-five soldiers in all), they attacked. But the colonel quickly received word of the situation and came to the rescue so opportunely that [the Indians] had only just begun to untie two horses. As soon as they saw the troops, they fled headlong through the undergrowth of the thicket (which was about eight leagues long and four leagues wide) without doing any more harm than wounding two horses.

The action lasted about three quarters of an hour. The fire was very brisk and was answered by an infinite number of arrows. [In this manner], the enemies proved that they could fight and that they were not as timid as is reported by those who have not seen them fight.

It is not necessary to tell of the valor with which the officers and soldiers conducted themselves. Suffice it to say that sixty-five men threw themselves into a fight against close to three hundred Indians in a thicket where they could scarcely be seen. The troops exposed themselves with martial valor on the narrow paths, bravely gaining a parapet that the nature of the terrain provided as the rebels' greatest defense.

The reason the colonel had so few troops was because he had left thirty men behind to guard the provisions. [He also] sent a cabo and four men with the sixteen captured horses, and another two men with four more horses they had captured later. When the action began, he sent a cabo and four men with an order to the official escorting the provisions to gather his convoy together, wherever he was, and wait for new orders.

After the action was over, [the soldiers] reconnoitered the battlefield. They found only thirteen dead Indians, but it was not possible to conduct a detailed examination because of the denseness of the thicket. They deduced that the rebels had suffered a large number of wounded because of the duration of the gunfire, the vigor with which it was carried out, and the many signs of blood that were found. [Our wounded] consisted of Don Juan Lumbreras,[139] lieutenant of the regiment of Spanish Dragoons, five other dragoons of this corps, six from the Mexican [Dragoons], and one soldier from the presidio. The colonel's horse was also wounded in the attack.

The soldiers recovered their horses, mounted, and took roll. Having ascertained that no one was missing, they immediately began their march because of the great lack of water they had experienced since the previous day. They headed toward the camp of Siete Cerritos, which was about five leagues away. To this end, and in order to carry the wounded to a place where they might be treated, it was necessary to take this route toward the quarters at Pitic. Provisions were so short it was not possible to return to Guaymas because it was too far away. It was only three short days' march to the aforementioned quarters at Pitic. The troops arrived there on September 12 with no further developments.

Given the purpose of his retreat with the detachment under his command, Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo recognized the advantages that the quarters at Pitic offered—both for going out to look for the enemies in their own terrain and for attacking them in the Cerro Prieto, their refuge. He discussed this subject with the governor of the province. Because both of them yearned to better serve the king, they decided that it would be convenient to transfer most of the troops from Guaymas, a place very distant from those where the enemies were accustomed to dwell most frequently, to the aforementioned quarters at Pitic, where they might pursue them more easily and more frequently.

Both leaders decided to ask the opinions of presidial captains Don Bernardo de Urrea and Don Juan Bautista de Anza, because they were knowledgeable about the conditions and terrain of the two districts. They agreed that most of the troops should be stationed at Pitic because it was almost in the center of the territory around which the enemies roamed. But a sufficient number of soldiers should be left in Guaymas to serve both as a rear guard and, by turns, as a detachment of seventy men on campaign to reconnoiter the territory to the south and parts east. The [troops] from Pitic would cover the areas to the north and west in order to find any tracks of the enemies which may lead out of the Cerro Prieto, as well as to keep the barbarians in a continual state of alarm and distress.

A band of seven Sibubapa Indians found their way into the region by the Cerro del Tambor, heading for San Antonio de las Huertas [de la Huerta]. Last month, on August 24, they encountered two Indians from the mission of Tecoripa. [Although the latter] fought courageously, they killed them. The same band did the same on the twenty-sixth to four vecinos from the pueblo of Trinidad. The four had delivered themselves to sleep with total abandon in a very dangerous and depopulated place—that of Rebeico. The next morning as soon as dawn broke, [the Sibubapas]

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139. Juan José Lumbreras served as a lieutenant in the Spanish Dragoons during the Sonora Expedition. In 1770, after thirty-two years of military service, he became commander of Buenavista presidio.

surprised them and took their lives without giving them a chance to fire a single weapon. Continuing their march on [August] 30, they killed two women and a man near Llano Colorado. These incidents were reported to Captain Don José Bergosa, who was situated in San José de Pimas with his company. He immediately dispatched an officer with twelve soldiers to pursue them. The soldiers caught up with them four days later, but in a place so rugged they were only able to kill one and take all their horses and stolen goods. [The Sibubapas] had abandoned the goods in order to flee through the crags with greater ease.

The day of the attack of Monte Tenuaje, a cabo of the regiment of Mexico lost a pistol on the trail. He returned to look for it with two soldiers, without informing either the colonel or any other officer. After the attack was over and the roster of their picket had been taken, they were discovered missing, but it was reported that they had remained with the supply horses. When the detachment rejoined the supply herd five leagues away from the site of the battle, however, [the detachment] realized the men were missing. If that had been realized when the roster was taken [the first time], the detachment could have stayed where it was until the three men returned. It would have been inconvenient, but it would have avoided their unfortunate loss. This was the result of the thoughtless ardor of the cabo. He knew that he carried the order that the supply [guard] should halt and that all the soldiers should retire to guard it. He also knew it was not feasible to go with the detachment. But then the cabo heard gunshots and speeded up his march with the two dragoons to the thicket where their misfortune led them. After the troops retired, [the three] fell into the hands of the barbarians, who attacked them until they killed them.

Later, after the aforementioned detachment had retired to Pitic, another left composed of a presidial officer and thirty soldiers. They were to ascertain whether the enemies had remained in the aforementioned thicket to repeat their assault with greater forces and in different places. [The detachment] discovered that they had deserted [the thicket]. Marching toward the Pilas de Ibarburu, they found the three cadavers hung from a tree by their feet at the entrance to the thicket.

An Indian seized by the detachment, which subsequently was under the command of the colonel, recounted the unfortunate incident. It occurred because an Indian who followed the troops to see in which direction they went discovered the three dragoons in the thicket. He returned to inform his companions, telling them [the dragoons] were lost. With that information, about fifteen rebels went out to intercept them. Placing themselves in an advantageous spot, they attacked. And even though the cabo and one dragoon valiantly defended themselves, the other dragoon died during the first discharge of arrows. Shortly thereafter, the other dragoon suffered the same unfortunate fate.

Finding himself alone, the cabo took flight, but his horse stumbled and the cabo fell with the horse. He grabbed his pistol and took refuge behind a tree, where all [the rebels] fired arrows at him. Seeing that [the cabo] was not yielding, one of [the rebels] dismounted to seize him by hand. As he advanced, [the cabo] discharged his pistol and [the rebel] fell dead. Finding himself defenseless, however, he quickly became the victim of the barbarians' fury. Angry at the death of their companion, they cut off his hands and head and then they hung him by his feet from a tree. The officer [of the detachment] ordered his body and those of the other two to be taken down and buried at that spot.

These three unhappy ones were sacrificed because the system of discipline,

common in a well-trained troop, was not observed: No soldier should ever separate himself from his corps without permission of an officer. The colonel reiterated that order: No one should separate himself from his detachment during marches. Detachments should form a circle around their supplies and horseherd. They should always choose flat and open ground, when possible, so the rebels could not draw near them, and they should not allow themselves to be separated by hills, canyons, or thickets. This lamentable accident saddened everyone, even though it served as an example for the soldiers in the following campaign never to separate themselves from their respective troops.

During the sortie to Monte Tenuaje, the infantry realized that it was impossible to conduct campaigns on foot. Daily marches were long and harsh. Shortages of water were often experienced; sometimes they could not find water for fifteen or twenty leagues. With such considerations in mind, Captain Don Antonio Pol, motivated by his honor and desire to prove his zeal in the service of His Majesty, inspired his troops with the honorable idea of purchasing their own horses for the aforementioned glorious objective while on sorties with the cavalry. He was so effective that, in a few short days, he had forty soldiers mounted and equipped for the great campaign that had been planned.

[Captain Pol's] generous thoughts (of which there are few examples in the army) inspired the soldiers of the Picket of America and the Company of Volunteers to follow suit, similarly motivated by their own captains. The majority of these troops were thereby equipped with horses and saddles. Such singular and personal service in a soldier is worthy of being conveyed to the sovereign. In the remaining sorties, a proportionate number of infantry and calvary were assigned to each mission.

After the action at Monte Tenuaje, as already noted, a presidial officer went out with thirty soldiers to see whether the enemy were still camped in the same place. He reported to his two superiors that they had found many enemy tracks leaving the aforementioned thicket and heading to the west. They followed the tracks for more than three leagues. They also found another ranchería of sixty jacales near the large one of two hundred that the colonel had attacked at Monte Tenuaje.

In response to the enemy's movements, a detachment composed of 100 dragoons, 110 soldiers from the presidio, 40 mounted Highland Fusiliers, and 6 Indian auxiliaries from the four pueblos of Pimería del Norte [Pimería Alta] was formed. The auxiliaries were given red sashes to wear so that they could be distinguished from the enemies in case of battle.

On September 12, this detachment, capable of fighting with the enemies on any terrain—even if it should encounter all of them—left under the command of Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo. On the sixteenth, they came across signs of the rebels they had attacked on the ninth at Monte Tenuaje. [The trail] headed toward the Pilas de Ibarburu, but the [enemies] had continued their march without camping there. The troops did the same, following their trail. At eleven o'clock that same night, the detachment halted to wait for the next day. Those who knew the area were asked whether they knew of a place close by where they could dig wells and find water for the horses, which needed it badly. They thought that the direct route to La Aribaipia and the Sierra del Pitic should be taken. Those were the only places where it was possible to camp because they had both water holes and rugged mountains, which appealed to the barbarians' desire for safety.

At the break of day on the morning of September 17, the detachment set out in search of the water hole. After about half a league, the scouts suddenly came upon a ranchería of enemies, whom they attacked suddenly without forethought or any other planning. In attacking the enemies, there is no time to hesitate, for if one delays the attack in order to give it some thought, one is already too late because of the speed with which the barbarians flee.

Nevertheless, while on the march the colonel ordered the two [other] divisions, located to the right and left [of his], to spread out and make a semicircle around the center. Then, joining with his division, they could round up and encircle the enemies. But they only found and captured five women, sixteen children of both sexes and all ages, and sixty horses. When the center division passed through the ranchería, it found two men and two women, who later died on the march. They also found an Indian in hiding, whom they captured in order to interrogate him and compel him to inform them of the whereabouts of his companions. The rest of the people from these rancherías were away because they had taken their horses out to pasture. When they heard the shots, they fled and hid in the thickets of the monte called Cenizo. In the ranchería, [the soldiers found] a large earthen jar, a set of silver buckles, different pieces of uniforms, accouterments, and saddles from the three dragoons killed at Monte Tenuaje, many deerskins, and an infinite number of other trinkets that were known to have been stolen.

The Indian man and women who had been captured said that this ranchería was only one part of all those who had gathered at the camp at Aribaipia. They had come back because there were so many people together that there was a shortage of seeds necessary for their nourishment. But their captain, Vipici, remained at Aribaipia about eight leagues ahead. They also stated that ten families from the Seri nation had left their ranchería that morning. Having heard this, a lieutenant with twenty men was dispatched to follow their trail and pursue them. He captured only two women and three children. He saw the rest crossing over on balsas to Tiburón Island.

The troops remained at the springs of Monte Cenizo until sunset, when the detachment began its march to Aribaipia to attack the main body of rebels. It arrived on September 18 at two o'clock in the morning. Silence was maintained and the horses were led by the bridle until dawn. Then the troops attacked the site with all the necessary precautions to insure the success of the action. They were guided by the Indian prisoner, who did his work very faithfully for fear of being hanged. Unfortunately, however, the large ranchería had roused itself during the night of the eighteenth a few hours before the troops arrived. The fires were still burning and, without a doubt, the men who fled from Monte Cenizo had warned them about the arrival of the detachment.

In order to follow the enemies' trail, the colonel ordered four officers to take small parties in each of the four directions to look for tracks. They all returned unable to tell which way the Indians had departed from their camp. There were tracks scattered all around the circumference of the camp, but none led anywhere. This incident caused no little uncertainty in the mind of the colonel because he could not determine the route taken by the enemies. He assumed that the confusion was due to their caution: they scattered their tracks about in all directions to hide the one that they had actually taken. From where they were, however, it was not possible to move forward [northward] except to the Sierra del Pitic, which was

the final place where the enemies could safely tread. After that, they would enter the Papaguería,[140] with which nation they did not have good relations. [The colonel] decided to continue marching during the afternoon of the eighteenth and the morning of the nineteenth. The troops arrived at the Sierra del Pitic at ten o'clock in the morning. They found nothing but a very small ranchería that had been abandoned for several days.

Afterwards, some Indians who had surrendered told them that the captains of the rancherías at Aribaipia, having been told about the events at Monte Cenizo, held a meeting. They correctly deduced that the troops would attack them the next morning and if they went through the canebrakes at Pitic, the troops would follow their trail. They decided to retreat over the same route that the troops would have to take until they reached a hill of shifting stones a little more than half a league away. Because the troops would have to march by night in order to surprise them, they would pass over their tracks and erase them. As a result, they would not be able to find their trail. From the hill, they went down to the sea itself and walked in it—men, women, and children. Thus, with such caution, they retreated the same night that the troops were in route in the opposite direction. This stratagem is sufficiently subtle to persuade doubters that the rebels are not as idiotic as some pretend.

The horseherd and other beasts of burden suffered greatly during this lengthy and difficult march, making it necessary to rest for a day. The following day, they began to march again, traveling toward the garrison of Pitic via the places where the enemy usually dwelt, such as the Pozos de San Ignacio, the Sierra de las Espuelas, the Sierra Bacoachi, and the Pozos de San José. They arrived at Pitic on October 28 after marching for seventeen days.

During the last part of the journey, they marched eighteen leagues without water and the horses had not had any water for thirty-six leagues. The Indian auxiliaries suffered great [thirst]; three of them and a muleteer lost their voices. They would have perished if one of the soldiers had not been carrying spare water in his *bota*[141] and if one of the captains from the presidio had not been carrying some lemon syrup. Nevertheless, they could not continue the journey, so all the Indian auxiliaries stayed behind in the camp at Gurgus, with the understanding that the soldiers would bring back water as soon as possible. [The soldiers] returned [with the water] after morning prayers, thus saving and relieving all of them. On the following day, the twenty-ninth, they arrived at the quarters at Pitic.

On September 16, a detachment composed of 114 men left Guaymas under the command of Captain of the Dragoons Don Miguel Gallo. They were to reconnoiter the area and stop the enemy from entering the province of Ostimuri to practice their usual thefts. On the twenty-fourth of the same month, having set out from the small lake in the Sierra de los Pilares, they discovered an Indian, who fled on horseback. Two of the soldiers from the presidio pursued him and managed to strike him with their lances.

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140. The territory of the Piman-speaking Tohono O'odham, or Desert People, and the Hia c-ed O'odham, or Sand People, whom the Spaniards collectively labeled 'Papagos'. The Papaguería was a vast desert region of northwestern Sonora and southern Arizona north of the Río de la Concepción–Río Magdalena drainage system and west of the Santa Cruz River.

141. A bota is a sewn leather bag coated with pitch on the inside. It has a wooden neck by which it is filled with wine or other liquid.

On September 25, while following some tracks which led toward a canyon or ravine in the aforementioned sierra, [the dragoons] ran across a ranchería of Sibubapas in the vicinity of Agua Escondida. The campsite the troops had left, however, caught fire. This mischance warned the enemy, who then took flight, driving twenty horses before them. Upon seeing the enemy flee, the captain attacked. The enemies abandoned the horses and entered some rugged mountains. When they reached the summit and were, therefore, secure, they began to shout at the soldiers.

As soon as the soldiers began arriving (the two-league gallop tired some horses and delayed others), they dismounted as the captain had ordered and began to march up the mountain until they were within firing range. [The soldiers] commenced firing. As soon as [the Indians] felt the damage the volley caused, they abandoned their spot and fled across the rugged crags of the mountain, leaving five dead and disregarding any wounded they might have had. Two soldiers from the Picket of America were slightly wounded in this brief encounter. The commander was forced to return to the place they had left that day because the men and horses were suffering from a lack of water. Even though he continued his foray until the thirtieth of [September], he had nothing else to report.

When the governor and the colonel discovered that the enemies were not encamped at their usual sites for that time of year, they discussed the possibility that they might already be assembled in the Cerro Prieto. To verify this suspicion, they sent a lieutenant with forty soldiers from the presidio to traverse the drainages of the Cerro Prieto and to reconnoiter the mouths of the canyons in order to discover where the enemy was encamped. The lieutenant performed this assignment with great exactness and reported that in La Palma Canyon[142] he had heard singing and a great murmur of people. At the mouth of the canyon, he found numerous tracks but none anywhere else around the rest of the circumference of the mountain, which is about fifty-six leagues around.

Because of this information, [the governor and the colonel] asked the Indian who had been captured at Monte Cenizo about the topography of La Palma Canyon. He assured them that it was the roughest and most impenetrable of all those in the Cerro Prieto. He led them to understand that at the end, where the canyon made a zigzag, there was a small hand ladder used to flee to the summit via a *mila* [?] in a sharply angled rock outcrop.[143] Before attacking the canyon, it would be necessary to seize the only two escape routes that they had, the ladder and La Mescalera. He offered to guide the troops to occupy those places under the condition that his life be spared. His request was granted.

Since August, all the vigilance and solicitude of the governor and the colonel had been directed toward forcing the enemies to gather in the infamous Cerro Prieto. According to some people who had not seen it, [the canyon] was impregnable even to the veteran troops. The honor [of the governor and the colonel] led them to make it accessible, as they have done on four occasions, treading its highest elevations and passing through the most rugged places.

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142. La Palma is one of the major northern canyons of the Cerro Prieto (Sierra Libre) leading southeast into the range.

143. This passage is difficult to interpret but indicates that the Seri and Pima rebels were modifying their rugged environment with hand ladders and other devices to speed their transit through the Cerro Prieto.

[They did so by] relying on the report from the officer, who had reconnoitered the terrain so that the carefully planned general attack could be executed. The two leaders unanimously determined [to carry out the attack]. They designated a water hole five leagues away from the canyon as the assembly camp. They sent orders to Don Diego Peirán, the commander of the quarters at Guaymas, to be there with his troops on November 22, leaving behind only those absolutely necessary for a rear guard. The governor and the colonel would wait for him [at the watering hole] with the troops from Pitic. [They planned] to occupy the entrance to the canyon and the heights on the night of [November] 23 and begin the general attack at dawn on the twenty-fourth—with the firm resolution of fighting the enemy relentlessly wherever they may be found.

Plan and detail of the troops assigned to the general attack on the enemy in La Palma [Canyon] in the Cerro Prieto on November 24, 1768.

Divisions, Commanders, and Assigned Troops	*Cap*	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
For the Attack on the Canyon							
Governor Don Juan de Pineda							
Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo							
Troops							
Picket of the Infantry of America	1	1	1	2	31	33	
Spanish Dragoons	–	2	1	2	47	49	
Mexican Dragoons	2	2	–	2	32	34	
Company of Volunteers	1	–	1	2	37	39	
Company of Fusiliers	–	–	–	1	23	24	
Presidial Company	2	1	2	–	70	70	
Pima Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	70	
Total							319
To Occupy the Heights							
Captain José Bergosa	1						
Troops							
Spanish Dragoons	–	2	–	1	19	20	
Mexican Dragoons	–	2	–	1	19	20	
Company of Fusiliers	1	–	1	2	48	50	
Presidial Company	–	1	–	–	20	20	
Flying Company	2	–	1	–	41	41	
Yaqui Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	71	
Total							226 [222]
Guard of the Horseherd and Camp							
Captain Don Manuel de Medina	1						
Troops							
Spanish Dragoons	–	–	–	–	10	10	
Mexican Dragoons	–	–	1	–	10	10	
Presidial Company	–	–	–	1	19	20	
Total							40

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Supply Company							
Lieutenant of the Fusiliers							
Don Gaspar Fernández	1						
Troops							
Spanish Dragoons	–	–	–	–	6	6	
Mexican Dragoons	–	–	–	–	6	6	
Fusiliers	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Presidial Companies	–	–	–	–	12	12	
Total							24
General Total							609

A relation of the general attack that His Majesty's troops made upon the three rebellious Indian nations—Piatos, Seris, and Sibubapas—in La Palma Canyon in the mountains of the Cerro Prieto on November 25, 1768:

The continuous and successive dispatching of detachments has engaged the troops since August 1. They have reconnoitered the lands through which the barbarians regularly travel in order to compel them to gather in the aforementioned sierra. Because of its ruggedness, [the Indians] always considered and established [the Cerro Prieto] as their greatest refuge and source of security. There the armies of the king could fight and exterminate them in the event [that the Indians] waited together for a formal general attack. It was believed that success would be delayed if [the expedition relied] on individual engagements alone because it was very difficult to find [the rebels] dispersed across such an expanse of territory more than two hundred leagues in circumference. The Indians could move over this area without leaving any trace or other notice of their movements except their own tracks, which served as a polestar to guide the troops to the enemies' rancherías.

The last detachment, which had been sent to survey the drainages of the Cerro Prieto, encountered a great number of tracks at the entrance of the canyon or gorge of La Palma. [These tracks] indicated that the enemies had assembled in the [canyon], for which reason the leaders resolved to prepare for the attack and gather their troops at the water hole on the twenty-second. On the twenty-third, because it had rained and the sky was very overcast, it was necessary to postpone the march. On the twenty-fourth, however, [the day] dawned calm, and the troops filed out by division, in accordance with the details given previously, at three o'clock in the afternoon. [They] arrived near the mouth of the aforementioned canyon at nine o'clock that night.

The order was immediately given to unsaddle the horses and to have the division assigned to take the heights and cut off the enemy's escape route from the front of the troops. [This division] was guided by the Indian who had been taken prisoner at Monte Cenizo. He had offered to take the troops along a footpath on the condition that his life be spared. The division moved out with the order to occupy and guard the places of La Mescalera and the small ladder, as well as others that they might find helpful in impeding the enemy's retreat. Within about half an hour, the commander of the division sent word that they heard the enemy

singing and saw the fires of their rancherías. They could not continue without being noticed, however, because it was necessary to pass very close to the enemy.

This difficulty was a considerable obstacle to the successful completion of the plan and made it necessary to take advantage of whatever means good judgment might suggest. To that end, the commander was ordered to advance as quietly as possible and, if he could not achieve this, to remain in silence wherever he was and attack the rancherías at dawn. Those troops were reinforced with seventy Indian auxiliaries. Their captain sent word at eleven o'clock that night that the detachment had passed the enemy without being noticed. He and his people were standing watch to provide support and to prevent any unexpected attack by the rebels.

Reinforcements from the Company of Volunteers were sent in together with twenty-four fusiliers. Its vanguard arrived and joined the auxiliaries, but twelve fusiliers lagged behind about twenty-five to thirty paces. Upon seeing some Indians seated behind the troops, they rashly mistook them for enemies and one of them opened fire. Nine more followed him, and six of the auxiliaries were wounded. The following day two of these died. [This was] a fatal and unfortunate accident that did not appear to be typical. In the normal course of events, blindness brought on by torpor is not an acceptable excuse for twelve men who are veterans to open fire. This is especially true because the Company of Volunteers was before them, already in view, clearly illuminated in the full moon and only twenty-five to thirty paces away.

This unfortunate and fatal event prevented a glorious day of battle and the complete victory total surprise would have offered. The enemy was so alarmed that they immediately became silent, put out their fires, and withdrew their families. The Indians with bows and arrows remained, confident in the advantages that the roughness of the terrain and previous experience offered them. In 1760, they had been attacked in that same canyon on three occasions and had been victorious in all of them. They flattered themselves [into thinking that they could accomplish the same thing again] and that the Spaniards could not conquer the ruggedness of the canyon, much less the heights.

When the captain of the Company of Volunteers realized that the alarm had been raised, he informed the two leaders about the accident. The leaders sent out the rest of the division assigned to attack the rancherías as a precaution in case the enemies, warned by the alarm, attempted to launch an all-out attack on the small number of troops in the observation detachment. The troops stayed on alert until dawn, when they marched into the canyon with all the precautions and formalities of war that the terrain allowed. In little more than half a league, they found the enemies posted at a narrow spot in the canyon. They were beautifully arranged. On the right, they were favored by a thicket; on the left by a hill; and in the center where the path was, there were large rocks scattered in such a way that [the enemy] could scarcely be seen.

As soon as [the enemy] saw the troops drawing near, they fired two carbines and many arrows before giving their accustomed cry. The commanders noted their position and ordered the Picket of America to enter the thicket, fan out in a wing, and attack the enemy. The pickets of dragoons [were ordered] to attack those on the hill, which they swiftly did without stopping, answering the volley of arrows with one from their guns. They followed this [barrage] with a heavy and continuous fire so lively that the enemy, unable to withstand it—much less the bravery

with which the troops attacked—took flight, as usual. The troops followed them diligently without ceasing their fire. The most agile soldiers from the whole detachment gained the rough sides of the canyon in order to flank the enemies during their flight. Before reaching the end of the canyon, however, the enemies took a path so twisted and steep that they gained ground at the expense of immense fatigue.

Upon hearing the gunfire in the canyon, the troops that had already occupied the heights appeared in places which overlooked the route taken by the enemies and, seeing them, opened fire with good effect. But immediately, a very dense fog intervened and covered the whole horizon so that shapes could not be discerned. The enemies used this to their advantage and made a secure retreat. A rain shower followed the fog and lasted about an hour. These misfortunes caused the attempt at exterminating the majority of the enemies to fail. They had been caught between two lines of fire, and had the aforementioned darkness and rain not overcome the troops, it would have been almost impossible for them to escape.

The troops tolerated the weather with forbearance and constancy, waiting for it to clear so that they could find the enemies and continue the action. The weather cleared by about nine o'clock in the morning, but any hope of finding [the enemies] vanished because they had already penetrated and hidden themselves in the adjacent rugged places of the mountain range. The rebels based their honor, glory, and sense of victory on their flight. Because their flight had already been achieved, the commander of the troops on the heights thought it fruitless to attempt to find them. In this state of inaction and without a clear objective, he reconnoitered the trail up to the pass to the extent that the weather and the terrain would permit. He found six women and ten children of all ages and both sexes. They had many deerskins and various articles of clothing. Having taken them prisoner, he descended to the bottom of the canyon with great difficulty, where he found forty-one horses.

Thirty-one dead [Indians] were seen on the trail and in the canyon, although the number was probably higher due to the heavy fire. It was not possible to reconnoiter all the terrain because of the rain and its ruggedness. Only those [bodies] that were seen along the troop's route were noted. Nor was it possible to formulate a judgment regarding the number of wounded, but there must have been as many wounded as there were dead. Among the troops, only one dragoon from the regiment of Spain and one Indian auxiliary were wounded. With both columns of troops together in the canyon, their uniforms soaked, and without any [further] objective, the commanders decided to return to the camp where the horses were. There a fire was started to warm and dry the soldiers.

On this day, it was clearly evident that fortune did not wish them to take advantage of the favorable circumstances that had been provided. Rather, she interrupted things with adversity, against which there was no remedy since it originated in heaven. Nonetheless, [while] it is true that because of this, [the expedition] did not obtain the complete victory that providence and preparation had offered, it is also true that they managed to battle all of the rebels and dislodge them from their strongest and most advantageous position in the entire Cerro Prieto. Indeed, that is why [the enemies] had chosen it as their refuge.

It will be difficult to obtain another chance so opportune because [the rebels] have learned two bitter lessons from [this attack]. The first is that the troops are capable of conquering any height without tiring. Second, [they discovered] the fire

power and range of the guns [*fusiles*][144] which they had not experienced before, except for the carbines[145] which are very short, have very light charges, and are fired by hand.

On the same day, November 25, the troops marched off to the water hole. After marching about one league, the rear guard noticed a small cloud of dust. They were sent to investigate and discovered two enemies leading five horses. These few soldiers flung themselves at [the Indians], killing one and taking the horses. The other managed to escape through the brush.

The troops rested on the twenty-sixth and had time to clean their arms and put them in order. The two wounded men and the spoils were sent to Pitic. An officer and four trusted soldiers were sent to reconnoiter the entrance of [La Palma] Canyon to trace the enemy's movements by their tracks. After surveying the terrain, however, they found no sign indicating that even one family had left. This information gave rise to a discussion concerning whether or not [the enemy] had returned to occupy their rancherías, trusting that the troops had withdrawn.

On [November] 27, the troops broke camp in order to arrive at the entrance of the canyon at the same time as on the previous march. A party with an officer was sent out to reconnoiter, with an order to proceed into [the canyon] as far as the dry streambed. Upon returning, they brought word that they had seen fresh Indian tracks that went in and came out.

As a result of this information, the attack was arranged. It was not considered advantageous, however, to send the troops to occupy the heights, because there was no moon until after midnight and because the route was impassable and very dangerous near the cliffs. It would have taken more than six hours to occupy [the heights]. No matter how much the soldiers might have exerted themselves, it was not something that could be attained.

Before dawn on the twenty-eighth [of November], the troops entered the canyon and advanced toward the rancherías as it became lighter. Only four Indians were seen, however. The scouts fired on them and wounded one, who left a trail of blood along the path. But after reaching the heights, no others were seen. They reconnoitered the area but found nothing, so they decided to go to the Laguna de Noche Buena to make camp, where they expected to find water. But they did not find even one drop, which made it necessary on the twenty-ninth to divide the troops. Those from Guaymas went to get water for the horses, which had not drunk for forty-eight hours, at Tinaja de las Avispas. Following the route toward the wells of Tastiota, they came across fresh enemy tracks. Upon hearing the stamping of the detachment's horses, [the enemies] took flight, abandoning a little Yaqui captive and twenty-two horses they had seized.

The Pitic division marched toward the water hole after sending a third of the troops in advance to Cara Pintada Canyon[146] with many leather bags to fill with

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144. The fusil was larger than the escopeta used by the infantry. It was loaded with powder and a lead ball that weighed one *onza* or 1.014 ounces. It could be deployed close to the cannon without impeding their fire (Moretti 1828).

145. The carabina was a little more than 33 inches in length and was similar to the escopeta. It was used by calvary soldiers (Moretti 1828).

146. Cara Pintada Canyon is another canyon in the northwestern part of the Cerro Prieto west of La Palma Canyon. It is now known as La Pintada.

water and bring back to aid the troops, who had not tasted water since the previous morning.

On [November] thirtieth, the troops stayed at the water hole. On December 1, they began their march and camped at the *plaza de armas.* They arrived at the quarters at Pitic on the second.

The Year 1769

According to the report of an officer who went out on January 1, 1769, to reconnoiter the entire circumference of the Cerro Prieto and its canyons, the enemies had completely abandoned the area. This was very strange news because this had never occurred before. When the enemies had previously been pressed and constrained by the troops, the most they ever did was to move from one canyon to another, but they never abandoned the Cerro Prieto. Based on this, it can be inferred that the day they were attacked in La Palma Canyon they suffered more damage than had been assumed and that their losses were greater than those mentioned in the report.

The tracks the officer encountered came out of Cara Pintada, Los Otates, and Las Avispas Canyons. From there, they divided—some led to the estuaries and others towards the sierras of Bacoachi, Aguas Frías, and Las Espuelas.

Because of these developments, the governor and the colonel decided to go out and search for the enemy with two detachments, one from each garrison. The one from Guaymas was ordered to march by the estuaries, and the other from Pitic to go by Bacoachi. In order to satisfactorily reconnoiter the places where the enemies were accustomed to hiding, Curiel was designated as the assembly place. From there, the troops were to divide into two parts—one under the command of the governor and the other under the command of the colonel. Each was to follow a different route in order to scout out the immediate environs and find and follow tracks until they met up with the enemies, or at least had looked for them everywhere, as duty required.

On January 13, both detachments, composed of three hundred men, set out under the command of the governor and the colonel. Although the most exacting diligence was exercised in this foray, they did not manage to find the enemies because they were discovered by a ranchería of ten Indians during their long trek from the garrison of Pitic to the Sierra Bacoachi. Even though the Indians' tracks were found and followed in the morning by a party [of soldiers], it was not possible to catch them.

These enemies went on to warn the others, which is evident by the fact that Captain Don Juan [Bautista] de Anza, who had been dispatched in a different direction, found and followed a large number of tracks of cattle that were being led away by the rebels. The trail led him to a medium-sized ranchería which was abandoned so quickly that the Indians left behind nine dead cows, three live ones, five strays, and four horses with some hides. The tracks were from the previous night and continued on for another five leagues. The trail led toward Aribaipia, which was still eleven leagues away with no hope of finding water, however. Because the horses had not drunk since the preceding afternoon, the captain found it necessary to abandon the undertaking and to return to the camp at Curiel in order to join the rest of the troops.

From this encampment, Captains Don Manuel de Medina and Don Vicente Moreno were sent out. The first reconnoitered Tecolote, La Tortuguilla, the Sierra

del Oro, and La Cieneguita. The second scouted Alamo Muerto and the Sierra de Buenavista. Neither of them found the slightest sign of the enemies. They returned to camp on January 30 and 31. All the troops returned to the garrison at Pitic on February 4.

On January 18, the captain of the presidio of Buenavista sent word that a party of fifteen of the enemies availed themselves of the canoe used to cross the Río Yaqui. After crossing, they let it loose at the mercy of the waters. They then went straight to the hacienda of Las Alajas [Alhajas], where they fought with the owner and four of his servants for more than three hours. They finally retreated because their leader [*cabecilla*] had been wounded. But the enemies wounded one of those who was in the fight, killed a woman and a child who were unable to take refuge in the house, and carried off a young girl.

The justicia mayor of the province of Ostimuri sent word that twenty rebels had attacked the pueblo of Nuri on [January] twenty-third. The troops from Buenavista spread the word that a party of enemies was in the area and that they should take the necessary precautions. [Because of the soldiers'] vigilance, they managed to repulse [the rebels], even though they killed two vecinos on the road. The aforementioned justicia pursued them with a squad of vecinos and Indians. He managed to catch up with them, kill one, wound seven, and take away their booty—even their own horses which they had abandoned in order to save themselves in the rough and rocky places of the thicket.

On February 6, a lieutenant from the presidio of Pitic was sent out with a detachment of thirty soldiers with orders to survey all the drainages of the Cerro Prieto and to examine with great care any tracks he might find. He fulfilled this commission with great care and reported that more than a fourth of a league into Cara Pintada Canyon he had encountered tracks—one of a horse, and one of a mule. He followed them up to a tree where he found the wooden shaft of a lance covered with blood and some freshly cut twigs on the path. With these vivid signs of the enemy, he returned to quarters.

Because of these events, Governor Don Juan de Pineda and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo resolved to attack the enemy on February 25 in Cara Pintada Canyon, if the enemies were still there. The appropriate orders were sent to Don Diego Peirán, the commander of the Guaymas garrison, so that he could bring the troops under his command to La Palma Canyon on the night of the twenty-fourth. He was joined there by both leaders with the troops from the garrison at Pitic. Divisions were immediately formed according to the attached plan or detail, and the second division was ordered to dismount and to turn their horses over to the first division.

With this maneuver completed, the [second division] moved out under the command of Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio via the southern flank of the canyon. Its objective was to occupy the heights and cut off the escape routes of the enemies. The first division led the horses of the second division by the bridle. [The second division] continued its march toward Cara Pintada Canyon and arrived there at midnight. The troops of the first division began their march at two o'clock in the morning.

The ascent of the first pass, which was very steep and rocky, greatly fatigued the governor [Juan de Pineda] because he was extremely fat. Seeing the difficulty with which he walked, the colonel insisted several times that he remain below. Flattered by his own great spirit and stimulated by his own honor, however, he

made every attempt to overcome his fatigue. Finally, almost entirely out of breath, he could only mutter, "I cannot continue." He leaned against a rock spire and stayed behind with four men to escort him back to camp, which was close by. The colonel continued with the troops and arrived at four o'clock in the morning at the spot where the enemies were located. In order to obtain a greater advantage in the attack, [the colonel] descended to a flat pasture at dawn with all the necessary plans to deliver the blow. But their hopes were frustrated because the enemies were not where they were expected to be.

Plan and detail for the projected general attack in Cara Pintada Canyon of the Cerro Prieto on February 25, 1769:

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Destination: Cara Pintada Canyon							
Commander: Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo							
Troops							
Picket of America	1	1	–	1	29	30	
Spanish Dragoons	1	2	–	2	40	42	
Mexican Dragoons	2	2	–	2	27	29	
Highland Fusiliers	1	–	1	2	23	25	
Presidial Soldiers	1	–	1	1	100	100	
Total							226
Destination: La Palma Canyon							
Commander: Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio							
Troops:							
Spanish Dragoons	–	1	–	1	19	20	
Mexican Dragoons	–	–	1	1	19	20	
Catalan Volunteers	1	–	1	2	42	44	
Highland Fusiliers	–	1	–	1	19	20	
Presidial Soldiers	2	1	1	1	–	70	
Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	50	
Total							226 [224]
Destination: Horseherd							
Commander: Alférez Don Cristóbal Navarro							
Troops							
Picket of America	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Spanish Dragoons	–	–	1	–	2	–	
Mexican Dragoons	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Catalan Volunteers	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Highland Fusiliers	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Presidial Soldiers	–	–	–	–	10	–	
Total							20

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Destination: Supply Herd							
Commander: Alférez Don Francisco Viana							
Troops:							
Infantry and Dragoons	–	–	1	–	14	–	
Presidial Soldiers	–	–	–	1	10	–	
Total							24
Grand Total							496

Note:
The horses of the division—those of the Volunteers, the Picket of America, the Fusiliers, his own company, those of the presidio of Guaymas, the troops from Pitic, and the remaining Indian auxiliaries—were led by the bridle from La Palma Canyon to Cara Pintada Canyon.

Thus divided, they [the troops under Elizondo in La Palma Canyon] found only some tracks, which they followed over very rough terrain until they reached a considerable height. From there, they saw two horses grazing on another ridge. [The sight of] the horses convinced them that some of the enemies might be around. But after climbing the hill, they found four more horses but no sign of Indians. In following these signs, the colonel had advanced beyond the prearranged place for meeting with the second division, so he went back down to wait for them. He did not find them anywhere, so he ordered the call to be sounded twice. This was the signal for them to join with the first division. He was still uncertain as to their whereabouts, but he was not at all worried. The division was numerous enough to fight the enemies, and they could not become lost because they had the Indian prisoner who was very familiar with the terrain.

In light of this, and as the horses did not have anything to eat because the Indians had burned all the grass beforehand,[147] the colonel and his troops returned to camp. He left a captain with sixty men in the small saddle that the second division had to pass through. As soon as [the colonel] arrived in camp, he received word from the captain that shots had been heard in the higher elevations of Otates Canyon. Upon hearing this news, the colonel returned to climb back up [the mountain] with most of the troops with whom he had descended. He directed the march to that place but found nothing. He managed only to reconnoiter some of the heights and ravines, through which he descended and returned to camp at four o'clock in the afternoon. The second division returned at six o'clock together with a decrepit old man.

While looking down from above, [the second division] had discovered a ranchería deep in the valley. When they began their descent, they realized that the rebels were fleeing along a slope about a league away. A lieutenant of the dragoons was

147. Indians used fire for many purposes, including defensive warfare.

ordered to go forward with some of the more agile soldiers to cut off their escape, but they encountered a precipice from which they had to extricate themselves, letting themselves down by two ropes. Realizing the impossibility of overtaking the enemies, [the lieutenant] ordered some shots fired simply for effect. These were the shots the [captain from the first division] had heard.

The great fatigue suffered by those troops over such a long and difficult march is unimaginable. They are surely worthy of all our admiration. [The troops] trod the rugged places of the sierra from eleven o'clock at night until six o'clock in the afternoon of the following day with no more than two hours' rest. The colonel's troops exhausted themselves from two in the morning until four in the afternoon. But the second division surpassed them all, and both divisions descended almost without shoes.

They had reconnoitered the rugged heart of the sierra with wonder because the whole range is a labyrinth of hills, gorges, and cliffs.

Both the governor and the colonel were mortified to see that they had not been able to carry out any action that would have served as an exemplary chastisement of the rebels. Their success was not commensurate with their efforts. Nonetheless, as is well known, they never lost hope nor failed to exert themselves. They applied all the means imaginable with the greatest constancy in the hope that they could exterminate the enemies or at least force them through constant persecution to reduce and submit themselves to the just and proper obedience of the sovereign. There were repeated signs that this was what the Indians desired. For example, they placed two crosses at the well of Peña Blanca in the west, another two a league away from the garrison at Guaymas, one in the [Sierra] Bacatete to the east, and another, already mentioned, in the immediate vicinity of the garrison at Pitic.

These signs of peace were placed in all four directions. Ever since the arrival of the old man, the captive Indian women repeatedly have petitioned that they be allowed to go to the Cerro Prieto to speak with an old wife of Captain Crisanto. He was one of the three who placed the cross near Pitic. His offer to bring the Seri nation in to render submission demonstrated that they were alarmed. The governor and the colonel replied that, as long as they returned, it would be allowed.

This last penetration of the sierra did not achieve anything advantageous other than to increase the barbarians' confusion at finding the tracks of the troops in the highest elevations and to lower their spirits when they considered that they could no longer flatter themselves that they were safe in any of the mountains.

It is certain that the Indians possessed a great fear of the troops because at the slightest sound they became alarmed and fled into the roughest places. The information provided by the old man confirmed this. The governor and colonel had allowed him to go free in the Cerro [Prieto] because he was so decrepit, but it was not possible to convince him to stay there. He said that he preferred to live among the Spaniards during the short time he had left so that he could enjoy some tranquility of spirit. He said that tranquility was not possible among his own people because they lived in constant tribulation. If a stone rolled in the hills at night or if a bird moved among the branches, they became frightened and fled for the thickets and rugged places of the terrain.

On [February] 26, [1769], the troops rested outside La Cara Pintada Canyon, benefiting from a tinaja—a deep hole [with water] naturally occurring in the landscape. Even though they were in an extremely rugged place, they had enough wa-

ter. The next day the troops from Pitic passed by this water hole. On the twenty-eighth, they arrived at this garrison [Pitic], and those from Guaymas began their march from the mouth of the canyon.

On March 5, two divisions set out under the command of Captains Don Juan Bautista de Anza and Don Juan José Bergosa. The first reconnoitered part of the estuaries, particularly the well at Peña Blanca, which is the landing from which the enemies cross over to Tiburón Island. The other went west of the pueblos of the Pimería, but neither found any tracks, only the crosses mentioned previously. Without anything else to report, they returned to the garrison of Pitic on March 15.

The governor and the colonel agreed that Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio and his company of thirty-five soldiers, who were in Guaymas, should return to the presidio of Buenavista. [They also determined to] retain the twenty militiamen in order to place a detachment of twenty soldiers at the pass of Alamito and another of twelve at the hacienda of Tesopaco. [This was done] so that they could look for tracks every day in those vicinities to prevent the enemy from entering the province of Ostimuri to commit hostilities without being noticed and punished. [Both] the aforementioned places were very convenient for achieving these goals.

On March 27, the captain of the Buenavista presidio sent word that the enemies savagely killed the parish priest from Baroyeca between Mochicahui and Tepahui in the province of Ostimuri. [The priest] was running away from Durango[148] after learning that His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy had ordered the governor to arrest him and send him to Mexico City. It is clear from the *diligencias* of Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio that this ecclesiastic's ill-considered expressions of his sentiments contributed to the unrest experienced in the pueblo of Bacum[149] on the Río Yaqui. The Bishop of Durango[150] ordered the governor to go to this city [Durango] and remove him from his parish. After this diligencia was carried out, the governor received orders to deliver the aforementioned priest to the port of San Blas in the province of Nueva Galicia. As it turned out, however, he was unable to carry out those orders.

Captain Don Lorenzo Cancio sent word that on April 1, the alférez of the militia, Don Tadeo Padilla,[151] had captured in Las Cuevas Canyon a Lower Pima Indian who had been involved in the latest hostilities. Upon being questioned as to the whereabouts of his companions, he said that five of them were in the *real* of Sobia. After being secured, the Pima went with the soldiers to the *real,* where the

148. Durango was the seat of the government for the reino of Nueva Vizcaya.

149. Bacum is a Yaqui pueblo along the lower Río Yaqui in the eastern part of the *Hiakim,* or Yaqui homeland. *Vahkom* means 'lagoons' in Yaqui (Evers and Molina 1987). In Piman, a related Uto-Aztecan language, *bac* means 'wetlands'. The Jesuit mission of Santa Rosa de Bacum was established as a cabecera in 1617, with Espíritu Santo de Cócorit as a visita. It was secularized in 1767 after the expulsion of the Jesuits.

150. The Diocese at Durango was created in 1621 with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Sombrerete and Nieves in Nueva Galicia, Nombre de Dios, Sinaloa y Sonora, and New Mexico (Gerhard 1982:20). There was a gap in the succession of the bishops of Durango at the time this incident occurred. Pedro Tamarón Romeral served as bishop from 1758 until he died in 1768. His successor, José Vicente Díaz Bravo, was named in August 1769 and served from 1770 to 1772. Tamarón must therefore have been the bishop referred to here.

151. Padilla was in command of the militia at Alamos (Navarro García 1964:177).

soldiers captured three of the ones noted above. This precipitated a situation in which the rest of the Indian auxiliaries, at the urging of their governor, prepared to fight the alférez if he did not deliver the prisoners to them. At that time, other militiamen arrived. [The Indian auxiliaries] were surprised by the unexpected reinforcements and quickly took flight.

The four criminals were taken to the *real* of Los Alamos in order to have their official depositions taken. The first confessed to having been in the party that killed the priest from Baroyeca. The second said that he had served as a messenger to tell the enemies what the troops were doing, where they were, and where they could be attacked without risk of being punished. [He also confessed] that he was the first to stab the priest. The third was in the party that killed the Spaniards in Tepahui; and the fourth was the one who had led them.

They all affirmed that the enemies, sixty in number, were determined to launch a surprise attack on the *real* of Sobia. The Indians from the Cerro Prieto were going to join forces at the pass of San Blas with those from the pueblos of Buenavista, Suaqui, Cumuripa, Santa Rosalía, Movas, and Belén.[152] But the unexpected yet fortunate accident of having captured the four Indians caused the undertaking to disintegrate just when it seemed most certain. Experience has shown that the barbarians barely carry out one of the many things they discuss.

It was known that the Lower Pimas and Sibubapas had enough sympathizers in the pueblos [who] joined with them in committing evil deeds. But it was necessary to handle this subject with a great deal of finesse and careful consideration because it is natural for Indians, when convicted of a crime, to slander others, thereby sheltering their accomplices.

This has been the cause of the repeated misfortunes experienced in the province of Ostimuri. In addition to the preventive measures taken to contain the enemy's insults by forming squads of the area's vecinos, larger parties of troops had reconnoitered the entire circumference of the Cerro Prieto for three months, and from the southern part [of Cerro Prieto] to Buenavista. But they did not find a single track.

The governor and the colonel proceeded in accordance with the instructions of the junta de generales dated January 8, 1767, and the orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix, dated January 21 and February 18, 1769. In them, [the viceroy] ordered the governor and colonel to hear the rebels out if they requested a pardon. They proceeded in accordance [with these orders] and with all due caution so that at no time could the barbarians boast that they had been invited to make peace. Things proceeded with the care and caution outlined in the following chapter.

On March 21, the supreme government [the viceroy and his advisors in Mexico City] was informed that various crosses had been encountered in all four directions. Another two were discovered on April 1. [The supreme government was informed] of these repeated signs with which the Indians indicated their desire for peace. [They were also informed of] the frequent petitions of the Seri women prisoners—that if two of them were permitted to go in search of their nation, they would bring them in to render obedience.

The governor and the colonel convinced them [the viceroy and his advisors] to grant their request because there was no risk involved. Moreover, the [Seri] nation

152. These were all Lower Pima communities along or near the Río Yaqui.

had been the less evil and the most punished [of the rebels] since June of the previous year. In fact, 114 of its people had been killed or captured. This seemed to be a sufficient punishment to chastise them.

The wife of Crisanto, one of the most trustworthy Seri captains, and one of her friends were told that their repeated requests had touched the souls of both leaders to the point that they would grant them the desired permission to go and see their relatives. The women were told to say anything to them that they wished or that might be appropriate. They were told to tell their people that if they surrendered voluntarily, their proposals would be heard. And when they were advised of ours, if agreements could be reached, they would be settled in one place and given land. If not, they could return to their evil ways and the troops would continue to persecute them. They had already seen the king's superior forces, which would not cease to pursue them until they were exterminated.

The two women asked that they be given a sign of peace, as was customary. We replied that we neither requested or desired peace and therefore none would be given to them. They could go on their own if it interested or suited them. They left on March 30 on the condition that they return within ten days. They came back on April 9 with the aforementioned captain [Crisanto] and three other Indians. The first one carried a large cross, and they were all filled with dread while presenting themselves to the governor and the colonel. They fell on their knees trembling like quicksilver until they were assured that no harm would come to them. After this, they recovered their composure bit by bit. The captain spoke through an interpreter and said that his nation would come to live in tranquility and faithfulness if they were granted the favor of a pardon. This was given by the governor and the colonel.

[The governor and colonel] asked [Crisanto] how it was that the other captains did not come. He replied that they were very dispersed and even though he had dispatched four couriers, they had not been able to gather together. He said that since the time allotted to the women was running out, he came alone with his three companions. Two of them were supposed to go back and meet with the rest of the leaders so that they could be assured of the pardon and come in. In the meantime, he would stay in the garrison with the other Indian. [Crisanto] was interrogated about what motive obliged them to ask for peace with so many crosses. He replied that their lives were clearly and continually at risk. [They] were so agitated that they did not enjoy even an hour of peace or security at seeing themselves pursued on every hand. What saddened him most was seeing the soldiers scale the heights of the Cerro Prieto, which had never been seen before. Ever since the attack in La Palma Canyon, they had realized that they could not defend themselves. That day they all thought they would die.

The two Indians [who had come with Crisanto], left on [March] tenth and returned to the garrison on the eighteenth with three families, two additional men, and the oldest son of Captain Crisanto. [They] said that they had not found the others. [But they did find] a brother of Captain Marcos, who told them that he would go look for his brother and gather his people together so that they could surrender as soon as Crisanto came to find them. For this purpose, Crisanto left on April 20, leaving his wife and four children as hostages.

Considering the cruel killings and robberies that these barbarians have so inhumanely committed, it would seem preferable to exterminate them by force of arms so as to prevent a recurrence. Humanity persuades one to pardon these of-

fenses, however, because there is hope of correction. Besides, while it may not be impossible to achieve their extermination, it would take a very long time. The barbarians have developed a system of dispersing into small bands and wandering around throughout the rugged places of a very large region. Thus, they are able to cover much ground, subsist more easily, and flee with less hindrance.

On April 21, the justicia mayor of the province of Ostimuri was informed that a party of enemies had attacked the hacienda of Taboca. They had killed three servants, wounded others, and robbed and ransacked the houses of those who were away from the hacienda. [Having] learned of these misfortunes, [the justicia mayor] dispatched twenty-three vecinos and eighteen Indian auxiliaries in pursuit, all of them well armed. They arrived at the pueblo of Mochicahui just after the enemies had left. The enemies had fought with the few Indians who lived there and killed five of them. They also mortally wounded the *fiscal* of the pueblo and entered the church on horseback and ransacked it. They tore the clothes off of the images without our people being able to prevent it. Nevertheless, [our people] defended themselves well and killed one enemy. The party [of vecinos and Indian auxiliaries] followed the enemies' trail and found them on a hill next to the pasture of Conicari. They dismounted and attacked, but the enemies fled and it was only possible to retrieve twenty-four stolen horses.

On May 8, 1769, the illustrious Don José de Gálvez, who had just disembarked in the bay of Santa Bárbara[153] on the coast of the southern sea near the Río Yaqui, sent three copies of an edict to Governor Don Juan de Pineda to be posted in the troops' quarters and in the province of Sonora. The content of the edict is as follows:

> Don José de Gálvez, of the council and *cámara* of the Indies, intendant of the Army of America, visitor general of all the tribunals of justice and the royal treasury, its offices and branches, of these kingdoms of New Spain, commissioned with the broadest powers that His Majesty has vested in his most excellent lord, the Marqués de Croix, governor and captain general of the same kingdoms.
>
> I declare to all the inhabitants of the provinces of Sinaloa y Sonora that I have disembarked in your district for the primary purpose, among others that have brought me here, of providing for your tranquility and common good, which have been disturbed and destroyed by the Seri and Pima enemies. [They have] committed the greatest cruelties and excesses, [committing crimes] of high treason against God and man. In the name of God and the king, I make known to them through this edict the most evident and final proof of the sovereign piety with which Both Majesties will hear and accept true repentance, even from the most guilty. I fix and grant the peremptory period of forty days, starting today, in which all the rebels or their leaders can present themselves to me at the *real* of Alamos. [There they may] surrender themselves of their own free will, as they ought to do, to our lord the king. They should beg for pardon under the conditions that I will impose in his royal name. [This edict] will serve as a guarantee of safe conduct. I have dispatched this edict via special couriers to be posted in the principal pueblos and army garrisons of both

153. Santa Bárbara was located near the mouth of the Río Mayo.

provinces. [This measure will] warn the military leaders to suspend military operations and just revenge through the force of arms for the forty days.

At the same time, I make it known and declare to those same Seri and Pima enemies that if they persist in their rebellion and commit any hostilities within the defined period of time, or do not come before me, as I have ordered and admonished them to do, the day of their total ruin will soon come, and they will receive the exemplary punishment they deserve for their many and sacrilegious crimes. I will immediately order that they be treated with all the rigors of war and that none of them be given quarter or have their lives spared. Even though there are now more than enough forces and weapons among the troops that are already in Sonora to exterminate them, I will augment their numbers considerably with all of His Majesty's loyal vassals throughout the vast expanses of both provinces. I will come personally to all parts [of the provinces] to make them experience the severity of justice so that they may realize, although late, that they cannot hide themselves from or avoid the blows from the supreme power of the kings of heaven and earth that threaten them. With this knowledge, I also exhort and command all loyal vassals, whether they be Spaniards or Indians, to prepare themselves to go out on campaign at my first notice in case the enemies do not surrender within the amount of time that I have fixed. After that time passes, I will not hear them nor will I withdraw until they are exterminated. No memory of them will remain because it will have perished by blood and gunfire, as happened two years ago with those who paid for their treason with the ultimate punishment.

Given on May 8, 1769, in the bay of Santa Bárbara. Don José Gálvez.

By command of his most illustrious [lordship]. Don Juan Manuel Viniegra.[154]

Suspecting that the enemies intended to attack the *real* of Sobia, a presidial lieutenant with twenty-five soldiers of the same troop was dispatched to reconnoiter the places of San Marcial and El Tambor. They also made their way through the pueblo of Cumuripa to [the pueblo] of Buenavista with the idea of reinforcing this presidio [of Buenavista] in order to have enough troops to punish [the enemies]. They are waiting to see whether their proposal is approved.

On May 9, Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza returned with his detachment without achieving any success other than having seized three captive boys. One was a Spaniard and the other two were Indians. They were found caring for twenty-five horses on the slopes of the Cerro Prieto.

The Spanish boy understood the Pima language well because he had been a captive for six years. He reported that that nation [the Pimas] were very angry with the Seris because the latter wished to make peace. They [the Pimas] would rather see the bones of their kinsmen scattered on the [canyon] slopes than imitate them. The troops would find them there whenever they went to look for them. [The boy] also assured them that many of the two nations had been killed, both in battles and from the wounds they received therein. After the attack in La Palma Canyon, they spent four days on the rugged heights of the Cerro [Prieto] dying of hunger. They did not dare to come down until they observed the dust

154. Viniegra was Gálvez's secretary during this expedition and later became a severe critic of his (Navarro García 1964:144).

cloud raised by the troops as they left their camp at the water hole for the garrison of Pitic. These barbarians willingly prefer the greatest hardships to obtain their liberty than to be subject to anyone.

Twenty-one families of Seris had settled in the vicinity of the garrison of Pitic. The same day that the edict of the most illustrious Don José de Gálvez was received, the Indian who acted as governor presented himself to Governor Don Juan de Pineda and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo. He said that the Piato and Sibubapa nations had sent a message to Captain Marcos warning him not to make peace because the Spaniards wanted to gather all [the enemies] together to hang the captains. The rest would be conducted to the "houses of water," which are the ships, to be thrown into the sea so they could never return to their lands. Kinsmen in the pueblo had heard this said to those of reason [non-Indians].

It cost both leaders [Pineda and Elizondo] inexpressible labor to calm these barbarians and persuade them to the contrary. On our part, [envoys] went to tell Marcos not to believe the Piatos and to take advantage of the favorable occasion of the pardon.

This very malicious and false suggestion made such an impression in the hearts of the Seris that they suspended their carefully thought out determination [to make peace]. But when they saw that [the troops] did not carry out the slightest amount of damage in the country, they took that as a proof of good faith. It was so effective that Crisanto and his companions even offered to guide the troops.

When the term of the pardon came to an end, the most illustrious [José de Gálvez] prolonged it at the request of some rebels of the Sibubapa nation. With their governor, Diego, they presented themselves in the *real* of Alamos to His Lordship the visitor, soliciting pardon for their nation. They obtained it after the most illustrious [visitor] entertained them. They went to the pueblo of Belén, but they did not stay there very long and their promise did not have any effect.

Eighty men from the garrisons of Pitic and Guaymas were dispatched because of a disturbance among the Indians of the *villa* of El Fuerte[155] and its surroundings. A few days later, the most illustrious [José de Gálvez] requested one hundred more. They were commanded by Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo, who on the day after he received the order began the march with the requested soldiers. On the third day of traveling, however, he received an express [order] from the most illustrious [Gálvez] to return to quarters because the rebels had been pacified.

When the Seri and Sibubapa nations feign the most fidelity, the greatest falsehood is experienced. The first ones [the Seris], while in the vicinity of the garrison of Pitic made an outward show of surrendering, then absented themselves a great distance away. The second ones [the Sibubapas] left to join with the Piato nation. An old Seri man gave this news on July 26 after slipping away to live with two sons and some grandchildren he had among the Indians who were living in peace with Captain Crisanto.

On the twenty-fifth of that month [July], Governor Don Juan de Pineda was overcome by fits of apoplexy and paralysis. Even though he partly recovered, one leg remained crippled. [The governor] was hindered by fatigue because he could not ride a horse.

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155. El Fuerte lies along the Río Fuerte in northern Sinaloa. In the early 1600s, a detachment of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa built a fort among the Cáhita speakers there, giving the community its name.

On [July] 27, two Seri Indians presented themselves in Pitic. One of them spoke good Spanish. Because he had been an acolyte at a mission of the expelled priests [the Jesuits], he exercised in his nation the functions of a priest; they called upon him for their baptisms and marriages. They [the two Seris] were asked whether they came as envoys of Captain Marcos or in order to remain there. They responded that [they had come] for neither of those reasons. They came only to see their kinsmen and then return. But the old man had already informed [us] of the bad faith of this nation, and Crisanto did not want the two to linger because they were very wicked. He removed them with a squad under his authority without allowing them to speak with anyone of their nation [the Seris]. He also informed them that even though the pardon had ended, he was letting them go free so they could see the kindness with which the king treated them despite the deceit with which they proceeded. Nevertheless, soon they would experience the rigor of justice. [He also told them] to let all of their nation know that no one should come here without receiving pardon first. Otherwise they would immediately be hung.

A few days after the extension of the pardon expired, Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza set out with forty dragoons and an equal number of presidial soldiers. While encamped on July 31, about eleven in the morning, one of the four Seris [Anza] took as guides captured a Piato Indian woman and brought her to the captain. She told him that her nation and that of the Sibubapas were camped in the canyon of a high and rugged hill near the ocean, which they could see from there. She offered to guide the troops there if they did not punish her, and the captain ordered her to do so.

The captain noticed that some enemies had passed by the camp and feared discovery because they were so close. Despite the fact that it was not the time of the day for a surprise attack, [Anza] determined not to lose the opportunity to gain an advantage. He headed for the canyon with sixty men and arrived there about midday. The troops dismounted and advanced, but immediately discovered that the enemies had climbed up the hill. Despite their larger numbers and the advantages of terrain [that the Indians possessed], however, the troops followed them with great vigor. But the enemies fled with even greater vigor; their flight was so precipitous that they left quivers in the trees, some tracks of blood, and two small children on the side of the hill. [The troops] recovered the two children and eight quivers with bows and arrows. Seeing that [the enemies] had abandoned the hill and made their way to [hills] of greater elevation, [Anza] desisted from pursuing them because he realized it would be impossible to catch up with them. The troops descended to the ranchería and found it contained all the things the Indians' poverty allowed, including many stores of seeds for their nourishment. [Anza] ordered the seeds burned so [the enemies] could not return to recover them or secure new provisions with the ease and tranquility with which they gathered them during the time of the pardon. The troops also found eighteen horses, which were the only ones they had.

The following day the detachment headed for the estuaries in search of the Seri nation. Not finding them there, [the detachment] moved on to reconnoiter Monte Tenuaje, where it found two rebel Seris near the thicket. The troops immediately killed both of them. One of them was the one named Padre, who was mentioned before. The cries of the two alerted the ranchería of Captain Marcos, which was very close by. They fled into the thicket. And even though [the troops] pursued them on foot and [the Seris] at first fired arrows at them, they penetrated

[the thicket] with precipitous flight. Only one other rebel was found, killed by a musket ball. From the thicket, Captain Marcos shouted to Crisanto, threatening to kill him for guiding the Spaniards. [Crisanto] replied that he would kill both Marcos and his companions because of their deceitfulness and unwillingness to take advantage of the pardon. The detachment returned to the garrison of Pitic on August 18.

The detachment that departed for Bacoachi on August 14 under the command of Captain Don Juan Bergosa discovered enemy tracks on the seventeenth. [The tracks] were heading toward the Sierra de Buenavista to the north. [The detachment] followed the tracks, and found one Indian on the nineteenth. A little while later, they discovered a Piato ranchería between the sierra and Cieneguilla. [The enemies] took flight, so it was necessary to attack them on the run. Seeing that they were being overtaken, they prepared to defend themselves using some trees for protection, but they were immediately beaten. Twenty-three persons of both sexes were killed, and three women and eight children were taken prisoner, together with twenty horses.

The captain of this ranchería, called Naspre, was the most gallant of the Indians of his nation, as he demonstrated in his barbarous defense. With his shin bone shattered from a pistol shot, he supported himself on his other leg and fired arrows with such ardor that he wounded two soldiers from the presidio and killed the horse of a dragoon. As soon as he dismounted, another [dragoon] pierced his chest with a musket shot and he [Naspre] fell dead. The troops suffered the wounding of the two aforementioned dragoons as well as two others. Two horses of the dragoons also were killed. Among the things found in the ranchería were the crucifix, the veil covering the chalice [*paño de sol*],[156] and a piece of the cassock of the priest from Baroyeca whom the enemies had killed at the beginning of the year. After this incident, the detachment started back, passing by the estuaries, the wells of Garambullos, Monte Cenizo, the entrances to the launching places for Tiburón Island, and Monte Tenuaje. They found no sign of the enemies and returned to the garrison of Pitic on August 26.

During the month of September, [troops led by José de Gálvez] set out from the *real* of Alamos for the garrison of Pitic. En route to the presidio of Buenavista, however, some of them came down with fevers, and it was necessary to halt until they recovered. Despite these illnesses, however, [Gálvez] did not stop taking steps [to demonstrate] his indefatigable zeal and love of the royal service. He gathered food supplies and increased the troops with both disengaged provincial companies and Indian auxiliaries for his proposed invasion of Cerro Prieto. His goal was to have as many forces as possible in order to exterminate the rebels.

After the health of the troops improved somewhat, they set out again and reached the garrison of Pitic at the beginning of October. [Gálvez] immediately gave priority to preparations for the expedition of the troops. He did so because of reports given to him by the Sibubapa Indians, which his subtle skill inspired. [Posing] as fugitives, [these Sibubapas] insinuated themselves into the rancherías of their kinsmen. After investigating them, they returned to report on the disposition of [the enemies] and their daily activities. [The Sibubapa spies] also gave individual reports about the locations where the enemies were camped. [Gálvez] im-

156. The *paño de sol,* literally 'cloth of sun', was a veil covering the chalice, the ciborium, or perhaps the monstrance. All of these sacred vessels held the Eucharist.

mediately ordered that the preparation of supplies be speeded up and that the troops prepare themselves. The day before the departure of the expedition, however, two of the five Sibubapas who had come to serve as guides disappeared. The colonel [Elizondo] feared that they had gone to warn their kinsmen of the troops' movements. He advised the most illustrious [José de Gálvez] to delay their departure for a number of days, but [Gálvez] had great confidence in the loyalty of the two who disappeared and would not allow himself to be persuaded to postpone the expedition. He therefore ordered the expedition to begin on the seventeenth [of October]. To that end, the colonel formulated the plan of attack that follows:

Plan and detail of the troops and Indian auxiliaries, divided into four columns, for the planned invasion of the mountains of the Cerro Prieto on October 19 and 20, 1769:

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
First Column							
Commander: General Commander, Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo							
Canyon They Should Attack: Arroyo							
Troops or Corps							
Spain	1	2	1	2	60	–	
Mexico	1	1	–	1	28	88	
Presidios	1	1	–	–	56	56	
Opata Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	150	150	
Total							294
Second Column							
Commander: Sargento Mayor Don Mathías Armona							
Canyon They Should Attack: Palma							
Troops or Corps							
Mexico	–	2	2	2	44	44	
Fusiliers	–	1	–	1	36	36	
Presidios	1	1	1	–	55	55	
Pima Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	120	
Total							255
Third Column							
Commander: Captain Don Diego Peirán							
Canyon They Should Attack: Loreto							
Troops or Corps							
America	1	1	1	1	30	30	
Volunteers	1	–	1	2	55	55	
Presidio	1	1	–	–	50	50	
Yaqui Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	100	
Total							230 [235]

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Fourth Column							
Commander: Captain Don Gabriel de Vildósola							
Canyon They Should Attack: Cosari							
Troops or Corps							
Spain	–	1	–	–	20	20	
Fusiliers	1	–	1	3	60	60	
Presidios	1	1	2	–	57	57	
Yaqui Indian Auxiliaries	–	–	–	–	–	150	
Total							287

Orders which the commanders of the columns in the preceding detail should observe:

Tomorrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, the troops from the first three divisions will begin their march to the camp of Aguaje. The fourth will leave from Guaymas directly for its destination.

The La Palma and the Loreto divisions will arrive with precision at their respective canyons on the night of the eighteenth of this month [October]. The commander of the second division will lead all of his horses, tied together, with the fifty Yaqui Indians he takes along for this purpose. [He will] join the first division at the Laguna de la Burra on the afternoon of the nineteenth. The third division will leave its supply train and its horseherd in Loreto Canyon and will proceed into it.

The Arroyo and Cosari divisions will enter the sierra on the night of the nineteenth.

The troops from each division should ascend the mountain range with enough *pinole* and jerky for four days. Each soldier's bota should contain as much water as he can carry, since it is impractical to bring supplies up with pack animals.

The principal objective is to occupy the heights of the four canyons by daybreak of the twentieth, and to observe, reconnoiter, and if the enemies are discovered, attack them. With this in mind, each commander will proceed with the careful attention his proven zeal and conduct demands, governed by the dictates of his prudence and military expertise.

Whenever the rebels are pressed on all four sides they usually take refuge—according to some of the [Indians] who have surrendered—in the highest part of the mountain range called La Mesa or Peñol Grande. This will be the central point where all of the columns should reunite, each one led by its guide if none of them find or discover the enemies. But in case [signs of the enemies] are found, the column may follow their tracks as it wishes. If all of the enemies are found and more troops are needed to block their escape, three rounds should be fired, with an interval between each one. The closest column will come as quickly as possible to the place where the sign was given to offer assistance. The others will go toward it as well, as long as they do not have a more pressing objective.

If any commander should receive sure word that the rebels have abandoned the Cerro, he will fire the three rounds twice, with the same interval in between. In this case, each column will descend down its respective canyon to where it entered, following the terrain that is the most convenient and least troublesome

for the horses, and then follow the enemies' trail. The division that finds them will send word to the colonel, terrain permitting, and the columns that do not have accurate information about the direction of the enemies' travel will go down Cosari Canyon, with the exception of the column in Loreto Canyon, which should go directly to it.

No column will descend the mountain range, except in the case anticipated in the previous resolution, until the four days of provisions are gone or unless they see or hear eight shots fired at intervals, two at a time.

Each division will leave four men and one cabo with the horses along with some Indian auxiliaries. The Cosari [Canyon division] will leave their [horses in the same canyon], and the La Palma and Arroyo [divisions will bring their horses] to join them.

The commanders will instruct their officers, troops, and auxiliaries to capture, if possible, a live Indian man or woman to inform them about the whereabouts of the enemies, threatening them with death if they do not tell the truth.

As a general rule, no quarter will be given to any rebel except to the young. In case several of these or some women are captured, the commander will see that they are brought under guard to the place where the provisions are located.

Pitic, October 16, 1769.
Don Domingo Elizondo.

Diary of the events surrounding the invasion of the Cerro Prieto as a result of the preceding order.

The four columns entered the respective canyons to which they had been assigned on the eighteenth and nineteenth [of October]. Thus, at dawn on the twentieth, they arrived at the places where the rebels were thought to be camped—as, indeed, they had been. However, the rebels had been warned of the troops' movements from the two Suaqui[157] Indians who had previously come down in peace and then fled the day before the troops left their respective garrisons. [The enemies] had moved their rancherías two days before the troops arrived, thus frustrating the expected success. Nevertheless, the four columns continued their march toward the rendezvous point, following the orders detailed above. [The rendezvous point] was the peak where the enemies had always felt most secure because it is in the very heart of the mountain range and is its highest elevation.

The division under the command of Don Mathías de Armona arrived at the base of said peak at twelve o'clock on the twentieth. On the summit, or mesa, he discovered a small group of thirty or forty rebels. He immediately occupied positions to prevent their escape, and sent word to Don Diego Peirán, who was on the opposite side of the peak, to do the same so that they could trap them. But [Peirán] did not receive the message until after five o'clock in the afternoon. He got as close as he could before nightfall, when he halted so as not to expose the soldiers to the dangers of the precipices. He also considered that at night, when it was possible to attack, there was a greater risk of confusion. These thoughts caused him to defer the march until daybreak of [October] twenty-first, at which time he began to advance. However, he found that the enemy had abandoned the place

157. Lower Pimas from the pueblo of Suaqui, which lies along the Río Tecoripa south of Tecoripa.

that same night without being noticed because of the rugged terrain and the considerable circumference of the peak.

[The troops] discovered an Indian on the summit and fired three shots which killed him. They found that he was an old man who could not follow his companions. The divisions under the colonel and Don Gabriel de Vildósola, which had joined up by chance that morning, thought that these three shots were the signal. [The colonel] chose 270 of the strongest and most agile men from both columns and ordered them to go with Captain Don Juan José Bergosa as quickly as possible to the aforementioned peak. Even though they started out at seven o'clock in the morning and [the peak] was not more than a league away as the crow flies, it took them all day to get there. They had to descend into a deep valley and immediately climb a considerable distance to reach the peak.

In route, they found two small abandoned rancherías and an old man who knew only that the people had left two days before. He was so decrepit that he could not even move. Even though the commander left him behind, the Indian auxiliaries, who were acting as a rear guard, killed him. Presently, they found an Indian woman, whom they seized. She said she was a captive from the Yaqui nation. She informed them that the enemies were few in number and that they had left the Cerro. The Seris were determined to go to Tiburón Island, the Sibubapas to the Sierra de los Pilares, and the Piatos to join up with Captain Vipici, who always camped far from Pitic toward the west.

The three divisions therefore found themselves united but without an objective. They reconnoitered some valleys and ravines all day on the twenty-first [of October]. Because of the scarcity of provisions, however, and the impossibility of getting more without [leaving the Cerro], the three commanders decided to descend via Loreto Canyon. It was the closest and the one which contained the provisions of the column that had entered that way.

With the remainder of his column and that of Don Gabriel de Vildósola, the colonel turned back and descended via Cosari Canyon. He collected the pack animals and horses that had been left there. These he distributed to the troops and Indian auxiliaries so that they could lead them. After difficult and tedious toil, the troops began their march down the big wash of the same gorge and exited through La Palma Canyon. They continued on to Cara Pintada Canyon without stopping. At its mouth, they received word from Don Mathías de Armona that the [other] three divisions had come down Loreto Canyon on the twenty-third. Upon hearing this, [the colonel] set out on the afternoon of that same day and rejoined the rest of the [troops] on October 24.

Don Diego Peirán's division encountered seven enemies and two women who were on a hill. Six of them died in the volley, and a man and a woman fled.

According to the tracks the troops found, the enemies who had been on the hill were going toward the Rincón de Marcos. To leave no doubt of our desire to pursue them, three hundred men were provisioned for four days, all volunteers from both the troops and the Indian auxiliaries. They repeated the invasion of the mountain range, in whose heights they encountered the tracks of the Sibubapas. [They also found that they had been] deceived. [After] following the tracks for one day, they discovered that the Indians had left the mountains by way of the Rincón de Marcos and were on their way to the Sierra de los Pilares. A detachment was dispatched in pursuit under the command of the captain of the presidio of

Buenavista. He was ordered to reconnoiter the Sierra de los Pilares on his way, but he found no sign of them in any of its canyons.

The rest of the troops continued to scout the sierra. They arrived at Cosari Canyon on the twenty-sixth [of October], where they joined forces with the three hundred men who had gone back to invade the mountain range. They left [the mountain range] by way of the aforementioned pasturage of the Rincón de Marcos. On the twenty-seventh, the entire troop camped at the water hole and at the plaza de armas on the twenty-eighth. [They] arrived at the garrison of Pitic on the twenty-ninth.

Based on the information the captive woman provided, the Piatos were supposed to have gone to Monte Tenuaje. A detachment of sixty men and a captain from the Guaymas garrison were sent to reconnoiter the area. They returned on the thirtieth [of October] with nothing to report.

It is regrettable and lamentable that all the care, persistence, vigilance, and fatigue have not been sufficient to confront the enemies. They understand that concealment and flight are the only ways to avoid perishing at the hands of the soldiers. The only thing accomplished on this occasion was to see the enemies abandon the rugged places of the Cerro [Prieto], whose cragginess and precipices are difficult to describe. The same could be said of the spirit of the troops in the endurance of their labors. For example, the column that penetrated La Palma Canyon overcame immense distances, crags, and heights. The column that penetrated Cosari Canyon traveled in water above their knees for two leagues. After leaving their horses at nine o'clock in the evening, the column in Arroyo Canyon remained in the canyon and did not return until seven the next morning.

Until this general invasion, most of the rugged places of this mountain range remained unknown. Those who spoke about it the most had only seen the mouths and flat places of its canyons. During the two previous invasions, when the troops entered through La Palma and Cara Pintada Canyons, they acquainted themselves largely with their heights. During the current invasion, however, they realized that there was infinitely more to be seen. [The soldiers] examined all the innermost recesses and heights of the mountain range, which form a labyrinth of high and inconceivable hills. [These hills are] independent of one another with successive descents to each of the ravines that form in the bottomlands, as well as ascents to the high crests. On some of these peaks, the barbarians had some small plantings of maize and squash, which [the soldiers] destroyed.

On the aforementioned mesa or peak [Peñol Grande], about one hundred *ollas* of water and a great deal of cooked mescal[158] were also found. [The enemies had placed those provisions there] to sustain themselves in their defense of the peak, which they proclaimed they would do when they were on its summit. But as soon as they saw the troops, they abandoned their enterprise and fled under the cover of darkness. The Sibubapa nation did the same. They were camped in Arroyo [Canyon], the one the first column entered. They fled two days before the troops arrived as soon as they learned the [soldiers] were coming.

The [enemies'] flight dissipated all our hopes of exterminating these pirates. Success was beyond doubt if they could have been pressed into a confrontation,

158. The energy-rich caudices of various species of agave were baked in rock-lined pits. Mescal was a staple food of Indians throughout the Greater Southwest, including the Seris and Pimas.

which they have avoided since the [encounter] at La Palma Canyon. As soon as they see the troops, whether there are many or few, these savages think only of saving themselves, even if the terrain is to their advantage or they have greater numbers. They do so by scattering across all the vast territory over which they roam. In light of this, it will be necessary to alter the method of operations. Because they no longer will jeopardize their liberty by risking a military engagement, it will be necessary to search for them group by group and with small detachments to see whether any advantage can be gained by pursuing them continuously in every part of their territory. Or, upon seeing themselves harassed, they may ask for a pardon. [Otherwise], exterminating them will require a great deal of time because they are scattered over the countryside and are hidden in the roughest mountain ranges.

When the colonel returned to Pitic on the twenty-ninth [of October], he discovered that the most illustrious lord visitor [José de Gálvez] had gone to the mission of Ures twelve leagues from that garrison. Seized with a sudden illness, he hoped to recuperate there in the quietness of a place far from so many pressing matters.[159] [Elizondo] went to that pueblo [Ures] to inform him of what had happened during the invasion of the Cerro [Prieto] on October 18 and 19.

During the preceding invasion of the Cerro [Prieto], it was learned that few rebels were there, and according to the trail of their tracks and the reports of the Yaqui woman, they had abandoned it. For that reason, the governor and colonel, desiring success, decided it would be useful to hold a meeting of the captains to ponder the best form of war to follow in the future actions against the rebels. At the end of the meeting, it was resolved by unanimous vote that, since everyone believed that the [rebels] had abandoned the Cerro [Prieto], they should be pursued incessantly in various directions by small and successive detachments. This resolution was put into practice on November 13, when three [detachments] of fifty men left with the objective of exterminating the enemies or forcing the obstinate ones to beg for pardon, even if took a long time.

The continued indisposition of the most illustrious [José de Gálvez] delayed his decision on matters occurring in the provinces and with the expedition. Those matters had to be left in the care of Governor Don Juan de Pineda and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo, just as they had been before the arrival of the most illustrious [José de Gálvez]. He entrusted them with the sole and principal objective of eliminating all those expenses that were not necessary and indispensable, because of the limited funds that existed for the war. To that end, both leaders agreed that it was necessary to send various militia companies, who had been located near the garrisons of Guaymas and Pitic by order of the most illustrious [José de Gálvez], back to their homes. They did so because of the excessive expenses occasioned by their daily pay and rations as well as because they were no longer needed. They therefore were retired from active duty at the end of November. All the Indian auxiliaries were retired from active duty for the same reason.

159. Gálvez suffered a nervous breakdown during his ambitious inspection of northern New Spain.

Letter written by Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo to His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy, on December 13.

> As soon as the most illustrious Don José de Gálvez arrived at this garrison, he told me to expend the utmost effort on a general invasion of the Cerro Prieto, in order to exterminate the body of rebels. If that was not achieved, it would be necessary to retire the veteran troops from active duty in early December because of a lack of funds to sustain the expedition. The zeal and love of the royal service that I so justly profess, along with the honor of its forces and my own, encourage and require me to inform Your Excellency about what I know about the administration of this war. If it is resolved not to continue [the war], some new incident may originate among the natives of these provinces. I base this on the fact that the Indians govern themselves more by what they see and by the habits that experience produces in them than by reasons that capture their understanding. Thus, if other nations much more numerous than the rebellious ones see that their audacity has triumphed and has not been completely punished, it is dreadful [to think] that, guided by such a bad example, they will want to follow in the rebels' footsteps. They will shake off the gentle yoke of obedience to their sovereign, just as those along the Río Fuerte recently tried to do. With your great intelligence, Your Excellency can infer the doleful consequences that could result from such [a state of affairs]. With this intelligence, along with the fact that the number of rebels has greatly declined, Your Excellency will resolve the best [course] as always.

As a result of the accord reached during the meeting of captains, the three detachments set forth and returned at the beginning of December after a broad sweep. That of Don Miguel Gallo did not encounter the slightest novelty. That of Don Juan José Bergosa found only two Indian men. One was killed and the other fled in a balsa to Tiburón Island. [Bergosa's detachment] also took five women and four children prisoner. [The detachment] of Juan Bautista de Anza discovered a ranchería of Piatos after dark. Fearing that they would be heard, and to keep the Indians from fleeing, [the detachment] attacked on foot with very intense gunfire. Seventeen people of both sexes and all ages died from the gunfire, and [the detachment] captured a woman with ten children. Three Indians in a small thicket nearby saw the captain reconnoitering and shot arrows at him. They were so close they could have touched him, but only one [arrow] wounded him, glancing across his cheek. He immediately discharged his pistol and the Indians disappeared into the thicket. But on the following morning, [the soldiers] found the heavily bloodstained bow and arrows of one of them. Without a doubt, [the Indian] was wounded.

Four days ago, the captain of this ranchería and eleven Indians had left to supply themselves with meat because this was a country where there were many wild cattle. The following day, notwithstanding the captain's wound, [the detachment] followed the trail, and on the second day of the march, it encountered the eleven aforementioned Indians. Because the horses were tired, as were the troops, they were able to catch up with only two, whom they killed. [The troops] also seized twenty-two loose horses that were grazing, and two cargas of dried meat.

Eighty Upper Pima auxiliaries were returning to their fields and were going to pass near the Sierra del Purgatorio, where there was a report of a small ranchería of

Piatos. Therefore, an officer and twenty presidial soldiers went with them in order to attack [the ranchería]. When they came to the place where they had to leave the camino real, the auxiliaries said that they could not go on [with the soldiers] because they lacked supplies. For that reason, only the captain [of the auxiliaries] and five Indians followed [the troops]. Finding enemy tracks in a broad wash at the edge of the sierra, the officer continued on with fifteen soldiers and six auxiliaries. On December 8, they attacked the enemy ranchería, which fled immediately. Both [the troops and the ranchería] retired to a terrace [*tercera*] located at the upper end of the wash.

Upon seeing there were more than sixty enemies who had already gained the heights on both sides of the wash, [the soldiers], so few in number, decided it was necessary to retreat. But even though they defended themselves with the greatest valor, they were exhausted because of the distance they had walked, the heaviness of their leather armor, and the distance they still had to cover to reach their horses. The enemies attacked with such ardor that they killed seven soldiers. With all this misfortune, the officer and those who remained defended their retreat with the greatest courage until they gained the mouth of the wash defended by the five soldiers who were with the horses, who came to their assistance. Together they stood firm, and the enemies retreated. For that reason, they mounted and left for the plain, where they held their ground, waiting for the relief they had asked for from the presidio of Altar and the garrison of Pitic. But even though two detachments of fifty men set forth on forced marches from this one [Altar], and another [detachment] of thirty from that one [Pitic] to attack the mountain range through the two exits it has, the enemies had already abandoned it. Therefore, both [groups of soldiers] retreated.

On December 7, a detachment of sixty men under the command of the captain of the dragoons, Don Manuel de Medina, set forth from the garrison of Pitic. It reconnoitered the Sierra de los Pilares and [the Sierra] Bacatete. It returned on the nineteenth with nothing to report other than having discovered two enemies at the entrance of a thicket. [The soldiers] killed their horses, and the [Indians] hid themselves within it.

On the ninth [of December], the captain of the presidio, Don José Antonio de Vildósola, left the garrison of Guaymas with twenty mounted soldiers of the infantry and twenty presidial soldiers. After four days of marching, they encountered twenty enemies, thirteen women, and some children who were gathering *bledo* seeds.[160] As soon as they discovered them and saw that they were already clambering up a hill, the captain with twelve men of the presidio dismounted and followed them. [The enemies] formed rank and faced them, but [the troops] forced them to retreat with their gunfire. That gave the twenty men from the infantry time to leave their horses and climb up the side of the hill to the summit without being seen. While the enemies were fighting with those of the presidio, the infantry fired a volley. And even though [the enemies] faced them and defended themselves under the shelter of the dense thicket, they could not endure the gunfire because it did them great harm. The few that remained therefore descended the hill, leaving behind their dead and wounded in the brush.

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160. *Bledo* is a Spanish term for wild annual greens, particularly amaranth, which grow after spring and summer rains.

Seeing them descend, the captain mounted and followed them with the swiftness of a horse race. Six rebels, along with some women and children, fled across the plain. [The captain] caught up with them and killed them [the six rebels], capturing three women and five children. [The prisoners] reported that of the twenty aforementioned Indian men, only three managed to escape along with some women, who hid themselves in the denseness of the thicket. They also reported that there was not a single Piato or Seri in the Cerro Prieto, only the band of Tomás, captain of the Sibubapas. The twenty aforementioned Indians had descended to gather seeds because they suffered great hunger in the Cerro [Prieto]. This action took place between Cosari and Ana María Canyons.

A few days after the two aforesaid detachments returned, information was received that the enemies had returned to Aguaje Canyon in the Sierra del Purgatorio, forty leagues north of Pitic. On December 25, two detachments set forth from that garrison to attack them from the front and rear at an appropriate hour. The same day another detachment [left] for the south to search for the Sibubapas. It was guided by Crisanto, governor of the Seris who had surrendered. The first two [detachments] reconnoitered said canyon and mountain range and did not find a single enemy. [The detachment] under the command of Don Juan Bautista de Anza carried two horses per man, so the men changed horses and continued to reconnoiter the Sierra de la Jojoba, returning without any news. [The detachment] of Captain Don Juan José Bergosa, which returned from Aguaje Canyon to the garrison of Pitic by the Arroyo de los Tobos, fought with a small ranchería of Seris. It was composed of six men, among them the famous Captain Chepillo, who was killed immediately. But the other five were not seen because they had left to go hunting. One woman and two boys twelve or thirteen years old were killed in the gunfire. Nine children of both sexes were taken prisoner along with four women.

[The detachment] under the command of Captain Don Vicente Moreno attacked a ranchería of Seris in an estuary located within a rough thicket. [The Seris] hid themselves within it so quickly while [the soldiers] were dismounting that they were able to catch up with only seven children of both sexes. A trail of blood was seen, a sign that some of them had been wounded in the musket fire. Afterwards, they continued their foray through Monte Tenuaje and the Cerro del Tanuco, where they saw four Piatos, who fled so precipitously that they left behind their arrows and ten horses. It was not possible to catch up with them. This method that has been taken to search for the enemies, which is group by group and with small detachments, is not the quickest, but it is the most effective. Through it, he [Elizondo] thought that the desired end would certainly be achieved—to exterminate or reduce the enemies.

The Year 1770

On November 26, 1768, His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix ordered that Monte Tenuaje be set on fire in order to deprive the enemies of the secure refuge of its impenetrability. On January 7, 1770, [Croix] reiterated his order to burn all the thickets in which the rebels took refuge. In response to both orders, the inconveniences of such a practice were set forth on January [date missing] 1769. His Most Excellent Lord agreed with them at that time. [When the viceroy] issued the second resolution, another reply was sent on March 20, 1770. It said that all of the vast area over which the enemy wandered was a desert and,

in general, covered with impenetrable brush. If the thickets were set on fire, the grasses within them would certainly be burned as well, and the fire would spread to the plains, causing serious problems. The horses would not have any food because [these grasses] are the only thing upon which they feed. Without grass for the horses to eat, the troops would remain inactive because they would be unable to go out on campaign.[161]

Monte Tenuaje is much larger than we thought. If all of the enemies who had been dislodged on September 19, 1768, returned to take refuge there, it would certainly be burned. But these barbarians think it is a bad omen to camp in the same place where they have been defeated, regardless of the great advantages which the terrain offers. The proof of this is that since that time, no large groups have taken refuge there. The same is true of La Palma Canyon, the Sierra Bacoachi, the Cerro del Tonuco, and other places where they have experienced any loss. Thus, they always flee from the areas that are known to the troops and seek to hide themselves in places where the troops have never been.

If these barbarians realized the advantages they would gain by burning the grasses, they could make it impossible for the troops to harass them. They do not rely on [the grasses] for their raids because of their agility and toughness in traveling on foot. Divine providence, however, has hidden this important secret from them. But they might discover it if an example were provided by setting the thickets on fire. They are so crude that they imitate whatever they see, as experience has shown. At the beginning of the uprising, the [Spaniards] burned the [Indians'] jacales, and the [Indians] responded by doing the same to the haciendas and rancherías of the vecinos. In order to avoid further damage and because the practice was of no consequence or utility, the troops abstained from burning any more jacales. In addition, it would be necessary to employ many people to cut the trees of the infinite thickets which cover this vast expanse of uncultivated country so that they could dry. Otherwise, they would not burn. [It would require] a great deal of time and many firebrands.

The only difficulty encountered in this war was discovering where the enemies could be found. Once this was known, whether it were in a thicket, mountain range, or any other rugged place, there was not the slightest doubt [that the Spaniards] could dislodge and defeat them if they trusted in the advantages of the terrain and persisted in their own defense. But the unfortunate thing was that the [Indians] felt secure only in flight. Regardless of these inconveniences, [burning the thicket presented other difficulties]. After the rebels had all surrendered, two parties were sent out to burn Monte Tenuaje from all four directions. [The troops] even penetrated [the thicket] and did the same in various places inside, spending eight days at this task. A detachment returned a month later to ascertain the damage the fire had caused. They found that although some of the foliage at the margins of the thicket had burned, none of the trunks had burned, and the fire had not gone beyond them.

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161. Many Indian groups throughout the Americas used fire as a tool to hunt wild game, as a strategic tactic in warfare, or to transform or maintain favored vegetation such as grasslands or oak savannas in California. Vegetation communities in the Sonoran Desert are not adapted to fire, however, and it is unlikely that the Seris or O'odham in the low desert frequently used fire as a way to modify their environments. Later on in the document, the Spaniards learned that burning was not a particularly effective technique, even in the dense thickets and mesquite bosques that spread across the coastal plain.

On February 1, two Seri Indian women appeared at the garrison of Pitic carrying a cross. They begged for pardon on behalf of their ranchería because of Captain Don Vicente Moreno's attack upon it. Pardon was granted on the condition that they present themselves within ten days, which they did on the evening before the period expired. The ranchería included eleven families, a single man, and the captain of the ranchería, comprising forty-two persons of both sexes and all ages. This surrender appeared to be made in better faith than the one of the previous year, because the rebels now seemed to be tired of war and their own adverse fortunes. For these reasons, they came to plead for pardon with such determination, all of them coming forward at the same time with their families.

When the two women came to Pitic, they reported that the Sibubapa nation had suffered an epidemic of yellow vomit and that a great many men, women, and children had died.[162] The captain and the Indians from the new ranchería confirmed the news. This meant that the Sibubapas, who previously numbered more than both the Piatos and Seris combined, now because of the sickness, numbered few more than the first [Piatos]. For this reason, a lengthy and tedious examination was held with Governor Crisanto and the captain who had just surrendered concerning the number of people from their nation who had not yet surrendered themselves. Using names to make their computations, they figured that there were only thirty families. [The Spaniards] reprimanded them, [questioning] how the number could be so small. They replied that since the beginning of the campaign, many more had died than the troops had seen on the battlefield. The same thing happened to the other nations, but theirs had suffered the most. What was certain was that the number of enemies had greatly diminished.

One of the Seris who had surrendered went hunting and brought back word that he had found another Indian armed for war. When the Seri insisted that he return with him to surrender, the other replied that he could not because there was a Piato staying with his family who never let them out of his sight. Because of this information, Governor Crisanto asked permission to go with another member of his nation to search for [the Indian]. It was granted, and after two days, they returned carrying the Piato's head. This action is one of the best examples of the governor's good faith. It is also one of the most important because it prejudiced the two nations against each other more than they already were—given that they are inherently opposed to each other.

On March 10, the captain of the infantry, Don Diego Peirán, set out with a detachment of sixty men. He found four Seri families on the sea coast. They took flight immediately on discovering [the detachment]. Two [families] fled at sunrise. One man died of a gunshot and two young men threw themselves into the sea. They were fired upon and one of them drowned. Two other men fled towards the sea in another direction. One of them tried to swim and drowned. The other took a balsa in which he picked up the other young man. They managed to escape. Two women died in the first volley at the ranchería. Another two were captured,

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162. It is extremely difficult to determine the exact nature of epidemic diseases from colonial descriptions, but "yellow vomit" could have been yellow fever, whose vector is mosquitoes, or typhoid fever or cholera, transmitted through contaminated food or water. Crowded rebel camps with scarce water supplies would have been ripe environments for the spread of infectious diseases.

along with eight children of both sexes and all ages. With no other event to report, the detachment returned with its captives to the garrison at Guaymas.

On March 14, Don Bernardo de Urrea, captain of the presidio of Altar, reported that some Indians of the Papago nation had robbed some cattle on the frontier of the Pimería Alta. This information was given by a Pima from the pueblo of Tubutama who came from the Papaguería. He said that this nation [the Papagos] were not of good faith, particularly those from the rancherías of Cuboc [and] Tarritoaco. This unforeseen occurrence obliged [Elizondo] to immediately dispatch Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a detachment of sixty men, including dragoons and presidial soldiers, on [March] seventeenth. [Anza's detachment] joined with that of Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea, who was given all the instructions that were deemed conducive to preserve at all costs the tranquility of the Indians of the Pimería Alta, whom it was feared would unite with the Papagos. This union did not take place. [Although] the Papago nation alone does not cause anxiety, the force was sent to show itself because it is easier to put out the fire of sedition at the beginning.

As soon as the Papagos learned that the two detachments were traveling toward their lands, they presented themselves to the commander on April 17. [They included] the governor of Comaquibusto, who was the first to move his ranchería into the interior [to the north] in a mountain range next to the Gila River; he is the same one most suspected of rebellion. [Also presenting themselves were] the governor of Anacam[163] and the alcalde of Santa Rosa de Atil, who was sent by [Atil's] governor Chanate, who could not present himself because he was ill. They said that they regretted their excesses and embraced with the utmost pleasure the general pardon which had been sent in the name of the king. As proof of their repentance, they had presented themselves to give thanks for the love with which they had been treated. They gave assurances that in the future they would live quietly and peacefully in their rancherías without harming anyone.

The captain [Anza] admonished them to do no harm or the troops would come and punish them, putting to death those who did not reform. [He also told] those [who acted] as justicias to restrain their own Indians and not to admit thieves. In case [thieves appeared], they should seize them and carry them to the presidio of Altar so that the appropriate punishment could be administered to them. And after making such a long argument, covering all that appeared expedient to the commander, [the Papagos] returned to their respective rancherías with demonstrations of great joy. In such fashion, the well-founded suspicions about an uprising among that nation [the Papagos] were assuaged.

On March 17, a band of 110 enemies crossed the Río Yaqui, some in balsas, others by swimming. They came together in the place called Encinillas and killed three muleteers. Following the camino real, they killed three Spaniards in Luceros. Then they attacked the pueblo of Onavas. Finding it without people except for the governor and five Indian men, they managed to take control of it. They killed two men and five women and set fire to fifteen houses, in whose flames four children were reduced to ashes. From there they went to the placer of Nacimiento, where there were some people washing for gold. Of those, they killed three Spaniards, eight Yaqui Indian men, and one woman and a little girl. Three children drowned

163. Possibly the Tohono O'odham ranchería of Anegam.

when they threw themselves into the river fleeing the enemies. And in the canebrake below Nacimiento they killed a woman and took captive a little Spanish girl. They also wounded a vecino, five Indian men, and three Indian women.

Most of these lamentable misfortunes are due to the carelessness with which the people of these provinces live. The repeated misfortunes have not awakened vigilance among the vecinos. If they would only take the measures their governor called for beforehand, all of the injuries would be avoided, or at least the greater part of them.

The lieutenant of Río Chico left with sixteen vecinos and thirty Indians in pursuit of the enemies. And even though they managed to catch up with them, they decided not to attack them because of their superior numbers. They only recovered a woman whom the barbarians had set free after they stripped off her clothing.

These fatal events took place fifty leagues from the garrison of Pitic and even farther from Guaymas. In light of such distances, these misfortunes are irremediable because the enemies retreat with the same alacrity with which they commit such wicked deeds. By the time [the troops] find out about them, [the enemies] have already taken refuge, hiding themselves in the brush.

News was received that the lieutenant of the presidio of Buenavista had cut tracks of fourteen enemies near the mission of Tecoripa. [The lieutenant] dispatched his sergeant with eight soldiers. Following the trail, [the troops] discovered [the enemies] in Las Alajas [Alhajas], but they immediately gained its rugged spots and heights. For that reason, [the troops] could not attack them and were only able to seize the animals they had robbed.

The lieutenant of Buenavista communicated this news to the governor and colonel. They very quickly dispatched Don Manuel de Medina, captain of the dragoons, with seventy men to see whether they could cut off the retreat to the Cerro [Prieto]. But they were not able to find any tracks. At the same time, another detachment from Guaymas under the command of Captain Don José Vildósola had left to reconnoiter the Sierra de los Pilares and [the Sierra] Bacatete, which border the province of Ostimuri. On April 3, they encountered the entire Sibubapa nation and attacked various times in the Sierra de los Pilares, Carrizal de Ten, and Monte Aricibe. But [they were always attacking the Indians] in flight because they always had lookouts a league ahead of the body of the rebels. Nonetheless, they killed twelve Indian men and four women in the pursuit and took another fourteen children captive along with fifty-two horses. They also seized whatever they had in their ranchería—clothing and different ornaments they had stolen in the hostilities they committed on March 17 and succeeding days, as noted above.

During the first attack, which took place at night, the Indians defended themselves well, but the lively fire and the perseverance of the troops obliged them to retreat to the highest summit of the sierra. The Indian women prisoners and two captives of reason [non-Indians], who fled during the last attack and took refuge with the troops, stated that in the first clash, the Indians had suffered many wounded, most of whom died. Among the troops, only three were slightly wounded. Thus, with little loss, the strategy has been very effective, because most of this nation [the Sibubapas] have resolved to surrender. One of the Indian women prisoners gave this news. That motivated the captain to let her go, telling her that he gave her liberty because she was so old. But he also charged her to counsel her

nation well: that there were no options other than to surrender or die at the hands of the troops.

At the beginning of April, fourteen Seri families gave themselves up. That brought the total number of surrendered Seris to 151 persons of both sexes, both old and young. On the same day, an old woman presented herself requesting a pardon for four more Seri families. The pardon was granted and she left to guide them. Three Indians from Tiburón Island presented themselves with these people and implored that no expedition be carried out against them. They explained that their nation never left their island, that they were unhappy, and that they never bothered anyone. In view of these [facts], they begged to be allowed to live freely in their country because they had been born there. They promised that they would not set foot on our coasts. They were granted the favor of their security on condition that they not leave their island for the coasts of the province of Sonora. [In addition], they were to send three [of their nation] who possessed the best judgment so that they might elect a governor and an alcalde to subject and govern the others. [Until then] they had all lived according to their own whims and were subject to no one. They agreed to comply and returned home with great joy.

The Seri Indians who had surrendered, as discussed in the previous section, brought word that they had encountered the Piato captain Vipici, with three other Indians from his nation, on the road. These Piatos were returning after committing the most recent hostilities in the province of Ostimuri. They were going to join forces with Captain Cueras in the Sierra de las Espuelas. Two of the Seris offered to show the Spaniards the location of the ranchería. Taking advantage of this favorable offer, Captain Don Juan José Bergosa was dispatched with sixty men guided by the two Seris and Governor Crisanto. They arrived at the spot, but discovered that [the ranchería] had moved. The two Seris went scouting in the darkness of the night to search for the ranchería. They returned a short time later saying they had discovered a fire.

Believing that this was the ranchería, the captain dispatched the dragoons to occupy the heights. Then at dawn, he and the presidial soldiers attacked. They discovered, however, that [they had attacked] the enemies' horseherd. Even though the ranchería was close by, in the short amount of time that it took to find it, the Indians had [already] begun to flee toward the rugged heights of the sierra. Nevertheless, the presidial soldiers overtook two of the rebels, whom they killed with the thrust of their lances. The dragoons dismounted and fired at [the others] as they fled, even though they were some distance away. They killed two more men, three women, and one child, and captured a woman, a captive de razón [non-Indian], five children, and fifty-eight horses, as well as everything in the ranchería that was from the recent robberies in Ostimuri. The two Indians who killed the presidial soldiers grew fierce in their desperation and wounded three soldiers from some pinnacles. Two [soldiers] were only slightly wounded. The other, although the wound was not deep or dangerous, died on the same day because the arrow had been freshly poisoned.

The Seri nation who had surrendered asked the provincial governor to name individuals to govern them. As a result, he summoned them all to his house and selected Crisanto, who was already serving in the interim, as governor, and Francisco as their alcalde. They all celebrated the selections, and Governor Don Juan de Pineda presented them with their insignias [of office].

Ever since July 25 of last year, 1769, when he was overcome by the sudden

illnesses of apoplexy and paralysis, Governor Don Juan de Pineda had stayed at the garrison in Pitic to recuperate. Because he did not find even the slightest relief, [the governor] decided to go to San Miguel de Horcasitas. He left for that pueblo on April 18 of this year.

The announcements of the Sibubapa Indian woman captured in the action of April 3, who was set free by Captain Don José Antonio de Vildósola—and the fear caused by the losses that nation endured in the attacks carried out by the captain—produced a favorable result. Forty-two Sibubapa families surrendered in the mission of Belén to their priest, Don Joaquín Valdés. He led them to the garrison of Guaymas, where they surrendered their weapons and rendered their obedience to the king on their knees with the greatest submission. Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo was present at this act. By June 14, sixty-two Indians of that nation had surrendered, bringing the total to 171 persons of both sexes and all ages. They returned to their ancient pueblo of Belén accompanied by said priest and Comisario Don Pedro Tueros, who carried orders to distribute lands among them that they needed for their sowing. After that disposition was carried out and they were given the ration of corn needed for their sustenance until they could reap their harvest, the colonel returned to the garrison of Pitic.

The Piato nation, which consisted of only forty-eight archers, asked for pardon a second time. But they did not avail themselves of it except for five families with whom Captain Vipici sent a message that he would come down and surrender with all of his ranchería. The only reason for his delay was to attempt to persuade Captain Guifuriguchi [to surrender]. He was the most obstinate, and the only one who opposed the surrender.

After pacifying the Papagos, the detachment under the command of Don Juan Bautista de Anza that had set forth to [carry out] that task reconnoitered the Apache frontier. They only managed to kill two Indian men and two women, disguised as men with arrows and quivers, and to capture eight children.

A band of rebels entered the province of Ostimuri and killed a Yaqui Indian man in the rancho of Osobanpo [Osobampo] and two cowboys in the Puerto de los Mescales. Near Conicari, [they killed] another, and another in a maize field. They also wounded a youth. The lieutenant of the presidio of Buenavista pursued these barbarians with fifteen men, but accomplished nothing. After following them for fourteen days, the horses were tired and he was forced to turn back with the pain of not having been able to punish the [enemy].

Through the Pimas and Suaquis who surrendered, [it was learned] that the enemies who committed these hostilities were only ten outcasts from the body of those two nations. One was a Yaqui Indian man who had been taken captive and then became captain. Two others were captives of the same nation, and the other seven were Sibubapas. This band reached the Cerro Prieto with the few head of cattle they had stolen. They offered [the stolen cattle] to the Sibubapas, who happened to be nearby [and who planned] to surrender, and to the Piatos. The first [the Sibubapas] did not want to take a thing. The second [the Piatos] accepted because they were suffering much need for food.

Because it can be seen how only ten Indians were able to cause terror and panic among the vecinos of the province of Ostimuri, triumphing over them and passing through there, it was truly shameful for those vecinos. Even more shameful was the realization that when the [Indians] committed the theft in the pass of the

real of Baroyeca, there were plenty of Spaniards, mulattoes, and Indians, but none of them dared to set forth knowing that the thieves were nearby in the corral of Facubaro.

With these rumors, as soon as the lieutenant of the presidio of Buenavista left, the alférez left with twelve men. Encountering four Sibubapas, they killed two and seized one. The other fled.

Forty men had been escorting the most illustrious Don José de Gálvez. They were ordered to remain in the presidio of Fronteras. Because the number of rebels was small, so many troops were no longer needed. For the same reason, a militia company garrisoned in the pueblo of San José de Pimas was retired from active duty in order to spare the royal exchequer the cost of maintaining them when they were no longer necessary.

Receiving information that some thirty enemies had left Cerro Prieto and could be found in the estuaries and Pozo Salado, Captains Don Juan Bautista de Anza and Don José Antonio de Vildósola were dispatched with seventy men apiece so that it would be possible to attack them in three or more places and assure the blow. By achieving this, the rebels would be exterminated. Those that remained would be forced to surrender. In the wells of Tastiota, they found tracks of the enemies that led toward [the pozo of] Salado. They followed them in the hope of finding water but did not encounter a single drop. And even though there were fresh tracks, it was not possible to follow them because neither men or horses had tasted water in twenty-four hours. Moreover, they did not know of a water hole from there onward. For that important reason, they were obliged to prevent a major difficulty, that of exposing the troops to the obvious threat of dying of thirst. That danger forced the two captains to turn back with the pain of not being able to pursue the enemies or to dispatch troops in the meantime [in the hopes that] it would rain in that direction or in the Cerro [Prieto]. With the exception of Cosari Canyon, all the other places remained dry.

The capitán a guerra and six Indians from San José de Pimas advised the colonel that the enemies had taken some horses from the pueblo of Santa Rosalía on June 30. But some vecinos had followed them and taken back the horses. They feared that some enemies could be found in the Sierra de Chibato. With that occurrence, and some signs that the [Indians] were in the canyons of San Marcial, Captain Don Juan Bergosa was dispatched with sixty men to reconnoiter and strike both places.

In the first [Sierra de Chibato], before reaching the Laguna del Chibato, they found a Piato who was grazing six horses. They seized him and he died. And even though they followed the tracks, when the troops reached the ranchería, which consisted of four families, they saw them crossing over the summit of the sierra. The detachment proceeded to the Sierra de San Marcial. And after dividing [his troops] into various squads in order to minutely reconnoiter different places, they discovered a ranchería of eight Sibubapa families, of whom they killed five men, two older boys, and three women, and wounded two Indian men.

This action, although short, was of the utmost importance. Among the dead were the two principal ringleaders of this nation—the most obstinate who had opposed the surrender of their nation even when they had promised to come down in peace. One of them was an old gentile named Paderón, who had never known village [life], and had been born, lived, and died in the wild. The other was the

governor of the pueblo of Suaqui named Tomás, the instigator of the rebellion of the Sibubapa nation, or better said, the Suaqui. This detachment returned to the garrison of Pitic on July 15.

Two families increased the number of Sibubapas who had surrendered. They all resided peacefully in the pueblo of Belén. The remainder are likely to surrender soon because of the absence of the two dead chiefs. With the surrender of this entire nation, as soon as it rains all forces should be directed to pursue the [nation] of the Piatos, who consist of forty-three families.

The Indian Crisanto, governor of the Seri nation, asked permission to go to Tiburón Island with two others to search for those who had not yet surrendered. He returned at the beginning of August with the leader called El Mulato and five more families comprising twenty-five persons, both old and young. Five Indians from Tiburón Island also presented themselves, asking for pardon once again and reaffirming their nation's offer to remain on the island, which they have observed. The colonel reaffirmed the pardon with the same conditions he had imposed the first time. With this assurance, they returned to the island contented.

All the Seris who had not surrendered had taken refuge on Tiburón Island. They were afraid that the Piatos would attack them because they were few in number and because the two nations were hostile to each other.

Because two rains had fallen at the end of July, it was assumed that it had rained throughout the region. With this assumption, Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza set out with a detachment of sixty men to search for the Piato nation. [The troops] were acquainted with the territory, which they had to leave during their last sortie because of a lack of water. Even though the rain had not fallen everywhere, [the captain] managed, with some difficulty, to arrive at the site of the ranchería. He found that it had been abandoned two days earlier and that they [the Piatos] had scattered in different directions two by two so that they would not leave a recognizable trail. He picked up the tracks of two mules and followed the trail for eight days, even though it required an infinite amount of persistence and work due to the lack of water. The lack of water finally obliged him to turn back; otherwise, they were in danger of perishing. [The soldiers] left the trail—which was large because all the people from the ranchería had reunited and traveled toward the Sierra del Pitic.

Another detachment under the command of Captain Don Miguel Gallo was dispatched five days later in the same direction. If the Piatos were fleeing the first [detachment under Anza], they might run into [Gallo's detachment] since it was on the road to the aforementioned sierra [del Pitic], where [the Piatos] regularly took refuge when they were pressed from the opposite direction. Like the other detachment, they came across the tracks of a fair number of people. Despite the lack of water, they persisted in pursuing them to the Sierra Bacoachi, leaving behind five horses that died of thirst and eight men prostrate on the ground. If they had not been able, with all speed on the strongest horses, to get water from the water hole [of Bacoachi], they would have perished as well. The entire detachment rested a day. Then, filling up their botas of water, [the troops] returned the twenty leagues separating that sierra [Bacoachi] from the garrison of Pitic, traveling all night and the following morning.

Via an express messenger from Belén, Father Don Joaquín Valdés informed Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo that twenty-three families of Sibubapas had presented themselves on August 8. Counting them, the entire nation had surren-

dered; the six [families] who had not yet surrendered were nearby and about to follow the same example. The only thing stopping them was the lack of water and their fear that they would suffer the same fate as Tomás and El Paredón [Paderón].

As a result of this news, the colonel commanded that the men of these families go to the garrison of Guaymas to surrender their weapons and offer their obedience to the king at the hands of his commander, just as the forty-two previous ones had done.

As soon as it rains, the Piato nation will be harassed with the greatest vigor because [the campaign] no longer has any other objective.

On September 3, the captain of the presidio of Altar informed Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo of news he had from the pueblo of Caborca. Three Piatos passed near there on their way to the Papaguería. [The captain of Altar] dispatched the governor of the mission of Oquitoa, a very loyal Indian and a great credit to his entire nation, to find out what they were planning because he [the governor of Oquitoa] was married to a Papago woman.

When he returned, he reported that they [the Piatos] had been in the first ranchería of the Papagos to find out their intentions. They [the Piatos] knew that the winter before, [the Papagos] had been unhappy with the Spaniards. The alcalde of the ranchería replied that that was untrue. They were living well in their lands and were very content with the Spaniards. They did not want to wander across the hills like them [the Piatos] because they were not deer or mescal plants. In view of their bad reception, the Piatos did not want to explain themselves more openly, so they left. The Papagos kept an eye on them until they left their lands. This was the last recourse that remained for these obstinate rebels. According to all the news and tracks, they were located somewhere in the Sierras del Picú, Buenavista, or del Oro, fifty leagues from Pitic. While the vecinos of Santa Ana were rounding up their cattle in that direction, they found three Piatos who were butchering one. They attacked them and killed one, but the other two fled.

On October 1, Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo set forth with two hundred men from the garrison of Pitic to reconnoiter the sierras of Picú, Buenavista, and del Oro simultaneously. To achieve that end he divided the troops into three detachments and carried a month's worth of food supplies and two horses apiece for the troops. Those places were reconnoitered in minute detail, as was the entire region from the west to the north, without encountering a single track. On September 27 and 28, the captain of the presidio of Altar pursued nine Piato families but was able to seize only one woman, one girl, and fourteen horses.

From his camp at the Pozos de San José, the colonel dispatched Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza and fifty men with orders to cross the Sierra Bacoachi and reconnoiter the Sierra de la Higuerilla and other places to the west. After he did so, he was to join up with all the rest of the troops at the camp of Curiel, which he did. In Monte Cenizo, the captain [Anza] found a ranchería of eight Seri families who had returned from Tiburón Island. He killed four men, three older boys, and an equal number of women. He also captured three women and ten children. But the other four men remained at large because they had left the ranchería to go hunting.

On November 10, these four Seris presented themselves and asked for pardon. They obtained it, so they asked for their children back. The colonel replied that he did not want to give them back because their surrender was not voluntary. They surrendered only so they could recover their children. If they wanted to remain in

the ranchería of their nation, they would be treated like the rest. But if they left, they would be pursued from morning to night. They agreed to remain, saying that they had been at liberty by accident and did not want to remain at risk any more. [Elizondo] proposed to them that they go request the surrender of the small remainder of their nation. Then he would return their children to them.

The captain of the surrendered Sibubapas, Cristóbal Cainabac, who was very bold, set forth with twelve chosen men of his nation to search for the whereabouts of the Piatos. Sleeping in the heights of a mountain in the Cerro Prieto, they heard the sound of voices and formed an enclosure along its slopes. When they saw eight Piatos enter it, they let fly a discharge of arrows, which killed one and wounded another. Fearful that they [the Piatos] would unite with the rest of their nation and attack them, they returned with the greatest speed to Guaymas.

On September 18, Captain Don Diego Peirán set forth with seventy men guided by the aforementioned Cristóbal Cainabac. They reconnoitered the wash or canyon of Salitre in the Cerro Prieto as well as other rugged places. [They endured] infinite difficulty because of the heavy rains and the rough ground without encountering a single sign of the enemies. They passed by Higuerilla Canyon; entering it on foot, they found the tracks of five horses and some warm ashes. Those sure signs of the enemies impelled them to march all night. At dawn the next day, they reconnoitered the place but found no one. For that reason, and because the troops were very tired, they set out for the place where they had left their horses. They halted at eight in the morning so the soldiers could have something to eat.

One of them wandered off a short distance and discovered the enemies very near the entrance to a thicket. He advised the captain, and they attacked with the greatest celerity. But the enemies, under cover of the thicket, fled to gain the summit of a very high hill just beyond the thicket. They threw down large rocks, but without causing any damage. The troops observed that the enemies helped two wounded men climb. Soon thereafter, they saw [the enemies] abandon them and throw them down dead. The same thing happened with a woman. [The detachment] recovered eight horses that they had and returned to Guaymas without anything else to report.

Immediately, another detachment set forth from the same garrison under the command of Captain Don José Antonio de Vildósola. After reconnoitering all the entrances to the Cerro Prieto and various heights, [the detachment] did not find a single track and therefore returned on November 12.

With the news that the enemies had just been seen between the Sierra de Santa Rosalía and Nacameri, Captain Don Juan José Bergosa was dispatched with fifty men to reconnoiter all this terrain. But he found no enemies, and the report was false, so the detachment returned to the garrison of Pitic on November 25.

The captain of the presidio of Altar reported that the Piatos had run off two horses from the mission of Pitic [Pitiquito]. His lieutenant set forth to follow the tracks with twelve soldiers and some Indians from that pueblo. They found that [the Piatos] had entered a canyon in the Sierra del Viejo.[164] Even though it was no more than seven leagues away, they had to take a roundabout route of thirty leagues to enter the canyon. Having penetrated it, they found a ranchería of eighteen families. Before they reached it, however, they were discovered, and [the Indians] gained

164. The Sierra del Viejo is southwest of Caborca and east of Puerto Lobos.

the heights. From [those heights], they shouted that they did not want to fight because they were getting ready to come down in peace to their pueblos, but first they had wanted to talk with the old man Tomás. They said that they stole the two horses out of necessity, and that they had left them [the horses] in the ranchería. The troops recovered the horses and returned to the presidio because their force was so small. They believed it was fruitless to follow them through the sierra. Besides, the lieutenant would only have been able to pursue them with four soldiers and some Indians, because the rest had gone to get the horses. If the enemies had wanted to harm the soldiers, they could have done so without danger to themselves because of the advantages the terrain offered, which allowed the ranchería a sure retreat.

As soon as the colonel received this information, he set forth from the garrison of Pitic with sufficient troops on November 15. Two days before reaching the Sierra del Viejo, he marched at night so [the troops] would not be discovered by their dust. [The troops] arrived at the mouth of the canyon where the ranchería was located on [November] 26 at the break of dawn, but the enemies had already abandoned it. They found that [the enemies] had ventured into the highest parts of the mountain range along an arroyo, and that they followed its length but left no tracks because the ground was all loose rocks. Nonetheless, the troops crossed the entire mountain range leading their horses by the hand. They found no tracks, however, so there was no reason to continue. Moreover, all the horses descended the mountain range with the frogs of their hooves bloodied and therefore lame. All these things obliged the colonel to return to camp at Cieneguita, where he had left the pack animals with the foodstuffs and the relay of horses.

In that camp, the colonel received news that it was rumored the Apaches had just been seen in the vicinity of the Pimería Alta. Being no more than sixteen leagues away, he left with all of his detachment in search of the enemies. In the camp of Corral de Espino, it was reported that the tracks extended to Aguaje Canyon in the Sierra del Purgatorio. The detachment arrived there on [November] 29 at ten o'clock at night. Squads were immediately sent out on foot to scout the mouth [of the canyon]. It was seen that all the reports had been false. Tracks were found neither on the trail nor in the canyon. The same occurred in La Higuera Wash of the same sierra on [November] 30. The detachment returned from that spot to the garrison of Pitic on December 8.

An officer and thirty soldiers were dispatched from the camp at Cieneguita. They had remained there to guard the food supply and the horseherd, because the horses were tired. [The detachment] was to reconnoiter the area around a well located in the northern part of the Sierra del Viejo. It was to return by circling the mountain range, and its only task was to search for tracks. Arriving at the Sierra de los Mochos, [the detachment] saw a group of people crossing the summit of its highest peak. It soon found the spot where they had camped. They had precipitously abandoned it, leaving behind many deerskins and seeds with which they sustain themselves. They had also erased with branches the tracks they made when they left the ranchería. The detachment was not able to pursue them, or stop to observe the direction in which they were going, because it carried only three days of provisions as its sole objective had been to look for tracks and reunite [with the other troops] in Aguas Frías on the third day. Because of various reports, however, the bulk of the detachment had changed its route. Foodstuffs

were sent to Aguas Frías, and the officer was ordered to return to Pitic via the Sierra Bacoachi and the Cerro del Tanuco.

The conversation that the Piatos had with the lieutenant from Altar—and the fact that they had not wanted to fight—indicated that it was true they wanted to proffer their submission. In order to ascertain the truth or acquire more information, the colonel called for the interpreter. As soon as he arrived in Pitic, he was ordered to explore the intent and touch upon the discussions their kinsmen had with the aforementioned lieutenant in conversations with the five Piato families who had surrendered and were at [the garrison]. As soon as the subject was brought up, the families said that those seen in the Sierra del Viejo and in [the Sierra] de los Mochos were the same ones. It was true that they wanted to surrender and that if they were sent to their pueblos, their submission would be assured. They rejected surrendering so at the garrison of Pitic, however, because they feared that the Spaniards would kill them.

Because he had just left him [Elizondo], the interpreter advised them [the Piatos] to ask the colonel to allow the five families to return to their pueblos in the western part of the Pimería where they had been born. They immediately presented their solicitation, and it was granted. As a result, they left Pitic on [December] 11, accompanied by a cabo and four soldiers to settle in the mission of Pitiqui [Pitiquito]. The old man Tomás, who was the one who came as ambassador when his nation negotiated their surrender—and was the same one with whom [the Piatos] of the Sierra del Viejo said they wanted to talk—offered to leave the families at the halt of Arituaba and go with another companion to look for his kinsmen so that they could quickly surrender. He did not doubt that they would do so because that was what they wanted. The interpreter was included in the squad that accompanied the five families with the order to follow their conversations. In case the estimated eighteen families surrendered, he was to inform himself about the whereabouts of the rest of their nation and their state of mind.

Father Don Joaquín Valdés brought word that the surrendered Sibubapa nation was quite happy and that they had planted a very good crop. The same was true of the Seris who were near the Cerro de la Conveniencia about a quarter league from Pitic. They had erected a very good fence and opened a canal from which they could extract water for irrigation.

Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza informed the colonel that the Apaches attacked his presidio at Tubac, which is the farthest to the north, and ran off most of the horses. At the same time, he asked permission to return to his presidio together with the thirty men that he had at Pitic, in order to reinstate them there so they could guard that frontier. In view of the fact that there were few rebels left who had not surrendered and that there were sufficient troops to pursue them, the colonel allowed him to go. [Anza] departed on December 18.

[The troops] waited impatiently for the final resolution of the announced surrender of the Piato nation. If the favorable outcome did not occur as they wished, [the troops] planned to mount a campaign to search for the Piatos. The forays would not cease until [the Piatos] surrendered, nor would they omit any activity or travail that would lead to the extermination or surrender of this obstinate nation.

The Year 1771

As was said previously on [December] 11, from the site of Arituaba, the Piato Indians were to go in search of those of their nation. They returned to the presidio of Altar because they ran out of provisions. After they were supplied with some, they would leave again with the same goal. The captain [of Altar presidio] informed the commander of the expedition, Don Domingo Elizondo, of this occurrence, proposing to set forth with twenty-five men to accompany the two aforesaid Indians. He agreed to this, and on January 3, plans for their departure were put in motion.

Captain Bernardo de Urrea took advantage of the promised fidelity of the two Indians and made use of their express intent—to serve as ambassadors to their respective kinsmen, the governor of the pueblo of Pitiqui [Pitiquito], and the alguaciles of [the pueblos] of Caborca and Visani [Bísanic]. He dispatched them on [January] 7 from the Sierra del Viejo with this charge, which they accepted with pleasure. And well equipped with mules, food, and tobacco, they continued until the eleventh with no news to report other than that they found two tracks about two days old.

With this news, they were resupplied with foodstuffs and left again on [January] 12, returning at four in the afternoon of [January] 14 to the camp of Alamo Muerto, where they were to convene. They brought two Indians who had been dispatched to the captain by the leader Sebastián Vipici. They were to tell [the captain] that if it suited him, he was to retire to the presidio, and [Vipici] would go there immediately with his people. It did not seem right to Don Bernardo de Urrea to withdraw such a distance away. So the following morning the old man Tomás and the two Indians he brought with him returned with some little gifts to let Sebastián Vipici know that he should go down to Los Pozos de San Ignacio with his people. [Urrea] would await him there. After offering his obedience to the sovereign, the [Piatos] could march together to their pueblos.

As a result of this procedure, Vipici presented himself with all of his ranchería, consisting of twelve families, on [January] 16. All the men offered an oath of loyalty and their obedience to the king, in whose royal name said captain [Urrea] granted them pardon. At the same time, he gave them to understand the great kindness they had obtained and the obligation it placed them under to correct their past errors and to deport themselves in the future with greater loyalty. He also reiterated his promise that they would be settled in their proper and respective pueblos, and that they would be well treated and fed on the journey.

On the morning of [January] seventeenth, the captain ordered that the two Indian scouts and two of the newly surrendered Indians march in search of José Guiatonori, and with the same offers let him know that he should surrender with his band. He told them to convene at Cieneguilla, where [the captain] remained until [January] 23, when about three in the afternoon, the scouts presented themselves along with the one named José Guiatonori with his band consisting of nine families. They all requested pardon with demonstrations of submission, which Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea granted them in the same fashion. That made them very happy and they promised to live as Christians, quietly and peacefully in their pueblos. They also entreated with intense petitions that their families imprisoned in the garrison of Pitic be returned to them. The captain assured them that they would be and that he would write to Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo to [grant] that.

The captain continued his marches, and once he arrived at the presidio of Altar on [January] 28, he informed the commander of the expedition of all the preceding. [He also informed him] that on [January] 26 in the mission of Caborca, he repeated the speech to the ones who had surrendered in the presence of their father minister and the three governors of the pueblos or missions of Pitiqui [Pitiquito], Visani [Bísanic], and Caborca. They, for their part, promised to treat them well and live as brothers. The number of families who surrendered on the sixteenth and the twenty-third was twenty-one. On [January] 27, the father minister baptized fifteen infants. The surrendering Indians handed over a captive Spanish girl of sixteen to eighteen years of age, along with five more of lesser age and both sexes from the Yaqui and Opata nations.

The newly surrendered [Piatos] offered to force Captain Guifuriguchi and [Captain] Cueras to offer their obedience with their rancherías. To gather them in, Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea, accompanied by Sebastián Vipici and José Guiatonori, leaders of the last two bands that offered their obedience, and the two Indian scouts who served this purpose in the earlier sortie, would leave on February 25.

On January 18, a family of the Seri nation who had been on Tiburón Island surrendered. They brought a message to Governor Crisanto from six other [families] who were also coming in from the island, and that he should leave to receive them at an assigned place. Therefore, [Crisanto] left, brought them in, and presented them to the colonel commander in the garrison. They were soon settled in the ranchería that this nation has at the garrison.

Father Fray Juan de Sarabe notified the garrison of Pitic that Ignacio Pluma Blanca and another, both of whom were Suaqui or Sibubapa Indians, presented the governor of the mission with a small cross of silk. It was to be delivered to the aforementioned priest, who was charged with sending it to the commander of the expedition and requesting pardon for the six families of this nation who still had not surrendered. It was understood that they would come down in eight days, which corresponded to February 29, on which date they made an appointment with the priest to receive them. The colonel commissioned [Father Sarabe] to admit them and assure them they would be pardoned after they surrendered their weapons and offered their obedience to the sovereign.

This surrender was the result of their having seen the ringleader Guifuriguchi in transit, apparently to surrender. [Guifuriguchi was surrendering] because a brother-in-law of his, also one of the most obstinate [rebels], had been killed in the following manner: After [the rebels] stole three horses from the Guaymas Indians, Lieutenant of the Dragoons Don Francisco Martínez, captain of the second flying company, set forth with thirty men. He followed the trail within a half league of Nopalera Canyon on the Cerro Prieto and got a glimpse of the two rebels who stole the horses. He immediately pursued them at full gallop and was able to catch up with one and seize him alive, but the other reached rugged ground and escaped. [The lieutenant] offered the prisoner his life if he would show them the place where their ranchería was. He promised to do so, and therefore, the troops left their horses outside Cara Pintada Canyon and began to penetrate the mountain range after sunset. About two in the morning, the Indian intended to fling himself off a tall peak. But the captain was at his side, taking all precautions and observing all his movements because he distrusted him. As soon as he tried [to jump], [the captain] grabbed him by the hair, and only his extraordinary strength

was able to restrain him. [The captain] immediately stabbed him and he died that moment.

On March 24, the four Piato Indians who had gone to persuade the remainder of their nation to surrender returned with one of [the Piatos]. He was sent by the ringleader Guifuriguchi to speak with the commander and learn from him without delay whether he would grant him pardon, which could be given verbally. [The colonel] replied that they should not doubt the good faith in which the king would pardon them if they yielded their weapons and obedience. To demonstrate the good faith in which he desired pardon, the ringleader [Guifuriguchi] sent three captives he had in his ranchería, one of whom was a Yaqui Indian and the other two Spaniards. The Indian ambassador was received kindly and entertained according to custom. On [March] 26 he returned with the four scouts. As a result, [the troops] awaited the surrender of the Piatos; five families containing twenty-two individuals both young and old had already surrendered when they left to meet with Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea at the camp of Aguas Frías.

On the same day [March 26], the brother of Captain Marcos of the Seri nation presented himself in the garrison of Pitic. He had been on Tiburón Island. After leaving his son as a hostage, he left to bring in his family and persuade his brother to return with him, even though [Captain Marcos] had sent a message saying that he was now very old and had retired to the island to die.

On April 1, [the brother of Captain Marcos] returned to the garrison of Pitic with his family, who were waiting for him at the wells of San Juan. Asked about his brother Marcos, he replied that he had not seen him because he found himself on Tiburón Island with only his own family and that of his son.

Only the ringleader Cueras of the Piato nation, and four Indians who were with him, were afraid to surrender. And now that they found themselves forsaken, Captain Urrea suspected that they might go to summon the Papagos as a last resort. In case the obstinate rebel intended to do so, [Urrea], as a precaution, sent the governor of the pueblo of Oquitoa to the Papaguería to obstruct this. After conferring about this matter with all the governors [of the Papaguería], however, he returned with good news, assuring the captain that to that time, neither Cueras nor his companions had put in an appearance. But if they did arrive to disturb the tranquility of [the Papagos], they would seize them and bring them as prisoners to the presidio of Altar, because they did not want to disrupt the quietude or good relations they have with the Spaniards. The governor [of Oquitoa] reported that he knew that the intentions of the Papagos were good and that they were only interested in reaping the benefits of the good season of rains they were enjoying by planting abundant crops of wheat, maize, and squash.

On April 1, the four Piato scouts returned after traveling to the Cerro Prieto. They brought in five families and some widows with their children, consisting in all of thirty-two persons of both sexes and all ages.

The ringleader Guifuriguchi left the Cerro [Prieto] at the same time. He sent a message to the captain that the latter could return to the presidio because [Guifuriguchi] would present himself in the mission of Pitiqui [Pitiquito] with the four families who remained at large. The emissaries said that he had taken this time with the goal of recovering some family members he had hidden in the estuaries. They did not doubt that he would surrender. At the camp of Gurgus, the captain of the presidio of Altar was with the commander of the expedition. He was charged with securing the surrender of the ten Piato families who were miss-

ing. No one doubted the success [of this mission], because for thirty-five years, this officer had negotiated with and governed the pueblos of this nation [Piatos], and he was well accepted among these Indians.

On April 8, a pack train of one hundred mules left the garrison of Pitic to transport as many loads of wheat to the pueblo of Guásabas. It was escorted by a sergeant and ten Highland Fusiliers whereas previously only a cabo and eight men went. Three bands of Apaches left for the pass of Las Bolas; all those who saw them, or reconnoitered their tracks, agreed that some two hundred had passed. The [Apaches] lay in wait [for the pack train], stationed and hidden by some large rock outcrops that formed a narrows along the Río Sonora. In such fashion they were not discovered until they cried out from in front, along the sides, and behind [the caravan]. They were so close that in the volley they let fly, the same instant an arrow pierced the chest of the sergeant, it exited out his back and continued in the same direction for another twenty paces. The wound was so cruel that as soon as the sergeant delivered the command, "Fusiliers, dismount and fire at those barbarians," he fell speechless and instantly expired.

The ten fusiliers accompanying the pack train quickly dismounted and immediately gathered around the dead sergeant. They stationed themselves among the rock outcrops the arroyo offered and began firing, peppering [the enemy] with great vigor. With that, they defended the pack train, which one band of enemies was already driving off. But then another, much larger band confronted them in such a manner that the fusiliers knew the grave danger in which they found themselves and that no other recourse remained than to die fighting. With that resolution, they defended themselves with such intrepidness, spirit, and constant fire that the barbarians were obliged to retreat in flight to the summit of a nearby hill, abandoning sixty-six mules and seven dead Apaches, from which they inferred that there must be a number of wounded. Among the fusiliers, one died of a lance thrust and another came through the fray with two wounds. A muleteer was also wounded slightly. They recovered the two dead and the wounded, and loading them onto mules, they proceeded on their journey without encountering the enemies again.

As soon as they reached the mission of La Concepción [Baviácora], they buried the dead, attended to the wounded, and left them there in order to continue. The eight fusiliers who remained [reached] the mission of Baviácora, whence the cabo informed the colonel of what had happened in the action, which lasted an hour. The colonel instantly dispatched a soldier and twenty presidial soldiers with whatever horses they could find in the garrison without waiting for the amount of time it would have taken to bring in the horseherd. They were ordered to march with the greatest speed they could muster until they encountered the band of fusiliers.

The next day [the colonel] also dispatched an alférez and thirty men to meet the returning pack train halfway along the trail, in order to escort them with security to the garrison of Pitic. The forty-four pack mules that the enemies ran off could not be recovered, because the first band that cut them out drove them off with great speed. Because the escort was so small—eight men—and the enemies so numerous, they realized it was impossible to follow and catch up with the ones who were fleeing. The courageous defense [of the escort] was of such extraordinary and outstanding valor that it struck all the people of the country with wonder. The natives made up legends about those few men, taking great pains to entertain the inhabitants in their respective pueblos. What the Indians native to that

region most admired was that so few people could maintain their ground and defend themselves so well that [the enemies] were not able to remove the scalps of the two dead men.

In the second surrender and establishment of the Seri nation in the year [17]44, they had asked permission to send their representatives to His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy in order to obtain greater security. The governor did not allow it and surprised them by force of arms in the pueblo of Los Angeles, where they had settled. Some of the [newly] surrendered [Seris] feared the same misfortune would befall them. Because of their distrust, they discussed the idea of going to the capital of Mexico City. They decided to make the idea known to a presidial officer so that he could inform Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo. As a result, Elizondo called their justicias together. He told them that he would gladly comply with their request to send ambassadors to His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy. [He also stated] that it gave him great pleasure [to know] that they would be able to ascertain for themselves that he had granted the pardon by virtue of the orders of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix.

The justicias returned the following day to see the colonel and to thank him on behalf of all the Indian men and women of the ranchería. They told him that they were all at peace and that their hearts were content. They asked permission to gather together so they could elect their representatives and, at the same time, reach an agreement about the location of their settlement. After two nights of deliberation, they unanimously agreed to found a pueblo at the foot of the Cerro de la Conveniencia, about a short musket shot away from the garrison at Pitic. They have already planted their crops, dug a canal, and dammed the river to extract water for irrigation. They also named Crisanto (governor of the nation), José Antonio, Antonio, and Juan Antonio as their delegates to go and place themselves at the feet of His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy and humbly ask for a confirmation of the general pardon and the establishment of a settlement.

This last one [Juan Antonio] is the brother of the principal ringleader Marcos. It is believed that neither Marcos nor his son will surrender until these four emissaries return. They left on April 8, accompanied by two cabos from the regiment of the Spanish Dragoons. [This precaution was taken] so that no misfortune should befall them in route and, thus, engender distrust among the other members of their nation. [This distrust] is natural in all Indians, and especially in these because of their past crimes.

[The emissaries] were very well received in Mexico City by His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy and by the most illustrious Don José de Gálvez. Both men treated them kindly and gave two suits of clothes to each of them. His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy showed them the general pardon signed by his own hand and sealed with his coat of arms. He also granted them permission to settle in the place they had selected. To that end, the colonel had already sent official letters stating that they [the Seris] were subdued and that troops from the presidio were close by. The viceroy also gave a silver medallion about the size of a peso with an effigy of the king on it to governor Crisanto, to José Antonio, who had been named capitán a guerra of his nation, and to the governor of the Sibubapas. As soon as the four Indians returned to Pitic, the ringleader Marcos and his son presented themselves and surrendered along with both their families. They were the only ones of their nation who had not yet sworn obedience.

In like manner, the Indians from Tiburón Island presented themselves for the

third time to swear obedience to the commander of Pitic. They asked him to name and confirm two from among their delegation as governor and alcalde. This request was granted and their insignias of office were given to them.

As a result of the order from His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy, the colonel of the regiment of the Spanish Dragoons, commander of the expeditionary forces, set out on May 1 and arrived in Mexico City on August 11. He traveled lightly with four pickets of dragoons through the places listed in the attached itinerary [not included in report]. He left orders for the infantry to embark as soon as the ships arrived at the port of Guaymas.

On May 20, the surrender of the ringleader Guifuriguchi, with his four Piato families, was accomplished. Among all this nation, only Cueras and four other Indians who persisted in their obstinate rebellion remained at large. This malicious Indian wandered about attempting to seduce the members of his nation anew, but his depraved intentions were useless. He crossed over to Tiburón Island and asked the alcalde to go to Pitic and invite the Seris on his behalf to go and plunder. The alcalde met with Governor Crisanto, and after discussing the matter, they immediately sent word to the commander of the garrison, Don Francisco Vellido.[165] [Vellido] replied that since such an opportune occasion had been provided for them to show the good faith of their nation, he would not scorn it but would furnish them with the soldiers they needed to go and kill Cueras.

They replied that they would go by themselves. The others would go on ahead and wait for the alcalde from Tiburón Island at Monte Tenuaje. He would then take a message to Cueras to the effect that some Seris wanted to hear his thoughts from his own mouth in order to see whether it would be worthwhile to follow him. With these preparations the alcalde left, and half a day later a party of Seris departed as well. They arrived at the spot where the five Piatos were, and after a lengthy discussion, [the Piatos] fell asleep. When the Seris saw that the Piatos were sleeping, they killed them all and cut off their heads. On the following day, they presented [the heads] triumphantly to the commander of the Pitic garrison. The commander gave them infinite thanks, welcomed them, and entertained them, as is the custom.

The most cautious and credible estimate of the number of Seri, Piato, and Suaqui or Sibubapa rebels who infested the province of Sonora before the expedition would be in excess of six hundred families. This [number] is calculated from the accounts of Governor Don Juan de Pineda, which were made after the first general uprising of the Piatos and Sibubapas. It counts only those who persisted in their rebellion and did not want to take advantage of the general pardon promulgated at that time and return to their respective pueblos. [This estimate is also based on] well-founded reports concerning the number of Seris who had already been in the wilds since 1746, when the others revolted.

All of these provinces are now completely pacified of the hostilities they have suffered because the large number of rebels has been reduced to 181 [families]. The rest have been killed through war and diseases. They are now settled in their respective pueblos and ancient lands in the following manner: Fifty-nine Seri families established their pueblo the distance of a musket shot from the garrison of

165. Francisco Vellido (also spelled Bellido) was a Castilian who spent thirty years as a soldier in the Regiment of the Spanish Dragoons. He came to New Spain in 1764. He served as a lieutenant colonel in the Sonora Expedition.

Pitic. They were given abundant lands, which they have planted and fenced. [They have also dug] an irrigation ditch and [erected] a dam in the river to extract water for irrigating their crops, although the dam needs to be reinforced so that the floodwaters do not destroy it. The forty-eight Piato families have been distributed among the pueblos where they were born, such as Pitiqui [Pitiquito], Visani [Bísanic], and Caborca. The natives of those pueblos work the mission lands together, and the fruits [of those fields] sustain everyone, including the newly surrendered. The same can be said of the seventy-four Sibubapa families divided among the missions of Belén and Suaqui, of which they are natives.

The precise and faithful accounts of the events of the past three years, which the higher government has received, illustrate both the success of the military expedition in the provinces of Sonora and Ostimuri and their happy state of tranquility. [These provinces] remain free of the constant and lamentable hostilities which they had been suffering ever since 1746. Success has been delayed, but definite. The rebels always discuss the fact that little time has passed between their capture and their punishment. Instead of having the courage to conquer or perish in combat, they prefer the security of premeditated flight.

For this reason, no considerable advantages have been gained through military actions. No sooner did an opportunity arise than a series of irreparable accidents have occurred which were impossible to foresee. [In contrast], small details [of men] have with time and constancy achieved the desired end. This plan has assured that wherever and in whatever number the enemies have been encountered, they have been successfully dislodged and obliged to take precipitous flight. Neither the thick brush of the hills nor the confusing labyrinth of the thickets—in which they regularly resided—have been an obstacle. This fact was demonstrated in the four invasions of the mountain range of the Cerro Prieto, which the troops surmounted with their agility.

In order to preserve the tranquility and fidelity of the Indians who have surrendered, it is necessary only to refrain from introducing anything new into their settlements which might incite them. They [also] need to be treated with love and kindness and governed with prudence. That slavelike treatment with which they have been managed must be abolished. This is the reason why many of them became exasperated and initiated the uprisings that have only now been extinguished at great effort and considerable expense to the royal treasury.

Although it is not the business of this military diary of operations to deal with the placer deposits of Cieneguita,[166] it seems permissible to do so because they were discovered by a detachment of troops that was passing by that spot. Only in this way were its riches discovered.

Toward the end of November 1770, the aforementioned gold placer deposits were first discovered about twelve leagues from the presidio of Altar in the province of Sonora. In March 1771, their opulence [became known], and the land has continued to produce this precious metal in such abundance that it has been appraised as the richest known in those provinces, greatly exceeding the famous discoveries of San Antonio de las Huertas [de la Huerta], Saracachi, and Bacoachi.[167]

166. San Ildefonso de la Cieneguilla. The first bonanza began in 1771 and lasted eight years. The second bonanza began in 1803.

167. Gold was discovered at San Antonio de la Huerta in 1759; at Saracachi, along the Río Saracachi north of Cucurpe, in 1757; and at Bacoachi, on the upper Río Sonora, in 1758.

In these deposits, some found gold and others did not. The best results were obtained when the operators washed the gold from the dirt. But in Cieneguita [Cieneguilla], this was not possible due to the scarcity of water. [Prospectors] could simply take advantage of the gold they found there in abundance, with no more work than digging a hole about three or four *palmos*[168] deep and removing the dirt.

Everyone found gold in all locations in a district twelve leagues in longitude and one and a half leagues in latitude. It is known for certain that a gold nugget came out of that placer which weighed nine marcos.[169] (Its owner melted it down.) Other [nuggets] of three, four, and five marcos[170] and many from two onzas up to fourteen [were also found]. At the placer of Yecorato, near the *real* of Los Alamos, was also found that famous twenty-two-carat gold nugget that weighed sixteen marcos, four onzas, and four ochavas.[171] The comisario intendente of the expedition, Don Pedro Corbalán, retrieved it and Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo brought it to Mexico City and delivered it to His Most Excellent Lord Viceroy Marqués de Croix. Because of its rarity, His Most Excellent Lord brought it to present to the sovereign as a rare jewel worthy to be placed at His Majesty's feet.[172]

Mexico City, September 1, 1771.

Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara, 416.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Relación de la expedición de las Provincias de Sinaloa, Ostimuri, y Sonora en el Reino de Nueva España

Noticia individual de la expedición militar de Sinaloa, Ostimuri y Sonora, su éxito feliz y ventajoso estado en que por consecuencia de ella quedan tranquilizadas las tres provincias con la total rendición de los indios rebeldes que de mucho tiempo las hostilizaron.

Las provincias de Sinaloa, Ostimuri y Sonora sufrían desde el año de 1746 las calamidades de unos alzamientos internos que a fuerza de robos, muertes y toda clase de estragos despoblaron sus mejores reales de minas, y pusieron a los habitantes de aquel rico país en la última congoja, causando en el gobierno no poco recelo de su pérdida total.

Las naciones de indios seris, piatos, y sibubapas, roto el freno de la obediencia, y acogidos a las ásperas montañas de la dilatada y famosa sierra de Santa Rosa llamada vulgarmente Cerro Prieto y otras de inexplicable fragosidad, salían a talar

168. A *palmo mayor* equaled 0.25 of a vara, or about 8.2 inches.

169. One marco equaled eight onzas (8.11 ounces), or 230.2 grams. This nugget therefore weighed seventy-two onzas or 2,071.8 grams.

170. Or 24, 32, and 48 onzas.

171. 132.5 onzas.

172. Almada (1983:158) reports that a nugget weighing 22 marcos and 6 onzas or 180 ounces was recovered from La Cieneguilla during the first bonanza.

la tierra de las mencionadas provincias llevándose de encuentro cuantos ganados hallaban sobre sus campos, y sin perdonar en los racionales, edad, sexo, ni estado, pues todos eran lastimosas víctimas de su cruel atrocidad, hasta que llegando al cielo los vapores de tanta sangre inocente, y el clamor de aquellos habitantes a los piadosos oídos de nuestro incomparable soberano, que atiende con igual clemencia a todos sus vasallos, aún los más remotos, mandó en real orden de 21 de diciembre de 1764, respecto haber enviado los auxilios de generales, oficialidad y tropa, se ocurriese con el mayor calor al reparo de aquellos graves males.

En el siguiente año de 1765, continuaba el gobernador de Sonora, don Juan de Pineda, las más vivas instancias al excelentísimo señor virrey para que proveyese de remedio a los daños que desolaban aquellos importantes territorios; representaban sobre lo mismo los capitanes de los presidios de Buenavista, Terrenate, Fronteras, Altar y Tubac, manifestando la imposibilidad de perseguir a los enemigos y contener sus hostilidades con la sola fuerza de sus compañías. Tratase el punto en la primera junta de generales celebrada el día 4 de enero del año 1767 en que concurrieron: el excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix, virrey y capitán general de este reino, y los señores don José de Gálvez, intendente general, los mariscales de campo don Juan Fernando Palacios y don Antonio Ricardos, don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri, decano de la real audiencia, don Domingo Valcárcel, auditor de guerra, don Juan Antonio Velarde, fiscal del crimen, y don Diego Cornide, asesor general. Y aunque a vista del expediente y de la real orden no quedaba anuario para diferir su cumplimiento, fue invencible el reparo de no haber caudales para sostener los gastos de una expedición.

En semejante circunstancia el excelentísimo señor visitador general emprendió mover al comercio de España, congregado en la Feria de Jalapa, a que repitiese una prueba de su constante fidelidad, y en efecto contribuyó con un donativo de setenta y ocho mil seiscientos veinte pesos, dando generoso ejemplo para otros que después verificaron, y para el subsidio de cien mil pesos que también franqueó el real consulado de México a proposición del excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix, con el mismo objeto de pacificar las provincias inválidas.

En la segunda junta de guerra de generales, que por otra de 4 del presente mes de enero de 1767 quedó convocada para el día 8 del propio mes y año, en que concurrieron los mismos señores que en la primera, se volvieron a examinar con la mayor atención los informes hechos por el gobernador de Sonora y capitanes de presidio en que daban cuenta individual del ruinoso estado de aquellas provincias por las continuas irrupciones y correrías que hacían en ellas las tres naciones de indios rebeldes, seris, piatos y sibubapas.

No faltaron capitanes de presidio que opinaban en sus informes ser más útiles las milicias que dragones, pero el gobernador don Juan de Pineda hizo ver las ventajas de utilidad que asistían a los segundos, y la ninguna de los primeros. También hubo algunos que se persuadían era fácil extinguir los enemigos en corto tiempo, si se presentaran a pelear cara a cara en parajes regulares con la tropa que había en los presidios y algunos auxiliares. Pero enemigos que es preciso buscarlos por sus rastros como a las fieras, que viven siempre en las intrincadas malezas, y que afianzan su victoria en la fuga, se necesita gente para tomarles las alturas, destreza en hacer fuego, valor y constancia para soportar las penosas fatigas que acarrea este género de guerra en la incesante persecución que es precisa para lograr el fin que se desea. Pues la experiencia acredita que el hacerles campañas de dos o tres meses, sin el correspondiente número de combatientes, y estar siempre sobre ellos, es fatigar la tropa y avilantarlos más.

Los gobernadores anteriores han hecho repetidas después de haber tomado las más prudentes acertadas providencias. Los oficiales y soldados con envidiable bizarro denuedo se portaron en todas ellas; pero pregúntesele a muchos que aún hay sirviendo, si las ventajas han correspondido jamás a las fatigas. Luego parece preciso buscar otro método para conseguir batir el insolente orgullo de tan crueles fieras, y sujetar la arrogancia con que están, pero esto no se puede facilitar sin destinar la tropa veterana, proyectada, y pedida, según el plan que el mismo gobernador remitió anteriormente al superior gobierno.

Después de haber conferido largamente sobre cada uno de los puntos contenidos en los expresados informes, con presencia de un plan formado por el mencionado gobernador en razón del número y calidad de tropas que a su juicio debían emplearse en la expedición que desde el mes de octubre de 1765 se creyó ser precisa, en cumplimiento de las órdenes de su majestad y en consecuencia de lo pedido por los señores fiscal y auditor de guerra, se acordó por uniformidad de votos y con presencia de asuntos tomar entre otras resoluciones las siguientes:

Que se diesen desde luego las órdenes por su excelencia, al gobernador de Sonora para que sin pérdida de tiempo formase las milicias para el reemplazo de los soldados que debían sacarse de los presidios para la expedición, y alistase los indios auxiliares de las naciones amigas y obedientes eligiendo entre ellos los que fuesen del mayor esfuerzo y experimentada fidelidad para que sirviesen en la determinada expedición. Y que también se despachasen a don Pedro Corbalán, comisario nombrado por el señor don José de Gálvez, las instrucciones y providencias para que acopiase, con abundancia, los víveres y demás provisiones necesarias en la hacienda del Pitic y puerto de Guaymas, en cuyos dos parajes situados a norte y sur del Cerro Prieto se habían de establecer los almacenes de repuesto y cuarteles de acantonamiento. Y que respecto de hallarse despoblado dicho puerto y ser el surgidero más preciso para el desembarco de la tropa y resguardo de las embarcaciones que debían conducirla desde el puerto de San Blas, a cuyo fin se construían sobre el río Santiago en la provincia de la Nueva Galicia, se previniese con tiempo al gobernador don Juan de Pineda para que hiciese ocupar y construir alguna población en dicho puerto de Guaymas, y también en la hacienda del Pitic.

Que para segurar en todo lo posible el buen éxito de la expedición contra los indios rebeldes se destinasen los doscientos dragones que pedía el teniente coronel don Juan de Pineda y los capitanes de presidio, sacándolos de los regimientos de España y México con sus correspondientes oficiales y que además se enviase un piquete del regimiento de infantería de América, la compañía de fusileros de México, la de voluntarios Catalanes, los dos volantes de caballería levantadas en Sonora y doscientos hombres de los seis presidios, quedando en su reemplazo y para su resguardo como el de la frontera, ciento y diez milicianos de gente del país.

No siendo posible atienda, en la vasta extensión de terreno y las distancias en que ha de obrar, la tropa dividida en trozos, que los mande y dirija todos un solo jefe. Se dejó a la disposición del excelentísimo señor virrey la elección de otro que fuese mandando la tropa de infantería y dragones, a cuyo efecto nombró su excelentísimo, al coronel del regimiento de dragones de España, don Domingo Elizondo.

Copia de la orden que pasó el excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix al coronel don Domingo Elizondo.

Incluyo a vuestra señoría la adjunta relación de los oficiales y tropa que deben

ir a sus órdenes con destino a servir en la expedición de Sonora, a fin que vuestra señoría les pase los avisos correspondientes para que le reconozcan por su comandante, e inspector. Dios guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años. México, 11 de abril de 1767.

Estado de los oficiales y tropa destinados a la expedición de las provincias de Sonora:

Grados	*Oficiales*	*Tropa*	*Total*
Comandante			
El coronel don Domingo Elizondo	1		
Ayudante			
don Domingo Langlase	1		
Regimiento de Dragones de España			
Capitanes			
don Gaspar de Portolá			
don Manuel de Medina	2		
Tenientes			
don Juan Lumbreras			
don Francisco Vellido			
don Andrés Navarro			
don Baltasar de Aguirre	4		
Alfereces			
don Joseph Laso			
don Cristóbal Navarro	2		
Sargentos		4	
Tambores		2	
Dragones		96	102
Regimiento de Dragones de México			
Capitanes			
don Miguel Gallo Villavicencio			
don Vicente Moreno	2		
Tenientes			
don Francisco Blanco			
don Pedro Allande			
don Joaquín de Torres	3		
Alfereces			
don Francisco Viana			
don Manuel de Vargas	2		
Sargentos		4	
Tambores		2	
Dragones		93	99
Regimiento de Infantería de América			
Capitán			
don Diego Peirán	1		

Grados	*Oficiales*	*Tropa*	*Total*
Teniente			
don Gerónimo Vallancourt	1		
Subteniente			
don Francisco Salablanca	1		
Sargentos		2	
Tambores		2	
Soldados		47	51
Suma			252
Compañía de Voluntarios Catalanes			
Capitán			
don Agustín Callis	1		
Tenientes			
don Pedro Tagis	1		
Subtenientes			
don Esteban Villaseca	1		
don Pedro Alberni	1		
Sargentos		4	
Tambores		2	
Soldados		94	100
Compañía de Fusileros de Montaña			
Capitán			
don Antonio Pol	1		
Tenientes			
don Cayetano Perea			
don Gaspar Jiménez	2		
Subteniente			
don Esteban Sola	1		
Sargentos		4	
Tambores		2	
Soldados		144	150
Suma total			502

Oficiales	*Plana Mayor*	
de Artillería		
Teniente	don Antonio Daroca	
Otro	don Francisco Martínez	2
Ingenieros	don Miguel Constanzo	
	don Francisco Fersem	2
Capitán Mayor	don Pedro Fernández	
Sencillo	don Pedro Tordecillas	2
Cirujano Mayor	don Guillermo Sir	
Otro Sencillo	don Pedro Prats	
Practicante	don Guillermo Lasala	3
Boticario	don Joseph Obina	1
Armero	Juan García	1
Panaderos		2

En virtud de orden del excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix, se puso la tropa en marcha por el orden siguiente:

El piquete del regimiento de infantería de América con la compañía de fusileros de montaña salió de México el día 20 de abril del año de 1767 al mando del capitán don Diego Peirán.

Los piquetes del regimiento de dragones de España a las órdenes de su coronel don Domingo Elizondo el día 26 de dicho día mes y año.

Los piquetes de regimiento de dragones de México a las órdenes del capitán don Miguel Gallo el día 29 de dicho mes y año.

La compañía de voluntarios de Cataluña a las órdenes de su capitán don Agustín Callis día 15 de octubre del propio año.

La primera división llegó a Tepic el día primero de junio del año de 1767; la segunda el 5, la tercera el 10 de dicho mes y año, y la cuarta el día 12 de diciembre del propio año de 1767.

En dicho pueblo de Tepic, distante doscientas leguas de México, se unió toda la tropa y sirvió de cuartel de asamblea.

Como las órdenes del excelentísimo señor virrey estrechaban al coronel a fin, con la posible brevedad se efectuase el embarco de la expedición a la península de California, para practicar la importante expulsión de los padres regulares que existían en sus misiones, a este efecto se embarcaron en el puerto de San Blas el día [ilegible] de julio del propio año, veinticinco dragones de ambos cuerpos e igual número de fusileros de montaña a las órdenes de don Gaspar de Portolá, capitán del regimiento de dragones de España nombrado por el gobernador de dicha península, pero a los tres días de navegación regresó al propio puerto por hacer mucha agua la embarcación.

El día 24 de agosto del citado año volvió a embarcarse el mencionado capitán con el alférez del propio cuerpo, don Joseph de Laso, un sargento del de México y otro de fusileros, juntamente el capellán mayor don Pedro Fernández y dos padres de Propaganda Fide; pero en cuanto doblaron las primeras de las islas Marías experimentó una furiosa tempestad de viento y corrientes tan contrarias que a los ocho días de navegación volvió de segunda arribada al referido puerto de San Blas. Como en estas costas del mar del sur se experimentan en dicha estación tan fuertes huracanes, fueron de dictamen los pilotos y prácticos no ser dable, sin evidente riesgo, navegar hasta que pase el plenilunio de octubre inmediato; cuya opinión obligó al coronel comandante desembarcar la tropa y transferirla al pueblo de Tepic hasta la favorable estación, cuya resolución aprobó el excelentísimo señor virrey marqués de Croix.

El día 19 de octubre del citado año reiteró su embarcación el mencionado capitán, alférez, sargentos, y tropa aumentada de diez dragones y diez fusileros; el teniente de estos don Gaspar Jiménez, el capellán mayor y doce religiosos regulares de San Francisco de la provincia de Jalisco. Se hizo a la vela el día 20 a bordo de la balandra del rey nombrada la Sinaloa, y de la goleta la Sonora. El mencionado capitán gobernador llevó la orden y encargo especial para que luego que desembarcase en el puerto de Loreto, o Escondido, de Californias, hiciese regresar los dos citados barcos acompañado de los dos que servían en dicha península para que en los cuatro y el bergantín San Carlos, que se estaba concluyendo en el puerto de San Blas, se efectuase el embarco de las tropas destinadas a la expedición de Sonora.

Eran tan sumamente expresivas las órdenes del excelentísimo señor virrey para la más pronta expedición, como deseada por el coronel don Domingo Elizondo,

que con incesante desvelo la solicitada, y lo acredita el que aún faltando algunos víveres y otras cosas muy precisas para la navegación, se embarcó el día 24 de diciembre de 1767 con los cuatro piquetes de dragones a bordo del bergantín San Carlos. Y sólo el gran celo con que anhelaba desempeñar tan especial encargo pudo estimularlo a hacerse a la vela con doscientos veinticinco hombres entre tropa y tripulación, no siendo el buque para más que ciento sesenta, porque ningún soldado quiso quedarse para otro embarco porque todos deseaban llegar a su destino despreciando tan visible incomodidad.

En fin se hizo a la vela dicho día, pero en siete [días] de navegación subsistió el viento noruest[e] totalmente contrario o en defecto se tenían calmas; en la del 30 del citado mes se experimentó tan fuerte marejada y balances que hicieron quebrar el palo mayor, éste se consintió en tres partes y se rompió la botavara. De estos accidentes acaecidos delante de las islas Marías dieron parte el piloto y prácticos al coronel comandante representándole era imposible continuar la navegación. Repugnaba este jefe la arribada al puerto de San Blas, y así mandó se hiciese el mayor esfuerzo a fin de tomar el puerto de Mazatlán. Se conformaron los oficiales de mar en intentarlo, pero a las dos horas volvieron el piloto, contramaestre, y prácticos, diciendo que la embarcación no gobernaba, y que protestaban por si sobrevenía algún fatal acaecimiento, como de no reconocer otro arbitrio que regresar al puerto de San Blas, a cuyo parecer se vió obligado conformarse el coronel. Vino de bordo el paquebote para dicho puerto y arribó a él el último día del año, y el primero del siguiente desembarcó la tropa y marchó al pueblo de Guaristemba a esperar se reparase el paquebote de los daños que había experimentado.

Antes de la salida del puerto de San Blas para el pueblo de Guaristemba llamó el coronel a los prácticos de la costa a fin de que le informasen los días que podría tardar en la navegación, y unánimes y conformes, le aseguraron que para llegar al puerto de Guaymas se tardaría a lo menos cincuenta días, respecto que los vientos noruestes eran generales en la estación y acostumbraban durar hasta todo mayo ventoso [?]. Esta consideración hizo calcular el tiempo que sería necesario para unirse la expedición en Guaymas, destinado por cuartel o cantón de asamblea, habiendo de volver para el logro, el paquebote San Carlos, que debía hacer segunda navegación y resultaba no poder efectuarse la reunión hasta fin de junio.

Vacilaba incesantemente la imaginación del coronel solicitando y discurriendo el mejor acierto, sin separarse de las intenciones del excelentísimo señor virrey, cuyo desvelo se dirigía con ardor al más pronto embarco de la tropa, pero no halló otro más adaptable para conseguir el deseado fin que emprender su marcha por tierra con los cuatro piquetes de dragones; resolución que facilitaba el embarco de las dos compañías de voluntarios y fusileros, en el bergantín San Carlos que se estaba concluyendo de habilitar, y en el paquebote La Lauretana que acababa de llegar de California; y el piquete de América en el que se aguardaba por días, nombrado La Concepción, procedente también de la misma península. Y quedaba concluído el embarco de toda la tropa destinada a la expedición.

Las órdenes del excelentísimo señor virrey, y las solicitudes del gobernador de Sonora tenían por principal objeto el cubrir con tropa aquella provincia y ponerla en resguardo de las invasiones con que los indios rebeldes la infestaban de continuo, cuyo logro aseguraba la proyectada resolución. Pues si las contingencias del mar dilataban el socorro de las tropas embarcadas, lo facilitaba las de tierra lo más tardar a mediados de marzo. Estas poderosas razones obligaron al coronel deliberar por sí, el viaje por tierra con los cuatro piquetes de dragones, dejando dispuesto el embarco de la infantería en los términos que arriba se proyectó.

A cuyo efecto expidió la providencia necesaria a fin que desde luego se le anticipasen al real del Rosario treinta cargas de harina con panadero, para que a su arribo las hallase convertidas en bizcocho, del que se abasteció hasta dicho tránsito. Se proveyó de los precisos utensilios para tan dilatado viaje, como tiendas de campaña, azadones, hachas de dos manos, y cuerdas de piquete para campar en los despoblados y abrir pozos en defecto de aguajes. Todavía faltaba lo más esencial para emprender la marcha que era caballos para los dragones, para cuyo acopio envió sus órdenes al pueblo de Tepic y hacienda del Papalote, que abunda de caballada, e inmediatamente enviaron ciento y sesenta caballos, que era los que necesitaba al cuartel de Guaristemba.

Cuyo número solicitó pagarlos el coronel al precio de partida que es la costumbre del país, a que se excusaron los dueños, dando por causal se hallaban las haciendas escasas de caballos, ofreciéndolos graciosamente hasta la primera en que se hallase remuda. Bajo este mismo método se hizo todo el viaje sin que los caballos de una hacienda pasasen de dos a tres tránsitos con beneficio de la real hacienda y suma complacencia del vecindario que prestaban sus caballos muy gustosos respecto que les interesaba el éxito de la expedición para lograr su quietud y libertad de poder comerciar con las provincias internas sin los riesgos que experimentaban de ser insultados de los rebeldes indios que hostilizaban los caminos, pueblos y haciendas.

Con las precedentes providencias y precauciones, se puso en marcha el coronel con los cuatro piquetes de dragones, a la ligera; enviando por mar sus equipajes desde el pueblo de Guaristemba el día 14 de enero del año de 1768, venciendo las infinitas dificultades que las gentes del país preponderaban y graduaban insensibles, dando por causal los muchos desiertos que se debían pasar, la escasez de agua en algunas distancias, como de veinte y más leguas; todo lo que se experimentó muy ponderado, pues es viaje que cualquiera tropa puede emprender en los meses de noviembre, diciembre, enero, y hasta mediados de febrero para no carecer de agua, pues en todos los citados meses, se halla la suficiente en los tránsitos; pero no se puede emprender este viaje con tropa en los demás meses, por los muchos ríos caudalosos que se encuentran, y no poderse vadear. Esta marcha se consigue hacer sin otra prevención que llevar bizcocho para todo el viaje porque de carnes abunda en todos los tránsitos; la tropa se abastecía con una vaca diaria y en ninguno pasó su corte de cuatro pesos hasta el real del Rosario.

En cincuenta y ocho días de marcha llegó esta tropa al cuartel de Guaymas, en que de antemano y a prevención, se tenían construídos barracones de caña y barro para alojamiento de los cuatro piquetes que estuvieron con bastante comodidad.

Desde la villa de Culiacán en todos los sucesivos tránsitos salían, los alcaldes mayores con el vecindario y compañías de milicias a dos leguas de distancia, a recibir la tropa con descargas de carabina y otras demostraciones de júbilo, y a la entrada de los pueblos celebraban el arribo de la tropa con repique de campanas. Los indios de las misiones hacían a su modo iguales demostraciones, saliendo sus compañías con el tamborcillo que acostumbran, batiéndole hasta la entrada de la misión, en la que se formaban en ala a una y otra parte del camino, hombres, mujeres, y niños a cumplimentar al comandante, quien para manifestarles su complacencia era precisa ceremonia ponerles la mano encima de la cabeza hasta a los niños de menor edad por ser costumbre entre ellos.

El día 20 de enero de 1768 se hicieron a la vela del puerto de San Blas el bergantín San Carlos y el paquebote La Lauretana, llevando a bordo las dos compañías de voluntarios catalanes y fusileros de montaña que se levantó en México. El[Al]

bergantín con esta compañía, le fue preciso tomar el puerto de Mazatlán el día 14 de febrero a causa del contrario tiempo que experimentaba. El 18 se hizo a la vela y hallándose a la vista del puerto de Culiacán le sobrevino tan fuerte temporal que le obligó arribar de regreso al puerto de San Blas el día primero de marzo. La Lauretana arribó por igual motivo al puerto de Mazatlán el día 2 de febrero, y se hizo a la vela el 9 del mismo, y el 24 hallándose delante de la villa de Culiacán, un furioso noruest[e] le obligó retroceder y con infinito trabajo pudo coger el mencionado puerto de Mazatlán el mismo día 24 en el que se mantuvo todo el mes hasta que se abasteció de todo género de víveres por habérseles acabado todos. Volvió hacerse a la vela el día primero de abril y dio fondo en el puerto de Guaymas el primero de mayo, y el 2 desembarcó la tropa y entró en este cuartel.

El paquebote La Concepción salió del puerto de San Blas con doce padres misioneros de Propaganda Fide destinados para las misiones de la provincia de la California, y todos los pertrechos de artillería y municiones para la expedición. Llegó al puerto de Loreto de la citada península el primero de abril, y habiendo desembarcado los padres y embarcado seis de regulares de San Francisco de la provincia de Jalisco que se hallaban en las misiones de California, se hizo a la vela el día 10 del propio mes, y ancoró en la Isla de Lobos, el [la] que está muy inmediata a la costa, en que desembarcaron todos los efectos, y se condujeron por tierra hasta el río Yaqui, y desde él, por mar, a Guaymas, a cuyo puerto arribó.

Volvió a salir del puerto de San Blas, el bergantín San Carlos con la compañía de fusileros, y el paquebote El Príncipe con el piquete del regimiento de infantería de América, la tesorería, y el residuo de municiones de guerra, el día 18 de marzo; el que ancoró en el puerto de Guaymas el día 5 de mayo, y aquél el 10. Y respectivamente se desembarcó la tropa luego de su llegada.

Y mediante [Inmediante] que se pudo habilitar de víveres el paquebote nombrado El Príncipe, se embarcaron los cincuenta padres expulsos que se recogieron de las misiones de las provincias de Sonora y Sinaloa, y se hicieron a la vela el día 20 de mayo y el 27 el bergantín San Carlos y el paquebote La Lauretana para regresar al puerto de San Blas. La contrariedad de vientos obligó a las tres mencionadas embarcaciones arribar al puerto Escondido de la península de California, pero luego que el San Carlos y La Lauretana refrescaron sus víveres y aguada, se hicieron a la vela; pero el paquebote El Príncipe, con pretexto de tener algunos padres enfermos, desembarcaron con intención de invernar. Noticioso de esta idea el ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez, visitador general de real hacienda, que a la sazón había desembarcado en la playa de Serralvo, después de cuarenta y un días de navegación y detención en el puerto de Mazatlán e Islas Isabelas, envió su orden al capitán del paquebote, mandándole que inmediatamente se hiciese a la vela para el puerto de San Blas, lo que practicó habiéndole provisto de víveres y hecho aguada.

Estas demoras al puerto de San Blas, de las embarcaciones San Carlos y [El] Príncipe, ocasionaban a su ilustrísima inquietud porque se atrasaba la interesante premeditada expedición al puerto de Monterrey situado en la contra-costa de California por el rumbo del cabo Mendocino.

Con fecha 3 de abril de 1768 recibieron al gobernador don Juan de Pineda, y el coronel don Domingo Elizondo, una orden del excelentísimo señor virrey, marqués de Croix que sigue:

> El señor don José de Gálvez, visitador general de los tribunales y cajas de real hacienda de este reino, pasa a la península de California a evacuar los

importantes encargos recomendados por su majestad, de suma gravedad, que he fiado a la notoria acreditada y singular conducta y distinguido amor al real servicio de que es animado este señor ministro, a cuyo fin, y para evitar todo lo que pueda ofrecérsele de menor embarazo en la práctica de sus encargos, le he conferido todas las amplísimas facultades que por la dignación del soberano autorizan mi persona; y luego que haya concluído de tomar las providencias que tuviese por convenientes, y hubiese arreglado los recomendables negocios en aquellos parajes, deberá pasar a esas provincias de la Sonora y Nueva Vizcaya a practicar lo mismo, y mientras tanto le darán a vuestras señorías cuenta de todos los asuntos y ocurrencias que en estos parajes se ofrezcan, lo mismo que a mí, para que acuda con oportunas providencias. Y de quedar en su inteligencia, para el debido cumplimiento, me darán vuestras señorías el aviso correspondiente.

El coronel subsistía con la tropa de su mando en el cantón de Guaymas en una impaciente inacción, a causa de la falta de agua en la campaña, hasta el día primero de junio de 1768 que salieron tres destacamentos de setenta hombres cada uno, de común acuerdo con el gobernador de la provincia don Juan de Pineda. El primero a las órdenes del coronel, desde Guaymas, se dirigió al cajón llamado de Ana María, en las vertientes del Cerro Prieto, en el que se halló dieciséis caballos de los enemigos, sin ver ninguno de ellos; y siguiendo su correría por Opan Guaymas, en cuyo sitio se reconoció rastro fresco, el que se siguió y alcanzó en los pozos de Tastiota y sólo se componía de una familia de siete personas de las que se mataron dos, y se aprendió una mujer y dos criaturas, y las otras dos se confundieron entre las malezas con la obscuridad de la noche.

El segundo destacamento bajo las órdenes del capitán don Bernardo Urrea salió del cantón del Pitic, y dirigiendo su marcha por el cerro del Tonuco y sierra del Bacoachi, logró en estos dos sitios matar cinco hombres y apresar tres mujeres y cuatro niños con cuarenta y seis caballos, habiéndosele huído algunos hombres, de que también fueron algunos heridos del fuego que les hizo en su fuga.

Salió el tercer destacamento del presido de Buenavista a las órdenes de su capitán don Lorenzo Cancio, y reconoció las sierras de los Pilares y Bacatete, pero sin haber visto sino dos indios que precipitadamente se pusieron de huída, habiendo herido uno según se reconoció por la sangre que iba vertiendo, pero no se les pudo dar alcance porque ganaron las asperezas de la sierra.

Lo árido de la estación, sin embargo que ya había llovido, la general falta de agua que experimentaron los tres destacamentos, y la mucha debilidad de los caballos obligó retirarse antes de los quince días proyectados para las respectivas correrías. Estos irremediables inconvenientes dejan regularmente frustradas las fatigas, y no permiten el éxito que sin ellos, lograría.

Esta empresa no tuvo el efecto que se prometía, así por las expuestas razones, como por hallarse los enemigos dispersos, pero no ha dejado de causarles notable inquietud al ver se les perseguía por varias partes, en una estación en que acostumbran vivir tranquilos, pues no había ejemplar se les buscase por los excesivos calores y la escasez de agua en la campaña, la que igualmente obligó a los rebeldes desamparar el Cerro Prieto.

En el pueblo de San José de Pimas se convocaron el gobernador de la provincia don Juan de Pineda y el coronel don Domingo Elizondo el día 12 de agosto de 1768, y el 13 se detallaron las operaciones para la próxima campaña. Cuyo plan se hizo

presente a los capitanes don Juan Bautista de Anza, don Lorenzo Cancio, y don José Bergosa, porque como el primero y último acababa(n) de hacer el reconocimiento del terreno de los enemigos, sirvieron de mucha importancia sus noticias para dirigir los destacamentos. Cuyo principal objeto era obligarlos a que se uniesen en algunas de las asperezas del Cerro Prieto para sin la menor pérdida de tiempo atacarlos con el todo para que después sus mismos movimientos serían los que nos dictarían las operaciones.

Resolvieron ambos jefes que respecto hallarse los enemigos, según noticias, en las marismas, saliesen el día primero de septiembre próximo dos destacamentos; el primero a las órdenes del coronel, compuesto de cien hombres de infantería, ochenta dragones, y treinta soldados de presidio; y el segundo a las órdenes del capitán don Bernardo de Urrea de setenta hombres de la última tropa. Este debía salir del cantón del Pitic a recorrer el cerro del Tonuco, Pilas de Ibarburu y sierra del Bacoachi, y aquél a correr todas las costas de las marismas; uno y otro con el designio de atacar los enemigos y estrecharlos a que se reuniesen en Cerro Prieto, y conseguido, irles a atacar con el todo. A esto se aspiraba, como que se premeditaba ser el único medio para lograr el exterminio de los rebeldes.

En este intermedio salió el capitán don Juan Bautista [de] Anza con cincuenta soldados de presidio, y halló porción de enemigos en unas asperezas del cerro del Cautivo, y aunque los atacó no logró más ventajas que matar cinco indios, un muchacho de quince años y dos mujeres, y quitarles veinte caballos porque se apoderaron de las escabrosidades de un puerto muy ventajoso desde donde le hirieron al teniente de la partida y a dos soldados, de los que a pocos días murió el uno, y así mismo le mataron dos caballos, y le hirieron ocho.

Un muchacho español que habían cautivado hacía nueve meses, pudo escaparse y juntarse con el destacamento, e informó de varios pensamientos de los enemigos, como son, el de esperar a la tropa en el cajón de la Nopalera del Cerro Prieto. El que decía despreciaban aquella, y que no temían a la nueva porque la veían sin cueras; que pocos días antes de este ataque, su amo, que era el capitán Box [Bor?], convidó a todos los pimas y seris a beber y que en cinco días que duró el vino de pitahaya estuvieron ebrios y que había tendidos por tierra como setecientos indios; preguntóle el capitán que si sabía contar, respondió que sí, y que sabía bien que diez veces diez eran ciento, y así fue contando hasta mil. Sin otra novedad se retiró dicho capitán el día 16 de agosto.

El primero de septiembre salieron los dos proyectados destacamentos provistos de víveres por quince días. El del capitán de presidio don Bernardo Urrea logró al tercer día de marcha sorprender en el carrizal del Bacoachi una ranchería de rebeldes de la nación seris, de que mató once hombres y siete mujeres y apresó catorce niños de ambos sexos, una india grande, y un indio del Tiburón. La india por haber sido apresada otra vez, en confuso español dijo que los capitanes Marcos, Chepillo y Crisanto pusieron una cruz a un cuarto de legua del Pitic, cerca del Cerro de la Conveniencia, con dos flechas sin pedernal y rotos los extremos donde se asegura en el arco, y la cuerda adornada de plumas, y que estuvieron esperando si se les correspondía con otra para tratar de paz, y viendo que no se había ejecutado, se volvieron tristes diciendo a sus compañeros que los españoles estaban muy enojados con ellos.

Luego que los enemigos pusieron la cruz, dieron parte de ésta no esperada novedad, y no pareció conveniente se les correspondiese con otra, así porque suelen valerse de estos ardides para entretener el tiempo oportuno de atacarlos y

perseguirlos, como también para causarles mayor consternación viendo despreciadas las proposiciones de paz. Suspendiendo su admisión para cuando se reconociese venían de buena fe a pedirla, teniendo presente lo dispuesto por la junta de guerra de oficiales, generales, y las órdenes del excelentísimo señor virrey.

De la ranchería sorprendida pudieron huir seis indios a caballo y aunque los siguieron más de tres leguas a toda brida, y alargando los soldados las sillas sobre la carrera, no fue dable alcanzarlos; de lo que resultó que a pocas horas se vieron diferentes humazos que son las señales que tienen para avisarse cuando andan tropas en sus terrenos. Con este motivo, las rancherías que había al rumbo del poniente se unieron todas en el monte Tenuaje. Con cuya novedad y sin otra alguna se retiró el destacamento al cantón del Pitic el día 14 de septiembre de 1768.

El que mandaba el coronel don Domingo Elizondo, dirigió su marcha por el ojo de la Pasión, Opan Guaymas, por el de Tastiota, y toda la marisma. A los seis días de marcha observó que algunos soldados de infantería iban muy fatigados y despeados, así por los excesivos calores que se experimentaban, como por el pedregoso terreno en que se caminaba. Por cuya razón y haberse huído una noche de tronada ocho reses que conducían para racionar la tropa, por defecto de tasajo resultaba la falta de subsistencia. Por estos antecedentes premeditaba el coronel la imposibilidad de continuar la infantería los tres días de marcha que faltaban para llegar al monte del Tenuaje, cuyo reconocimiento era el principal objeto de su cuidado, habiendo de pasar precisamente por varios pantanos que la tropa de a caballo tuvo infinito trabajo el superarlos. Estas reflexiones consultó con los capitanes del destacamento, y fueron de dictamen no exponer la tropa a un evidente riesgo, y para evitarlo, resolvió despacharla por el camino recto del cantón del Pitic, proporcionándole cuatro moderadas jornadas, que eran los días que les quedaba de ración.

Y con la demás tropa, dándoles a media, se fue el coronel a buscar los enemigos. Y al tercer día de marcha halló sus rastros, y los siguió la mañana del día 9 de septiembre, y como a cosa de legua y media encontró una ranchería que acababa de levantarse, dejando dieciséis caballos y todo su ajuar; prosiguió sobre la huella, y al llegar al monte Tenuaje, los enemigos con petulante orgullo recibieron la tropa con su acostumbrado alarido y una copiosa descarga de flechas, sin distinguirse los objetos por lo cerrado del bosque.

El que reconocido, al primer golpe del ojo le consideró impenetrable a caballo, por lo que mandó con mucha aceleración poner pie a tierra a la tropa, la que llevada de aquel natural ardor y deseo de pelear con los enemigos, despreciando el crecido número y ventajosa situación, se arrojó con intrepidez a los bárbaros, que se defendieron cual jamás se ha visto por las sendas o desfiladeros que permitía lo enmarañado del terreno.

En el que se hallaban los enemigos formaba una media luna, y se comprendía por la dirección de las flechas que disparaban de frente y costados, sirviendo de guía para dirigir el fuego que les graneaba con tanta viveza la tropa, por la espesura de las ramas y claros en que se percibían cruzar a los rebeldes; que les obligó a ir cediendo al paso que la tropa los iba estrechando, de modo que abandonaron la ranchería que tenían de antemano fortificada con hoyos en toda su circunferencia, cubiertos con yerbas de modo que no se percibían. Y apostados los enemigos en todas las sendas que se dirigían a la ranchería, se dispusieron a esperar el ataque de la tropa, sin duda fiados en esta ventajosa situación y segura retirada, como en su número, que ascendía a cerca de trescientos hombres de arco y flecha; y para hallarse

desembarazados, retiraron las familias y caballos a lo más áspero e interior del bosque.

A tiempo que por él penetraban los enemigos venía otra ranchería a unirse con el cuerpo de los rebeldes, la que viendo los caballos con corta guardia, pues no se pudo dejar el resguardo correspondiente, porque el todo constaba de solos sesenta y cinco soldados, la atacaron, pero habiendo tenido el aviso prontamente acudió el coronel, tan oportunamente, como que sólo habían empezado a soltar dos caballos, pero en cuanto vieron la tropa se pusieron en precipitada fuga por la espesura del bosque que tenía ocho leguas de longitud, y cuatro de latitud, sin más daño que haber herido dos caballos.

La acción duró cerca de tres cuartos de hora; el fuego fue muy vivo correspondido con infinito número de jaras, de que se advierte cuán sobre sí estaban los enemigos, cómo pelean, y que no son tan pusilánimes como lo que los hacen los que no los han visto.

No se necesita expresar el valor con que se portaron los oficiales y soldados porque basta decir que sesenta y cinco se arrojaron a pelear contra cerca de trescientos indios, en un bosque donde apenas se descubrían, exponiéndose con marcial intrepidez en las angostas sendas, porque penetraban, superando con la misma, un parapeto que la naturaleza del terreno le dispuso para mayor resguardo de los rebeldes.

El motivo de hallarse con tan corto número de tropa el coronel, fue porque había dejado para resguardo de la provisión treinta hombres, haber enviado un cabo y cuatro con los dieciséis caballos apresados, dos con cuatro caballos más que se recogieron posteriormente, y un cabo y cuatro hombres, al principio de la acción, con la orden al oficial de escolta a la provisión para que reuniese todo su convoy, y se mantuviese sobre el terreno que le hallase, hasta nueva orden.

Concluída la acción se reconoció el campo sobre el que sólo se encontraron trece indios muertos, pero no se pudo examinar con prolijidad por lo cerrado del bosque. Por el tiempo que duró el fuego, la viveza con que se hizo, y los muchos rastros de sangre que se hallaron, se infiere tuvieron los rebeldes en esta ocasión crecido número de heridos; de esta clase lo fue don Juan Lumbreras, teniente del regimiento de dragones de España, cinco dragones de este cuerpo, seis del de México, y un soldado de presidio. También hirieron el caballo que montaba el coronel en el ataque.

Recogieron los soldados sus caballos, montaron, se pasó lista, y habiendo dado parte no faltar ninguno, se puso en marcha porque la falta de agua era grande, pues desde el día anterior se experimentaba, dirigiéndola al campo de Siete Cerritos, que distaba cinco leguas. A cuyo fin, y el de retirar los heridos para su curación fue preciso tomar dicho rumbo para el cantón del Pitic, porque la falta de víveres no permitía regresar a Guaymas por su larga distancia, y sólo había tres jornadas cortas al mencionado cantón del Pitic. Y llegó la tropa sin otra novedad el 12 del citado septiembre.

Con motivo de esta retirada del coronel don Domingo Elizondo con el destacamento de su mando, reconoció la ventajosa proporción que ofrece el expresado cantón del Pitic, así para salir a buscar a los enemigos en sus terrenos como para atacarlos en el Cerro Prieto que era su [r]efugio. Este asunto trató con el gobernador de la provincia, y anhelando ambos el mejor servicio del rey, premeditaron convendría transferir la mayor parte de la tropa de Guaymas, como paraje más distante de donde acostumbran ranchear frecuentemente los enemigos, al expresado cantón del Pitic, y poder con más facilidad y frecuencia perseguirlos.

Con este motivo determinaron ambos jefes llamar a los capitanes don Bernardo Urrea, y don Juan Bautista de Anza, ambos de presidio, a fin que como prácticos de los terrenos y de la situación de los dos cuarteles expusiesen su dictamen. Y fue el que la mayor parte de la tropa debía colocarse en el Pitic por estar casi en el centro del terreno que giraban los enemigos, atendiendo siempre a dejar competente guarnición en Guaymas, así para su resguardo, como para mantener alternativamente un destacamento en campaña de setenta hombres para recorrer todo el territorio de sur y parte de oueste [este], y el del Pitic la parte del norte y poniente, a fin de cortar las huellas enemigas que saliesen de dicho Cerro Prieto, como para tener a los bárbaros en continua alarma y desasosiego.

Una partida de siete indios sibubapas se introdujo por el cerro del Tambor, dirigiendo su rumbo a San Antonio de las Huertas; encontraron el día 24 del próximo pasado agosto a dos indios de la misión de Tecoripa, y después de haber peleado con espíritu les quitaron la[s] vidas. Esta misma partida dio el 26 con cuatro vecinos del pueblo de la Trinidad, los que habiéndose entregado al sueño con total abandono y en paraje muy peligroso y despoblado, como es el de Rebeico, la mañana siguiente al romper el alba los sorprendieron, y quitaron las vidas, sin darles lugar para disparar una arma. Y continuando su marcha el 30 dieron muerte cerca del Llano Colorado a dos mujeres y un hombre. De estas novedades avisaron al capitán don José Bergosa que se hallaba en San José de Pimas con su compañía; inmediatamente destacó un oficial con doce soldados en su seguimiento, y a los cuatro días logró alcanzarlos, pero fue en paraje tan sumamente áspero que no consiguió otra ventaja que matar a uno, y quitarles todos los caballos y robo, que le abandonaron para huir por las escabrosidades con más facilidad.

El día del ataque del monte Tenuaje, perdió por el camino una pistola, un cabo del regimiento de México; y retrocedió con dos soldados a buscarla sin la menor noticia ni inteligencia del coronel, ni oficialidad. Acabada la función, y pasada lista en su respectivo piquete, los hallaron de menos, pero dieron parte quedaban en la recua de la provisión. Pero habiéndose incorporado con ella el destacamento, a cinco leguas de distancia del paraje en que se tuvo el choque, se supo la realidad de su separación. Pues haberla sabido cuando se pasó lista, se hubiera mantenido el destacamento hasta la incorporación de los tres citados hombres, que no había motivo que lo embarazase y se hubiera remediado su desgraciada pérdida. Esta resultó del inconsiderado ardor del cabo, que advertido por el cabo que llevaba la orden para que la provisión hiciese alto, y se recogiese todo soldado a su resguardo, y que no era dable diese con el destacamento, a cuyo tiempo, oído por el cabo los tiros, aceleró la marcha, y con los dos dragones por el bosque donde su desgracia los condujo, y después de haberse retirado la tropa, cayeron en manos de los bárbaros que los fueron cargando hasta que los mataron.

Luego que el dicho destacamento se retiró al Pitic, salió otro compuesto de un oficial de presidio y treinta soldados a reconocer si los enemigos se mantenían en el mencionado bosque para reiterar el ataque con mayores fuerzas y por distintos puestos; halló que le habían desamparado. Encaminándose hacia las Pilas de Ibarburu, y [encontraron] los tres cadáveres a la entrada del bosque colgados en un árbol por los pies.

Un indio que apresó el destacamento, que sucesivamente fue de las órdenes del coronel, refirió el desgraciado lance que fue de resulta de que habiendo salido un indio a observar el rumbo que tomaba la tropa, descubrió a los tres dragones que penetraban en el bosque, y retrocedió a dar el aviso a sus compañeros diciéndoles iban perdidos; con cuya noticia salieron hasta quince rebeldes a su encuentro, y

apostados en un puesto muy ventajoso los atacaron. Y aunque el cabo y un dragón se defendieron con mucho valor, pues el otro murió en la primera descarga de flechas, a corto rato siguió la misma desgraciada suerte el otro dragón.

Y viéndose el cabo solo, se puso en fuga, pero tuvo el accidente de tropezar el caballo y caer con él. Tomó una pistola y se refugió detrás de un árbol en donde le flechaban todos, y al ver que no se rendía puso uno de ellos pie a tierra para cogerlo a mano, y al avanzarse le disparó la pistola y cayó muerto, pero como ya se hallaba indefenso, brevemente fue víctima del furor de los bárbaros que indignados de la muerte del compañero le cortaron las manos y la cabeza y después lo colgaron por los pies de un árbol. Cuyo cadáver y los otros dos hizo el oficial descolgarlos y enterrarlos en el mismo terreno.

Estos tres infelices fueron sacrificados por no haber observado el orden de disciplina que es el regular en toda tropa bien disciplinada: de no separarse jamás ningún soldado de su cuerpo sin licencia de sus oficiales. Cuya orden tenía bien repetida el coronel: de no separarse nadie en las marchas, ni destacamentos. En los que formaba una línea de circunvalación, encerrando los víveres y caballada, prefiriendo siempre el terreno llano y descubierto, pues a él no había ejemplar se arrimasen los rebeldes, ni que se separasen de los cerros, barrancas, o bosques. Este funesto accidente fue para todos muy doloroso, aunque ejemplar a la tropa en lo sucesivo para no separarse ninguno de su respectiva tropa.

La infantería ha tocado con la experiencia en salida al monte Tenuaje la imposibilidad de poder seguir a pie las correrías de campaña, así por las violentas y dilatadas jornadas que se ofrecen, como por la escasez de agua que frecuentemente se experimenta, pues acontece muchas veces no hallarla en quince y veinte leguas. En cuya consideración, y estimulado de su honor y deseo de acreditar su celo en servicio de su majestad, el capitán don Antonio Pol, haciendo sus salidas con la caballería, inspiró a su tropa la el [del] honrado pensamiento de comprar caballos de su cuenta para el expresado glorioso fin; con tal eficacia que en muy breves días tuvo cuarenta soldados montados y equipados para la salida grande que se premeditaba hacer. Y efectivamente salieron con su capitán.

A cuyo generoso pensamiento, que se darán pocos ejemplares en los ejércitos, siguieron los soldados del piquete de América y los de la compañía de voluntarios, estimulados igualmente de sus respectivos capitanes, quedando la mayor parte de esta tropa equipada de caballos y montura. Este particular y singular servicio en un soldado se hace digno de trasladarlo a la mente del soberano. En todas las más de las salidas sucesivas se nombraba la infantería proporcionado número de soldados, a los que de caballería se nombraban para ellas.

Después de la acción del monte Tenuaje se tiene dicho que salió un oficial de presidio con treinta soldados a reconocer si subsistían los enemigos en el propio sitio, y que dio parte a los dos jefes haber cortado y seguido por más de tres leguas una crecidísima huella de enemigos que salieron del mencionado bosque, dirigiendo su rumbo hacia el poniente, y halló también otra ranchería de sesenta jacales cerca de la grande de doscientos que atacó el coronel en dicho monte.

De resulta del antecedente movimiento de los enemigos, se nombró un destacamento compuesto de cien dragones, ciento diez soldados de presidio, cuarenta fusileros de montaña montados, y seis indios auxiliares de los cuatro pueblos de la Pimería del norte, y para que en caso de acción de guerra se distinguiesen de los enemigos, se les puso unas bandas encarnadas.

Este destacamento, capaz de batir a los enemigos aunque se halle con el todo

de ellos y en cualquiera terreno, salió el día 12 de septiembre a las órdenes del coronel don Domingo Elizondo, y el 16 cortó el rastro de todos los rebeldes que atacó el día 9 en el monte Tenuaje, que se dirigían hacia las Pilas de Ibarburu, en cuyo sitio, sin hacer mansión prosiguieron su marcha, y la tropa la suya sobre el rastro. A las once de la noche del propio día, hizo alto para esperar el siguiente, y solicitando un paraje que los prácticos le premeditaban muy inmediato, en que abriendo pozos se hallaría agua a fin de darla a los caballos, de que tenían mucha necesidad, y continuar la ruta dirigida a los sitios de la Aribaipia y sierra del Pitic, que son los únicos en que opinaban los prácticos se podían arranchar por tener proporción de aguajes y sierras escabrosas que es lo que apetecen los bárbaros para su seguridad.

El 17 por la mañana, al rayar del día, se puso en movimiento el destacamento en solicitud del aguaje, y como a cosa de media legua dieron los batidores de improviso con una ranchería de enemigos que la envistieron rápidamente seguidos del todo, sin arbitrio a otra disposición porque de darlos, a atacarlos no admite intermisión, porque en suspendiendo la ejecución para dar alguna providencia, ya no se está a tiempo porque no le da la velocidad con que huyen los bárbaros.

Sin embargo sobre la marcha mandó el coronel a las dos divisiones, que a prevención iban distribuídas sobre derecha e izquierda, se abriesen sobre su respectivo costado y dando un semicírculo sobre el centro se reuniesen con la división de él para recoger y circunvalar los enemigos. Pero sólo hallaron y apresaron cinco mujeres, dieciséis muchachos de ambos sexos y todas edades, y sesenta caballos. La división del centro, al paso por la ranchería sólo halló dos hombres y dos mujeres que murieron sobre la marcha, e inmediatamente se halló un indio oculto que se apresó para examinarle y estrecharle para que diera razón del paradero de sus compañeros. Los demás pertenecientes a estas rancherías se hallaban fuera de ella con motivo de haber ido a pasturar sus caballos, y al oír los tiros se huyeron y se ocultaron en la maleza del monte llamado Cenizo. En la ranchería se halló un grande jarro y juego de hebillas de plata, diferentes piezas del vestuario, armamento y montura de los tres dragones que mataron en el Tenuaje, muchas pieles de venado, y otras infinitas baratijas que se conocían ser robadas.

El indio e indias apresadas informaron que esta ranchería era una parte del todo que se había reunido en el campo de la Aribaipia, y que había retrocedido porque era mucha gente junta y carecían de semillas para su preciso alimento, pero que el capitán Vipici quedaba en dicho sitio de la Aribaipia, ocho leguas más adelante. Igualmente declararon que aquella mañana habían salido diez familias de nación seris de su ranchería, con cuyo aviso se despachó un teniente con veinte hombres en su seguimiento por su propio rastro y sólo apresó dos mujeres y tres niños, pues los restantes los vio que navegaban en balsas para la Isla del Tiburón.

La tropa se mantuvo en los pozos del monte Cenizo hasta puesto el sol, a cuya hora se puso en marcha el destacamento para Aribaipia con el fin de atacar el grueso de los rebeldes. Llegó el 18 a las dos de la mañana manteniéndose en silencio y con los caballos de diestro hasta el alba, que se atacó el sitio con todas las precauciones que se comprendieron útiles para la seguridad de la acción, guiado del indio preso que lo hizo con mucha fidelidad por el miedo que se le ahorcase, pero con la desgracia de haberse levantado la grande ranchería la noche del 18, pocas horas antes de la llegada de la tropa, pues se hallaron los fuegos encendidos y sin duda que los hombres que huyeron del monte Cenizo les darían aviso de la ida del destacamento.

Para seguir los enemigos por su huella, mandó el coronel saliesen cuatro oficiales con pequeñas partidas por los cuatro rumbos a cortar rastros, pero regresaron todas sin poder dar razón por el que se habían salido de dicho campo, pues aunque por toda la circunferencia del campo se hallaban huellas esparcidas, pero ninguno[a] seguía. Cuya novedad causaba no poca [incertidumbre] en la imaginación del coronel, pues no podía averiguar el camino que habían llevado los enemigos. Cuya incertidumbre presumió ser cautela suya el esparcir huellas por todos rumbos para ocultar el que habían tomado. Pero como desde aquel sitio no podía ir adelante sino a la sierra de Pitic que es el último que podían pisar los enemigos porque sucesivamente entraba Papaguería, con cuya nación no se avenían, se determinó marchar la tarde del 18 y la mañana del 19; a las diez de ella, llegó la tropa a la sierra de Pitic, sin hallar otra novedad que una muy reducida ranchería levantada de algunos días.

Posteriormente se supo por unos indios rendidos que los capitanes de las rancherías que se hallaban en el Aribaipia, noticiosos de haber dado en la del monte Cenizo, tuvieron su junta y discurriendo infaliblemente la tropa se dirigiría [a] atacarlos la mañana siguiente, y que si pasaban al carrizal de Pitic les había de seguir por su rastro, resolvieron retroceder por el mismo camino que debía llevar la tropa hasta un cerro de piedra movediza que distaba poco más de media legua, de cuya conformidad como aquella debía marchar de noche para la sorpresa, pasaría por encima de sus huellas y que las borraría, y por consiguiente no se hallaría el rastro de ellos; porque desde el cerro bajaron hasta la misma agua del mar y por ella marcharon hombres, mujeres y niños con cuya cautela se retiraron la misma noche que caminaba la tropa con marcha opuesta. Estratagema bastante sutil para persuadir que no son tan idiotas como algunos pretenden.

En esta dilatada y penosa marcha padeció mucho la caballada y recua, y obligó hacer un día de descanso, y al siguiente se emprendió la marcha, girando para el cuartel del Pitic por los parajes que acostumbraban habitar los enemigos, como son los Pozos de San Ignacio, sierra de las Espuelas, Bacoachi, y Pozos de San José, cuyo arribo fue el día 28 de octubre después de diecisiete de marcha.

Y en el último se caminaron dieciocho leguas sin agua, y los caballos no la probaron en treinta y seis. Los indios auxiliares padecieron extrema necesidad, pues tres de ellos y un arriero habían ya perdido el habla, y a no ser la casualidad de que un soldado traía en su bota agua reservada, y un capitán de presidio, jarabe de limón, hubieran perecido; sin embargo, no pudieron seguir la jornada, y quedaron todos los indios auxiliares en el campo del Gurgus con la providencia de que se les llevase agua con la mayor diligencia y llegó después de las oraciones con que se socorrieron y aliviaron todos, y al siguiente día 29 llegaron al cantón del Pitic.

El día 16 de septiembre salió un destacamento del cajón [canton] de Guaymas, compuesto de ciento y catorce hombres a las órdenes del capitán de dragones don Miguel Gallo, a recorrer e impedir las entradas de los enemigos a la provincia de Ostimuri a practicar sus acostumbrados robos. El 24 del mismo habiéndose puesto en marcha desde la laguna de las sierras de los Pilares, se descubrió un indio que huía a caballo, al que persiguieron dos soldados de presidio y lograron lancearle.

El 25 siguiendo unos rastros que se dirigían a un cajón o barranco de la mencionada sierra, e inmediato al Agua Escondida, halló una ranchería de sibubapas, pero la casualidad de haberse pegado fuego al campo que había dejado la tropa, les dio aviso de su huída, con el que se pusieron en fuga, arreando veinte caballos; pero habiéndolos avistado los atacó dicho capitán, abandonaron los caballos y

penetraron los enemigos por una áspera sierra, y luego que se vieron en la cima, y por consiguiente seguros, empezaron a gritar a los soldados.

Los que a proporción que iban llegando, porque el galope de dos leguas cansó algunos caballos y atrasó a otros, echaban pie a tierra por disposición del capitán, y marchaban sierra arriba hasta que llegaron a tiro, que principió el fuego, y luego que experimentaron el daño que les causaba, abandonaron el puesto, y se pusieron en fuga por las fragosidades de la sierra, dejando cinco muertos e ignorándose los heridos que podrían tener. En esta corta refriega fueron levemente heridos dos soldados del piquete de América. La falta de agua que experimentaron hombres y caballos obligó al comandante retroceder al paraje de donde salió aquel día, y aunque prosiguió su correría hasta el día 30 del citado mes, no tuvo otra particularidad.

El no hallar a los enemigos rancheados en los sitios que acostumbraban en la presente estación, dio motivo al gobernador y coronel para discurrir podrían ya tal vez reunídose en el Cerro Prieto. Y para asegurar este pensamiento despacharon un teniente con cuarenta soldados de presidio a recorrer las vertientes del Cerro Prieto y reconocer las entradas de sus cajones para poder venir en conocimiento dónde se hallaban rancheados los enemigos. Cuya diligencia practicó con la mayor exactitud, y averiguó que en el cajón de la Palma había oído cantar, y un gran rumor de gente, y a su boca, copioso número de huellas, y ninguna en lo restante de la circunferencia del cerro que consta de cincuenta y seis leguas.

Con este informe se tomó el del indio apresado en el monte Cenizo sobre la situación del cajón de la Palma, quien aseguró ser el más fuerte y escabroso de todos los del Cerro Prieto, porque en el plano de él dio a entender hacía un ziszás al extremo, y en él una escalerilla de mano para huir a la eminencia por una mila [?] que había en la viva peña. Y que antes de atacar el cajón era preciso tomar en las alturas las dos únicas retiradas que tenían, a saber la de la escalerilla y la mescalera, ofreciendo conducir la tropa para ocuparlas bajo la condición que se le había de perdonar la vida, la que se le otorgó.

Como todo el desvelo y afán del gobernador y el coronel, desde el mes de agosto, se dirigía obligar a los enemigos se reuniesen en el decantado Cerro Prieto, según opinión de algunos que no le han visto, lo dieron y afirmaron ser inexpugnable para la tropa veterana; pero quién duda que su honor le haría accesible como le ha hecho en cuatro ocasiones, pisando su mayor elevación, traveseando por las mayores escabrosidades.

Cuyo pensamiento le inferirán, logrando según los informes del oficial que reconoció el terreno para poder poner en práctica el premeditado y proyectado ataque general, el que determinado unánimes y conformes por los dos jefes señalaron por campo de asamblea el del aguaje, cinco leguas distante del citado cajón. Expidieron las órdenes a don Diego Peirán, comandante del cantón de Guaymas para el día 22 de noviembre, se hallase con las tropas de su mando dejando la muy precisa para su resguardo en el mencionado campo, en el que aguardarían el gobernador y el coronel con las del Pitic, a fin de ocupar la noche del 23 la boca del cajón y alturas, y el 24, y al rayar del alba, practicar el ataque general con la firme resolución de batir los enemigos como se lograse el que esperen resueltos.

Plano y detalle de la tropa destinada al proyectado ataque general de los enemigos en el cajón de la Palma del Cerro Prieto para el día 24 de noviembre de 1768.

Divisiones, comandantes, y tropas destinada	*Cap*	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Para el ataque del plano del cajón							
El gobernador don Juan de Pineda							
y El coronel don Domingo Elizondo							
Tropa							
Piquete de Infantería de América	1	1	1	2	31	33	
Dragones de España	–	2	1	2	47	49	
Idem de México	2	2	–	2	32	34	
Compañía de Voluntarios	1	–	1	2	37	38	
Idem de Fusileros	–	–	–	1	23	24	
Idem de Presidio	2	1	2	–	70	70	
Indios pimas auxiliares	–	–	–	–	–	70	
Total							319
Para ocupar las alturas							
El Capitán José Bergosa	1						
Tropa							
Dragones de España	–	2	–	1	19	20	
Idem de México	–	2	–	1	19	20	
Compañía de Fusileros	1	–	1	2	48	50	
Idem de Presidio	–	1	–	–	20	20	
Idem Volante	2	–	1	–	41	41	
Indios yaquis auxiliares							71
Total							226
Guarda de caballada y campamento							
Capitán don Manuel de Medina	1						
Tropa							
Dragones de España	–	–	–	–	10	10	
Idem de México	–	–	1	–	10	10	
Compañía de Presidio	–	–	–	1	19	20	
Total							40
Idem de Provisiones							
Teniente de Fusileros							
don Gaspar Fernández	1						
Tropa							
Dragones de España	–	–	–	–	6	6	
Idem de México	–	–	–	–	6	6	
Fusileros	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Compañías de Presidio	–	–	–	–	12	12	
Total							24
Total general							609

Relación del ataque general que las tropas de su majestad dieron a los indios rebeldes de las tres naciones, piatos, seris, y sibubapas en el cajón de la Palma de la serranía del Cerro Prieto el día 25 de noviembre de 1768:

Los continuos y sucesivos destacamentos que desde primero de agosto próximo pasado ha practicado la tropa, recorriendo los terrenos por donde regularmente circulaban los bárbaros con el fin de estrecharlos a que se reuniesen en dicha sierra, respecto que en sus asperezas premeditaban, y fundaban siempre su mayor defensa y seguridad, y las armas del rey la de batirlos y exterminarlos si llegaba el caso de esperar juntos a un formal ataque general, porque en los particulares se premeditaba más prolongado el logro por cuanto era muy difícil hallarlos dispersos en una extensión de terreno como el de más de doscientas leguas de circunferencia, sobre que giraban sin otras espías ni avisos de sus movimientos que la solicitud en la campaña de sus propias huellas, las que sirviendo de norte, dirigiendo las marchas de la tropa a encontrar con las rancherías enemigas.

El último destacamento que se envió a reconocer todas las vertientes del Cerro Prieto, y halló crecido número de rastros en la embocadura del cajón o barranco de la Palma que indicaba haberse reunido en él los enemigos, obligó a los jefes resolver el ataque convocando las tropas en el campo del Aguaje para el día 22. El 23 por haber llovido, y estar muy cargado el tiempo, se tuvo por conveniente suspender la marcha; pero habiendo amanecido sereno el día 24, desfiló la tropa a las tres de la tarde por divisiones según el detall[e] que precede, y llegó a las inmediaciones de la boca del cajón mencionado a las nueve de la noche.

Inmediatamente se mandó desensillar todos los caballos, y salir a formar al frente la gente de la división destinada ocupar las alturas, y cortar la huída de los enemigos guiada del indio que se apresó en el monte Cenizo, que ofreció conducir la tropa por una senda con condición de que se le perdonase la vida. Se puso en movimiento con orden de ocupar y guardar los puestos de la mescalera y escalerilla, y los que se hallare por conveniente para impedir la retirada a los enemigos. A cosa de media hora dio parte el comandante de la división que se oían cantar los enemigos y se veían los fuegos de sus rancherías, pero que no podía continuar adelante sin ser sentido por la precisión de tener que pasar muy inmediato a ellas.

Esta dificultad era un fuerte obstáculo al logro del feliz éxito que se había proyectado, y puso en la precisión de aprovechar la parte que quedaba al arbitrio a cuyo fin se mandó a dicho comandante hiciese todo esfuerzo a penetrar con el mayor silencio, y de no poderlo facilitar se mantuviese con él sobre el mismo terreno para atacar las rancherías al rayar del alba. Se reforzó aquella tropa con setenta indios auxiliares, cuyo capitán dio cuenta a las once de la noche haber pasado el destacamento sin ser sentido de los enemigos, quedándose él con su gente en observación, para sostenerla y precaver algún improviso ataque de los rebeldes.

Se mandó de refuerzo la compañía de voluntarios y veinticuatro fusileros; cuya vanguardia habiendo ya llegado a incorporarse con los auxiliares, doce fusileros que quedaban atrasados, como veinticinco a treinta pasos, al ver unos indios sentados detrás de aquella tropa, que torpemente concibieron ser de enemigos, disparó uno de ellos y le siguieron nueve más, de cuya descarga hirieron seis auxiliares y al siguiente día murieron dos de ellos. Funesto y desgraciado accidente, y al parecer no natural porque en lo regular de un acaso, no es admitible disculpa la ceguedad de incurrir en una torpeza doce hombres veteranos de hacer fuego teniendo por delante, ya a la vista, la compañía de voluntarios, y sin embargo la

claridad que ofrecía la luna llena, y la proximidad de solos veinticinco a treinta pasos.

Este desgraciado cuanto fatal suceso, frustró un glorioso día a las armas en la completa victoria que ofrecía la infalible sorpresa que se había proporcionado, pues la alarmó de modo que inmediatamente callaron, apagaron los fuegos y retiraron las familias quedando todos los indios de arco y flecha confiados en la ventajosa situación que les ofrecía la fragosidad del terreno, y los ejemplares anteriores, pues habiendo sido atacados en el propio cajón el año de 1760, por tres ocasiones en todas quedaron victoriosos, lisonjeándose de lo mismo en la presente, y de que los españoles no podían superar las escabrosidades del cajón, y menos las de las alturas.

Luego que se entendió la alarma y dio parte del suceso el capitán de voluntarios a los jefes, hicieron poner en movimiento el resto de la división destinada al ataque de las rancherías, como precaución por si advertidos por ella, los enemigos intentasen con su todo atacar el corto número de que constaba el destacamento de observación. En ella se mantuvo la tropa hasta el alba que marchó cajón adentro con las precauciones y formalidades de la guerra que permitía el terreno, y a cosa de poco más de media legua de marcha, en una angostura del cajón, se hallaban apostados los enemigos en bellísima disposición: a la derecha favorecidos del bosque, a la izquierda de un pequeño cerro, y al centro que era el camino, de unas peñas sueltas, de modo que apenas se percibían.

Así que percibieron inmediata la tropa, precediendo su acostumbrado alarido, dispararon dos carabinas, y una gran porción de flechas, pero habiendo observado su posición los comandantes, dispusieron que el piquete de América se internase por el bosque, y extendiéndose en ala, atacase a los enemigos, y los piquetes de dragones a los que estaban en el cerrito, cuyos movimientos se hicieron con velocidad, sin cesar, correspondiendo a su descarga de flechas con otra de fusil y seguida de un sucesivo fuego graneado, tan vivo que no pudiéndole resistir los enemigos, y menos la intrepidez con que los atacó la tropa, tomaron como acostumbran la fuga, que se siguió con la mayor diligencia sin cesar el fuego, granjeando la gente más ágil de todo el destacamento las ásperas laderas para franquear los enemigos en su huída, los que antes de llegar al extremo del cajón tomaron una cañada tan cortada y pendiente que ganaban terreno a expensas de inmensa fatiga.

Al oír el fuego del cajón la tropa de las alturas, que ya había ocupado, fue compareciendo en parajes dominantes a la cañada que llevaban los enemigos, que descubiertos por aquella, les principió a hacer fuego con bastante efecto, pero inmediatamente intercedió la casualidad de una tan densa niebla que cubrió todo el horizonte, de modo que no se distinguían los bultos, a cuyo favor consiguieron los enemigos su retirada segura. A la niebla sucedió un aguacero que duró como una hora. Cuyos accidentes fueron causa de que se malograse el exterminar la mayor parte de los enemigos, pues teniéndolos entre dos fuegos era caso [casi] imposible pudiese libertarse, a no haber sobrevenido la citada oscuridad y lluvia.

La que sufrió la tropa con mucha conformidad y constancia, esperando se aclarase el tiempo y descubriese los enemigos para continuar la acción, pero habiéndose serenado a cosa de las nueve de la mañana, se halló desvanecida la esperanza porque ya se habían ocultado y penetrado en las asperezas sucesivas de la sierra. El honor, la gloria, y el vencimiento lo tienen fundado los rebeldes en su fuga y como ya la tenían conseguida, consideró el comandante de la tropa que se

hallaba en las alturas ser infructuosa toda diligencia para hallarlos. En esta atención, la de hallarse en inacción y sin objeto, reconoció la cañada al paso lo que permitía el tiempo y el terreno, en el que halló seis mujeres, diez criaturas de todas edades y ambos sexos, con muchas pieles de venado y varias prendas de su uso, con cuya presa descendió con inmensa penalidad al plano del cajón en el que también se hallaron cuarenta y un caballos.

El número de muertos que se vieron, así en la cañada como en el cajón fueron treinta y uno, y aunque se considera mayor el número por el fuego que se hizo, y con objeto como no fue dable reconocer todo el terreno por lo escabroso de él, y por la lluvia, sólo se notan los que se vieron al paso de la tropa. Tampoco se puede formar juicio del número de heridos, pero se gradúan habrán tenido el correspondiente al de muertos. En la tropa sólo hubo heridos un dragón del regimiento de España y un indio auxiliar. Unidas ambas tropas en el cajón sin el menor objeto, y estar caladas de agua, pues la sufrieron en chupa, resolvieron los comandantes regresar al campamento de los caballos en que se hizo lumbre, se secó y calentó la gente.

En este día se vio patentemente que no quiso la fortuna dejar aprovechar de la casualidad que consistió en el momento favorable que había proporcionado, sino que le interrumpió con otro adverso que pendió en el acaso irremediable, porque provino del cielo; sin embargo es constante que por él no se consiguió la completa victoria que tenía facilitada la providencia y disposición; pero también lo es que se logró batir al todo de los rebeldes, y desalojarlos del paraje más fuerte y ventajoso de todo el Cerro Prieto que por tal le habían elegido para su refugio.

Con dificultad se conseguirá otra tan oportuna ocasión, porque en ésta han visto prácticamente dos desengaños. El primero que la tropa es capaz de superar cualquiera altura, que no encian [encillar?] y el segundo el gran fuego y alcance del fusil, que no habían experimentado, sí sólo el de carabina muy corta, cargada a granel y disparada a pulso.

Habiendo desfilado la tropa el mismo día 25 para el aguaje, a una legua de marcha observó la retaguardia una pequeña polvadera, la que se envió a reconocer, y descubriendo dos enemigos que conducían cinco caballos, se arrojaron a ellos pocos soldados, al uno le quitaron la vida y los caballos, pero el otro pudo huir por entre la maleza del terreno.

El 26 descansó la tropa y tuvo tiempo de limpiar las armas y ponerlas corrientes, y se enviaron al Pitic los dos heridos y la presa. Asimismo se envió un oficial y cuatro soldados de satisfacción a reconocer la entrada del expresado cajón a fin de observar por los rastros los movimientos de los enemigos, pero habiendo reconocido el terreno, no halló huella que manifestase haber salido ninguna familia, lo que dio lugar a discurrir, podrían haber vuelto a ocupar sus rancherías confiados en que la tropa se había retirado.

El 27 decampó la tropa para llegar, a la misma hora que en la antecedente marcha, a la entrada del cajón de donde se despachó una partida con su oficial a reconocer, con la orden que internasen hasta el arroyo seco, y habiendo regresado dio parte de haber cortado rastros frescos de indios que iban y volvían.

De resultas de esta novedad se dispuso el ataque, aunque no se consideró conveniente enviar tropa a tomar las alturas porque faltando la luna que salía a las doce de la noche, y siendo el camino así impracticable y muy expuesto por los despeñaderos, como necesitarse más de seis horas para ocuparlas, por más que se esforzase el soldado, no era empresa exequible.

El 28 antes de amanecer se introdujo la tropa en el cajón; así que aclaró se fue avanzando hacia las rancherías, pero no se vieron sino cuatro indios a los que dispararon los batidores, e hirieron uno, cuya sangre lo iba indicando sobre el camino, pero habiéndose encumbrado no se vio otro alguno. Se reconoció el terreno pero nada se descubrió, por lo que se resolvió ir a campar a la laguna de Noche Buena, donde se presumía hallar agua, pero no habiéndose encontrado ni una gota, fue preciso el día 29 dividir las tropas: la de Guaymas fue a darla a los caballos, después de cuarenta y ocho horas que no la habían bebido, a la tinaja de las Avispas, y siguiendo el rumbo por los pozos de Tastiota cortó rastro fresco de los enemigos, quienes habiendo sentido el tropel de los caballos del destacamento, se entregaron a la fuga abandonando un cautivito yaqui y veintidós caballos que apresaron.

La división del Pitic desfiló por el aguaje habiendo enviado con anticipación la tercera parte de la tropa al cajón de la Cara Pintada con muchas botas para que llenándolas de agua saliesen al camino a socorrer la tropa que desde la mañana antecedente no la habían probado.

El 30 se mantuvo la tropa en el campo del aguaje. El primero de diciembre se puso en marcha y campó en la plaza de armas, y el 2 llegó al canton del Pitic.

Año de 1769

Según relación de un oficial que salió a reconocer el día primero de enero de 1769 toda la circunferencia del Cerro Prieto y sus cajones, le abandonaron totalmente los enemigos, novedad bien extraña por cuanto jamás ha sucedido pues cuando se han visto los enemigos más apurados y estrechos de la tropa, lo más que han hecho ha sido mudar de cajón, pero sin abandonar el cerro. De este hecho se infiere que el día del ataque del cajón de la Palma les fue más mal de lo que se discurrió, y que la pérdida fue más considerable de l[a] que se mencionó en su relación.

Las huellas que dicho oficial cortó salían de la Cara Pintada, cajón de los Otates, y el de las Avispas, de donde se dividieron, dirigiéndose unos a las marismas, y otros hacia las sierras del Bacoachi, Aguas Frías, y de las Espuelas.

Con estas noticias determinaron el gobernador y el coronel salir a buscar a los enemigos en dos destacamentos expedidos de ambos cuarteles, el de Guaymas con la orden de dirigir su marcha por las marismas, y la otra del Pitic por Bacoachi; y para poder recorrer a satisfacción los parajes donde suelen ocultarse, se determinó hacer campo de asamblea en el de Curiel, de donde se dividiría la tropa en dos partes, la una a las órdenes del gobernador y la otra a las del coronel, siguiendo distinto rumbo con el fin de batir las inmediaciones, cortar rastros y seguirlos hasta encontrar con los enemigos, o a lo menos buscarlos por todas partes que es cuanto pende de la diligencia.

El día 13 del mencionado enero salieron ambos destacamentos compuestos de trescientos hombres a las órdenes del gobernador y coronel, y aunque se practicaron las más vivas diligencias en esta recorrería, no se consiguió hallar a los enemigos porque en la larga travesía que hay desde el cuartel del Pitic a la sierra del Bacoachi, fue la tropa descubierta por una ranchería de diez indios, y aunque por la mañana se cortaron los rastros, y siguieron por una partida, no fue dable dar con ellos.

Dichos enemigos fueron dando aviso a los demás, como lo acredita que habiéndose destacado al capitán don Juan de Anza por distinto rumbo, encontró y siguió una crecida huella de ganado que llevaban los rebeldes, la que lo condujo a una mediana ranchería que se levantó con tanta precipitación que dejaron nueve vacas muertas, cinco desgarretadas, tres vivas, y cuatro caballos con porción de

camusas [gamuzas]. La huella era de la noche antecedente la que continuó siguiendo cinco leguas, pero como su dirección tiraba a la Aribaipia, y aún faltaban once sin la esperanza de hallar agua hasta el referido paraje y los caballos no la habían bebido desde la tarde antecedente, le precisó a dicho capitán desistir de la empresa y retirarse al campo de Curiel a unirse a la demás de la tropa.

Desde este campamento se destacaron a los capitanes don Manuel de Medina y don Vicente Moreno. El primero reconoció el Tecolote, la Tortuguilla, la sierra del Oro, y la Cieneguita; el segundo el Alamo Muerto y la sierra de Buenavista, pero no cortaron el menor rastro de enemigos. Se retiraron los días 30 y 31 al mencionado campo de que regresó toda la tropa al cuartel del Pitic el día 4 de febrero.

Con fecha 18 de enero dio parte el capitán del presidio de Buenavista, cómo una partida de quince enemigos valiéndose de la canoa que hay para pasar el río Yaqui, lo ejecutaron dejándola suelta al arbitrio de las aguas, y fueron en derechura a la hacienda de las Alajas [Alhajas], donde habiendo peleado con el dueño y cuatro sirvientes por más de tres horas se retiraron porque hirieron al cabecilla que los mandaba. Pero hirieron a uno de los que pelearon, mataron a una mujer, y un niño, que no pudieron refugiarse a [en] la casa, y llevándose una niña.

El justicia mayor de la provincia de Ostimuri dio parte como el 23 asaltaron veinte rebeldes el pueblo de Nuris [Nuri], pero como la tropa de Buenavista fue dando aviso por todo el país haberse introducido en él dicha partida de enemigos, y se estaba con el debido cuidado, por cuya vigilancia resultó rechazarlos aunque por el camino mataron a dos vecinos. Dicho justicia salió con una escuadra de vecinos e indios en su seguimiento, y logró alcanzarlos, matar a uno, herir a siete, y quitarles todo su robo, y hasta sus propios caballos, que los abandonaron para salvarse por las asperezas y malezas del bosque.

El día 6 de febrero se destacó del cuartel del Pitic un teniente de presidio con treinta soldados y orden de que se introdujese por todas las vertientes del Cerro Prieto, y adonde hallase rastros los examinase con gran cuidado. Esta comisión la desempeñó con esmero, y dio parte que en el cajón de la Cara Pintada, a más de un cuarto de legua que se introdujo en él, cortó rastros de a pie, uno de caballo, y otro mular, los que fue siguiendo, y en un árbol encontró un fuste lleno de sangre, y por la vereda algunas varas frescas, con cuyos vehementes indicios de enemigos regresó al cuartel.

Con estos antecedentes resolvieron el gobernador don Juan de Pineda y el coronel don Domingo Elizondo atacar a los enemigos el día 25 de febrero en el cajón o cañada de la Cara Pintada si se encontraban en él los enemigos. Se expidieron las correspondientes órdenes a don Diego Peirán, comandante del cuartel de Guaymas, para que con la tropa que se le detalló se hallase en la cañada o cajón de la Palma, la noche del día 24 en la que se unieron ambos jefes con la tropa del cuartel del Pitic. Inmediatamente se hicieron las divisiones como se reconoce por el plan o detalle, y se mandó a la segunda poner pie a tierra y entregar sus caballos a la primera.

Practicada esta maniobra se puso aquella en movimiento a las órdenes del capitán don Lorenzo Cancio por la ladera de la parte del sur de dicho cajón con el fin de ocupar las alturas y cortar las retiradas de los enemigos. La primera conduciendo de diestro los caballos de la segunda, prosiguió su marcha para la cañada de la Cara Pintada, a cuyo sitio llegó a las doce de la noche y a las dos de la mañana se puso en marcha la tropa de la primera división.

[A] la subida del primer puerto, como es tan pendiente y pedregoso su piso, se

fatigó excesivamente el gobernador por hallarse extremamente grueso, pero observado por el coronel la penalidad con que caminaba, le instó repetidas veces a que se quedara. Pero lisonjeado de su gran espíritu y estimulado de su propio honor, ostentaba los mayores esmeros a superar la fatiga, hasta el extremo de faltarle casi la respiración, pues confusamente pudo pronunciar: "no puedo más." Se recostó contra un peñasco, y quedó con cuatro hombres para regresarse al campo que estaba cerca. Prosiguió el coronel con la tropa, y llegó a las cuatro de la mañana al sitio en que se ponían los enemigos. Con el designio de estar más ventajoso para el ataque, descendió al plano de un potrero al rayar del alba con todas las precauciones correspondientes para asegurar el golpe, pero se frustraron las esperanzas por no haberlos hallado donde se premeditaban.

Plano y detalle para el proyectado ataque general del cajón o cañada de Cara Pintada del Cerro Prieto para el día 25 de febrero de 1769:

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Destino: Cajón de Cara Pintada							
Comandantes: Coronel don Domingo Elizondo							
Tropas:							
Piquete de América	1	1	–	1	29	30	
Dragones de España	1	2	–	2	40	42	
Idem de México	2	2	–	2	27	29	
Fusileros de Montaña	1	–	1	2	23	25	
Soldados de Presidio	1	–	1	1	100	100	
Total							226
Destino: Cajón de la Palma							
Comandantes: Capitán don Lorenzo Cancio							
Tropa:							
Dragones de España	–	1	–	1	19	20	
Idem de México	–	–	1	1	19	20	
Voluntarios Catalanes	1	–	1	2	42	44	
Fusileros de Montaña	–	1	–	1	19	20	
Soldados de Presidio	2	1	1	1	–	70	
Indios Auxiliares	–	–	–	–	–	50	
Total							226 [224]
Destino: Caballería							
Comandantes: Alférez don Cristóbal Navarro							
Tropa:							
Piquete de América	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Dragones de España	–	–	1	–	2	–	
Idem de México	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Voluntarios Catalanes	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Fusileros de Montaña	–	–	–	–	2	–	
Soldados de Presidio	–	–	–	–	10		
Total							20

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
Destino: Recua							
Comandantes: Alférez don Francisco Viana							
Tropa:							
De Infantería y Dragones	–	–	1	–	14	–	
De Presidio	–	–	–	1	10	–	
Total							24
Total							496

Nota:
Desde el cajón de la Palma al de Cara Pintada se condujeron los caballos de aquella división de diestro, esto es los de los voluntarios, el piquete de América, los de fusileros, su propia compañía, y los de presidio de Guaymas, los de la misma tropa del Pitic, y los sobrantes, los indios auxiliares.

Promedeaban [?] sólo sí, unos rastros que se siguieron por terreno bien escabroso hasta una eminencia muy considerable de la que se reconoció en otra dos caballos pastoreando, cuya novedad persuadía poder haber alguna porción de enemigos, y habiéndola superado sólo se hallaron cuatro más, pero ni rastro de indio. Pero como por este indicio se avanzó el coronel, con la tropa del paraje acordado, para descender la segunda división, retrocedió a esperarla, y no reconociéndola por parte alguna se mandó batir la llamada por dos veces que era el [la] señal para que se incorporase con la primera, sin embargo se quedó con la misma duda, pero no causaba el menor cuidado porque la división era bastante numerosa para batir a los enemigos, y no podía perderse por llevar el indio preso que era muy práctico del terreno.

En esta consideración, y en la de que los caballos estaban sin comer en el paraje que dejaron a todos, porque habían quemado el pasto los enemigos de antemano, regresó el coronel con su tropa al campo, dejando un capitán con sesenta hombres en el puertecillo, paso preciso por donde había de pasar la de la segunda división. En cuanto llegó al campamento dio parte dicho capitán haber oído algunos tiros en la eminencia del cajón de los Otates con cuya novedad volvió a subir el coronel con la mayor parte de la tropa con que descendió, dirigiendo su marcha al paraje, pero nada descubrió ni logró más que reconocer algunas alturas y barrancos, por lo que volvió a descender, y llegó al campamento a las cuatro de la tarde, y la segunda a las seis con un viejo decrépito.

Esta descubrió de una altura, una ranchería en lo profundo del valle, y al principiar el descenso de la tropa se reconoció que los rebeldes huían por una ladera, siendo así que distaba una legua. Un teniente de dragones se mandó avanzar con algunos soldados de los más ágiles, con designio de cortarles la retirada, pero se encontró con un precipicio que fue preciso franquearle, descolgándose por dos cuerdas, y reconociendo la imposibilidad de alcanzar a los enemigos, a tiro perdido hizo disparar algunas, y estos fueron los que se sintieron.

Es imponderable la superior fatiga que sufrió en tan dilatada y penosa marcha aquella tropa digna por cierto de todo aprecio, pues anduvo las asperezas de la

sierra desde las once de la noche hasta las seis de la tarde del siguiente día sin más descanso que el de dos horas. La división del coronel fatigó lo bastante desde las dos de la mañana hasta las cuatro de la tarde, pero le superó en mucha la tropa de la segunda división, y la de ambos descendió casi sin zapatos.

Con admiración se han reconocido las internas fragosidades de la sierra porque toda ella es un laberinto de cerros, barrancos y despeñaderos.

Así el gobernador como el coronel vivían mortificados al ver que no podían conseguir una acción que sirviese de ejemplar escarmiento a los rebeldes, y no correspondía el éxito a las fatigas, sin embargo nunca desmayaron ni omitieron ninguna como es bien notorio, pues aplicaron todos los medios imaginables con la mayor constancia, la que observaron con la esperanza de exterminar los enemigos, o bien obligarlos con la incesante persecución se redujesen y sometiesen a la debida justa obediencia del soberano. De que lo deseaban tenía repetidos indicios, como son haber puesto últimamente dos cruces en el pozo de la Peña Blanca, por el poniente; otras dos a una legua del cuartel de Guaymas, una en el Bacatete al oriente, y otra que ya se citó, en las inmediaciones del cuartel del Pitic.

Estas significaciones de paz por los cuatro rumbos, y la reiterada instancia de las indias cautivas, desde la venida del viejo, para que se les(le) permitiese ir al Cerro Prieto a una vieja mujer del capitán Crisanto, que fue uno de los tres que pusieron la cruz en las inmediaciones del Pitic, ofreciendo traería a su nación seris a rendir la obediencia, acreditase hallaba consternados. El gobernador y el coronel las (les) respondieron que siempre que viniese se le admitiría.

En esta penetración en la sierra no se logró otra ventaja que la de aumentar a los bárbaros su confusión al reconocer las huellas de la tropa en las mayores alturas y descaecer su espíritu al considerar de que en ninguna de las sierras se podían lisonjear seguros.

Lo cierto es que los indios enemigos concibieron un gran terror a la tropa, pues del menor rumor se alarmaban y entregaban a la fuga por las mayores asperezas, y lo acreditó la relación que hizo el viejo, que por ser tan decrépito, el gobernador y el coronel lo dejaban libre en el cerro, pero no fue dable reducirlo a que se quedase, diciendo que prefería vivir entre los españoles el corto tiempo que le quedaba porque gozaría la tranquilidad de espíritu que entre los suyos no lograba, respecto que vivían atribulados, pues si de noche rodaba una piedra de los cerros, o se movía un pájaro entre las ramas, se alarmaban y entregaban a la fuga por las malezas y asperezas del terreno.

El día 26 descansó la tropa fuera del cajón de la Cara Pintada, a beneficio de una tinaja, o pozo que la naturaleza del terreno lo dispuso, que aunque estaba en paraje asperísimo tenía bastante agua, y al otro día la tropa del Pitic hizo tránsito en el aguaje, y el 28 llegó a este cuartel, y la de Guaymas tomó su marcha desde la boca del cajón.

El día 5 de marzo salieron dos destacamentos a las órdenes de los capitanes don Juan Bautista de Anza y don Juan José Bergosa. El primero a reconocer parte de la marisma, particularmente el pozo de la Peña Blanca que es el embarcadero de los enemigos para pasar a la Isla del Tiburón, y el otro al poniente de los pueblos de la Pimería, pero ni uno ni otro hallaron rastro alguno, sí sólo las cruces que se dijo anteriormente. Y sin otra novedad se restituyeron al cuartel del Pitic el día 15 del citado mes.

De acuerdo el gobernador y el coronel determinaron se restituyese el capitán don Lorenzo Cancio con los treinta y cinco soldados de su compañía que se hallaban en Guaymas, al presidio de Buenavista, y que se mantuviesen los veinte milicianos

agregados, al fin de colocar un destacamento de veinte soldados en el puerto del Alamito, y otro de doce en la hacienda de Tesopaco, para que cortando rastros todos los días por sus inmediaciones, no pudiesen introducirse los enemigos a hostilizar la provincia de Ostimuri sin ser sentidos y castigados, porque los mencionados puestos son muy oportunos para conseguir uno y otro.

Con fecha 27 de marzo dio parte el capitán del presidio de Buenavista que entre Mochicahui y Tepahui, provincia de Ostimuri, mataron los enemigos inhumanamente al padre cura de Baroyeca que iba fugitivo de Durango por haber sabido que el gobernador tenía orden del excelentísimo señor virrey para que lo enviase preso a México. A este eclesiástico, por constar en las diligencias que practicó el capitán don Lorenzo Cancio, que sus expresiones poco reflexivas contribuyeron al alboroto que se experimentó en el pueblo de Bacum del río Yaqui, el señor obispo de Durango le hizo ir a esta ciudad separándole de su curato. Practicada esta diligencia recibió el gobernador orden del excelentísimo señor virrey para remitir al mencionado cura al puerto de San Blas de la provincia de la Nueva Galicia, por lo que no la pudo poner en práctica.

El capitán don Lorenzo Cancio dio parte que en primero de abril, el alférez de milicias, don Tadeo Padilla apresó en el cajón de las Cuevas a un indio pima bajo, que se halló en las últimas hostilidades, y habiéndole examinado dónde andaban sus compañeros, le dijo que cinco se hallaban en el real de Sobia, y asegurando al pima, se fue con los soldados al expresado real donde apresó a tres de los citados, lo que dio lugar a los demás indios auxiliares de las persuasiones de su gobernador a disponerse para pelear contra el alférez si no les entregaba los presos, a cuyo tiempo llegaron otros milicianos, y sorprendidos de tan impensado refuerzo precipitadamente se entregaron a la fuga.

Los cuatro reos se condujeron al real de los Alamos para tomarles sus judiciales declaraciones. El primero confesó haberse hallado en la cuadrilla que mató al cura de Baroyeca; el segundo que servía de llevar noticias a los enemigos de lo que hacía la tropa, los parajes por donde andaba, y los que sin riesgo de ser castigado podían acometer, y que fue el primero que dio una cuchillada al cura. El tercero se halló en la cuadrilla que mataron a los españoles en Tepahui; y el cuarto que era quien los mandaba.

Todos aseguraban que los enemigos en número de sesenta estaban resueltos a ir a sorprender al real de Sobia, y que los del Cerro Prieto se habían de unir con los indios de los pueblos de Buenavista, Suaqui, Cumuripa, Santa Rosalía, Movas, y Belén en el puerto de San Blas. Pero el impensado feliz accidente de haber apresado los cuatro indios les desvaneció la empresa cuando fuese cierta, porque por experiencia se sabe que los bárbaros apenas ejecutan una cosa de las muchas que dicen.

Se sabía que los pimas bajos y sibubapas tenían bastantes parciales en los pueblos y que se incorporaban con ellos para cometer las maldades. Pero este asunto fue preciso manejarle con mucho arte y reflexión, así porque es natural al indio que se ve convicto de un delito, calumniar a otros, como para ver el modo de asegurar los cómplices.

Este ha sido el motivo de las repetidas desgracias que ha experimentado la provincia de Ostimuri, porque además de las providencias que se tomaban para contener los insultos de los enemigos con escuadras de los vecinos del país, hacía tres meses que salían crecidas partidas de tropa a recorrer toda la circunferencia del Cerro Prieto, de la parte del sur hasta Buenavista, y no se cortaba un rastro.

Teniendo presente la instrucción de la junta de generales de 8 de enero de

1767, y las órdenes del excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix de 21 de enero y 18 de febrero del año de 1769 en que mandaba al gobernador y al coronel oyesen a los sublevados si solicitaban el perdón, procedieron de acuerdo y con la debida precaución para que en ningún tiempo se lisonjeasen los bárbaros que se les había convidado con la paz. Se procedió con la cautela y precaución que manifiesta el siguiente capítulo.

Con fecha de 21 de marzo se informó al supremo gobierno que por los cuatro rumbos se habían encontrado varias cruces, y otras dos a primero de abril; por estas reiteradas significaciones con que los enemigos manifiestan el deseo de la paz y las frecuentes instancias de las indias presas de seris, de que si se les permitía ir dos de ellos a buscar su nación la traerían a rendir la obediencia.

Convinieron el gobernador y el coronel con su ruego, en consideración que nada se arriesgaba y que esta nación era la menos mala, y la más castigada desde junio del año próximo pasado, pues consta de ciento catorce personas las que se les han muerto y apresado, suficiente ejemplar al parecer para escarmiento.

A la mujer de uno de los capitanes de dicha nación llamado Crisanto, de los de mayor crédito, y a otra amiga suya se les dijo que sus reiteradas instancias había movido el ánimo de ambos jefes a concederles la licencia que suplicaban de ir a ver a sus parientes, y que les dijesen lo que a ellas les pareciese o conviniese, y que les ofrecían si se rendían de voluntad propia, se les escucharía sus proposiciones, y que enterándose de las nuestras, si se acordaban, se establecerían y se les daría tierras, y si no, volverían a sus malezas, y la tropa a continuar su persecución, pues ya veían las superiores fuerzas del rey las que no cesarían en perseguirlos hasta exterminarlos.

Solicitaron las dos mujeres se les diese una señal de paz como se acostumbra, a que se les respondió que por nuestra parte ni se solicitaba ni deseaba, y que en este supuesto no se les daba, y fuesen de voluntad si les interesaba o convenía. Con efecto de, fueron el día 30 de marzo con la condición de restituirse dentro de diez días y regresaron el 9 de abril con el citado capitán y tres indios más. El primero con una gran cruz, y todos llenos de temor al llegar a presentarse al gobernador y al coronel, que postrados de rodillas temblaban como el azogue hasta que se les aseguró que no se les haría daño, con lo que poco a poco fueron recobrándose, y habló el capitán por medio del intérprete, que su nación vendría a vivir con tranquilidad y fidelidad si se le concedía la gracia del perdón; el que se les otorgó de parte del gobernador y del coronel.

Y preguntándole cómo era que no venían los demás capitanes respondió que estaban muy dispersos, y que aunque los [les] había despachado cuatro correos no habían podido juntarse, y como fenecía el plazo que se les dio a las mujeres se vino él solo con los tres compañeros en ánimo que los dos se volviesen a encontrar los demás cabecillas, para que asegurándoles el perdón, viniesen, y que ínterin se quedaría él con el otro indio en el cuartel. Se le interrogó por el motivo que los obligaba a solicitar la paz con tan repetidas cruces y dijo que el estar en un evidente y continuo riesgo de la vida, y tan alarmados que no lograban una hora de quietud ni seguridad al verse perseguidos por todas partes, y que lo más que le había contristado era el haber visto que los soldados subían las alturas del Cerro Prieto que no lo había visto jamás, y el haber conocido, desde el ataque del cajón de la Palma que no podían defenderse, y que aquel día creyeron todos morir.

Marcharon los dos indios el día 10 y volvieron al cuartel el 18 con tres familias mas dos hombres, y el hijo mayor del capitán Crisanto, diciendo no haber

encontrado a los otros, pero sí a un hermano del capitán Marcos quien les dijo iba a buscar a éste y juntar su gente para rendirse luego que fuese Crisanto a buscarlos, a cuyo efecto partió el 20 de abril dejando en [como] renes [rehenes] a su mujer y cuatro hijos.

Atendiendo a las crueles muertes y robos que estos bárbaros han cometido inhumanamente, parecía preferible exterminarlos con las armas para cortar la reincidencia en la culpa, pero la humanidad persuade perdonar las ofensas porque lisonjea con la enmienda; además que el conseguirlo, aunque no es ningún imposible, sí muy dilatado según el sistema que habían tomado los bárbaros de esparcirse en pequeñas cuadrillas por las asperezas de un tan basto recinto, como girarían. De cuyo modo abrazan mucho país, subsistían con mayor facilidad, y huyen con menos estorbo.

Con fecha 21 de abril avisó el justicia mayor de la provincia de Ostimuri que una partida de enemigos que atacó la hacienda de Taboca mataron a tres sirvientes e hirieron a algunos, robaron y saquearon las casas de aquellos que estaban fuera de la hacienda, y que noticioso de estas desgracias despachó en su seguimiento veintitrés vecinos y dieciocho indios auxiliares, todos bien armados y que habiendo llegado al pueblo de Mochicahui, a tiempo que los enemigos se habían ido, después de haber peleado con los pocos indios que tiene, de los que mataron a cinco, hirieron de muerte al fiscal del pueblo, le saquearon y entraron a caballo en la iglesia, y desnudaron las imágenes sin que los nuestros lo pudiesen remediar, sin embargo que se defendieron bien, y mataron un enemigo. La partida siguió el rastro, y habiendo llegado a un cerro contiguo al potrero de Conicari descubrieron en su altura a los enemigos, echaron pie a tierra y los atacaron, pero se pusieron en fuga y sólo lograron quitarles veinticuatro caballos que habían robado.

El ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez, con fecha 8 de mayo de 1769 remitió al gobernador don Juan de Pineda, acabado de desembarcar en la ensenada de Santa Bárbara en la costa del mar del sur, e inmediato al río Yaqui, tres ejemplares de bando para que se publicase en los cuarteles que ocupaba la tropa, y en la provincia de Sonora, y es del tenor siguiente:

> Don José de Gálvez, del consejo y cámara de Indias, intendente del ejército de América, visitador general de todos los tribunales de justicia y real hacienda, cajas y ramos de ellas, de estos reinos de Nueva España, y comisionado con las amplísimas facultades que su majestad tiene aprobadas del excelentísimo señor marqués de Croix, gobernador y capitán general de los mismos reinos:
>
> Declaro a todos los habitantes de estas provincias de Sinaloa y Sonora al desembarcarme en su distrito, que por ser el principal objeto, entre las que me traen a ellas, proveer a su tranquilidad y bien público, que han perturbado y destruído los enemigos seris y pimas cometiendo las mayores crueldades y excesos y haciéndose reos de la Lesa Majestad divina y humana, les intimo por este edicto, a nombre de Dios y del rey, que para dar la más evidente y última prueba de la soberana piedad con que Ambas Majestades oyen y admiten el arrepentimiento verdadero, aún de los mayores delincuentes, señalo y concedo, el término perentorio de cuarenta días contados desde hoy, a fin de que se me presenten todos los sublevados, o los cabecillas de ellos, en el real de los Alamos, y que rindiéndose a discreción como deben al rey nuestro señor, imploren el perdón bajo las condiciones que en su real nombre yo les impusiere, sirviéndoles de seguridad y salvo conducto para ejecutarlo, la publicación de este edicto que

despacho con correos extraordinarios a los principales pueblos de ambas provincias, y a los cuarteles del ejército que hay en ellas. Previniendo a los jefes, suspendan las operaciones militares, y la justa venganza de las armas por los cuarenta días.

Pero al propio tiempo hago saber y protesto a los mismos enemigos seris y pimas, que si obstinados en su rebelión hicieren alguna hostilidad dentro del término prefinido, o no vinieren a mi presencia, según los amonesto y mando, llegará el día de su total ruina y del ejemplar castigo que merecen sus muchos y sacrílegos delitos, porque inmediatamente los mandaré tratar con todos los rigores de la guerra, sin que a ninguno de ellos se dé cuartel, ni perdone la vida; y aunque para extinguirlos sobran fuerzas y armas en las tropas que existen en Sonora, haré aumentar considerablemente el número de ellos, con todos los fieles vasallos que tiene su majestad en la vasta extensión de ambas provincias. Y ocurriré personalmente a todas las partes para hacerles experimentar la severidad de la justicia, y que conozcan, aunque tarde, que no pueden esconderse ni evitar los golpes del supremo poder de los reyes de cielo y tierra que les amenazan. En cuya inteligencia, exhorto y mando también a los vasallos leales, así españoles como indios, que se dispongan todos a salir a campaña con mi primer aviso, en el caso de que los enemigos no se sometan dentro del tiempo que les prefino, pues luego no les daré oídos, ni me retiraré hasta extinguirlos, y que no quede más memoria de ellos que la de haber perecido a sangre y fuego, según sucedió dos años ha, con los que pagaron su traición en el último suplicio.

Dado en la ensenada de Santa Bárbara a 8 días del mes de mayo de 1769 años. Don José de Gálvez.

Por mandado de su ilustrísima. Don Juan Manuel Viniegra.

Con las sospechas de que los enemigos intentaban atacar al real de Sobia, se destacó a un teniente de presidio con veinticinco soldados de la misma tropa con orden de reconocer el puesto de San Marcial, y el del Tambor, introduciéndose por el pueblo de Cumuripa al de Buenavista con la idea de reforzar este presidio y estar en expectativa por si verificaban su proyecto, para tener suficiente tropa y acudir a castigarlos.

El día 9 de mayo se retiró con su destacamento el capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza, sin haber conseguido otra ventaja que haber cogido tres muchachos cautivos; el uno español y los otros dos indios, que se hallaban cuidando veinticinco caballos en las vertientes del Cerro Prieto que igualmente condujo.

El muchacho español que entiende bien el idioma pima, por haber estado cautivo seis años, refirió que esta nación estaba muy sentida con la seris porque querían bajar de paz, y que ellos querían más ver los huesos de sus parientes sembrados por las laderas, que imitarlos, y que allí los hallaría la tropa siempre que los fuese a buscar. También asegura que de las dos naciones habían muerto muchos, así en las acciones, como de las heridas que recibían en ellas, y que después del ataque del cajón de la Palma estuvieron cuatro días en las ásperas alturas del cerro pereciendo de hambre, sin atreverse a bajar, hasta que por la polvareda observaron que la tropa se retiraba del campo del Aguaje para el cuartel del Pitic. Pero estos bárbaros prefieren gustosos los mayores trabajos por lograr la libertad de no estar sujeto a nadie.

Como en las inmediaciones del cuartel del Pitic se hallaban rancheadas veintiuna familias de seris, el mismo día que se recibió el bando del ilustrísimo

señor don José de Gálvez, el indio que hacía de gobernador se presentó al gobernador don Juan de Pineda y al coronel don Domingo Elizondo, diciendo que las naciones de piatos y sibubapas habían enviado un recado al capitán Marcos encargándole no se bajase de paz porque los españoles los querían juntar a todos para ahorcar a los capitanes, y a los demás conducirlos a las casas del agua, que son las embarcaciones, y después echarlos al mar a fin de que nunca pudiesen volver a sus tierras, y que esto lo habían oído decir los parientes de los pueblos a los de razón.

Costó indecible fatiga, a ambos jefes, para tranquilizar a estos bárbaros, y persuadirles lo contrario, como el que de nuestra parte fuesen a decir a Marcos no creyese a los piatos y que aprovechase de la favorable ocasión del indulto.

Esta tan maliciosa como falsa sugestión, causó tanta impresión en los corazones de los seris, que hizo suspender su deliberada determinación. Pero se observa no acusan el menor perjuicio en el país, prueba de que conserva todavía estar de buena fe, como efectivamente lo están Crisanto y sus compañeros ofreciéndose salir guiando la tropa.

Feneció el término del indulto, lo prorrogó su ilustrísima a petición de algunos rebeldes de la nación sibubapa que con su gobernador Diego se presentaron en el real de los Alamos al señor visitador, solicitando el perdón de su nación. Y obtenido después de haberlos regalado su ilustrísima, se fueron al pueblo de Belén, pero subsistieron pocos y no tuvo efecto su promesa.

Con motivo del alboroto de los indios de la villa del Fuerte y sus inmediaciones, se destacaron ochenta hombres de los cuarteles del Pitic y Guaymas, y a pocos días pidió su ilustrísima ciento más, y que los fuese mandando el coronel don Domingo Elizondo quien al siguiente día de haber recibido la orden se puso en marcha con la citada gente; pero al tercer tránsito recibió un expreso de su ilustrísima para regresarse al cuartel respecto haberse sosegado los amotinados.

Cuando las naciones seris y sibubapas aparentaban más fidelidad se experimentó mayor falsedad, supuesto que los primeros, estando en las inmediaciones del cuartel del Pitic con apariencias de rendirse, se ausentaron a larga distancia, y los segundos se fueron a incorporar con la nación de Piatos. Cuya noticia la dio un viejo seri el día 26 de julio que vino huyendo con el fin de vivir con dos hijos y algunos nietos que tenía en los indios que subsistían de paz con el capitán Crisanto.

El día 25 del citado mes fue acometido el gobernador don Juan de Pineda de los accidentes de apoplejía y perlesía y aunque se restableció en parte, quedó lisiado de una pierna e impedido de hacer fatiga a causa de no poder montar a caballo.

El 27 del expresado mes se presentaron en el Pitic dos indios seris; uno de ellos hablando un buen castellano, quien por haber sido monacillo de una misión de padres expulsos ejercía en su nación las funciones de cura, y así le apellidaban para sus bautismos y matrimonios. Se les preguntó si venían enviados del capitán Marcos o si para quedarse, respondieron que ni uno ni otro, y que sólo venían a ver sus parientes y volverse. Pero como ya había informado el viejo de la mala fe de esta nación, y Crisanto, de que no convenía que estos dos demorasen por ser muy malvados, se les sacó con una partida de la jurisdicción sin permitir hablasen con ninguno de su nación, habiéndoles advertido que sin embargo haber fenecido el indulto se les dejaba ir libres para que vieran la benignidad con que los trataba el rey, sin embargo la falsedad con que procedían ellos, pero que pronto experimentarían el rigor de la justicia. Y que advirtiese a todos los de su nación, no viniese ninguno sin preceder el perdón porque inmediatamente se le ahorcaría.

A pocos días que expiró la prórroga del indulto, salió con cuarenta dragones e

igual número de soldados de presidio, el capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza quien habiendo campado a cosa de las once de la mañana del día 31 de julio en sus inmediaciones, uno de los cuatro seris que llevaba por guías apresó una india piata que condujo al capitán, la que le informó que en la barranca del áspero y elevado cerro que tenían a la vista, y el mar inmediato, se hallaba su nación y la de sibubapas arranchados. Se ofreció guiar la tropa al paraje con tal que no la castigasen, y se lo otorgó el capitán.

Quien noticioso andaban por el campo algunos enemigos, receló ser descubierto por la mucha inmediación con que estaba, y sin embargo no ser la hora para sorpresa, determinó no perder la ocasión por si se conseguía alguna ventaja. Se dirigió a la barranca con sesenta hombres a la que llegó a cosa de medio día, puso pie a tierra y la avanzó, pero inmediatamente descubrió a los enemigos iban cerro arriba, y sin embargo las ventajas del terreno y su excesivo número, los siguió con bastante viveza, pero huyeron con mucha más, y fue su fuga tan precipitada que por la ladera del cerro iban dejando los árboles y carcaces, y algunos rastros de sangre, y dos niños muy pequeños, los que se recogieron, y ocho carcaces con sus flechas y arcos. Al ver el capitán que habían desamparado el cerro y se internaban por otros de mayor elevación, desistió de la empresa de seguirlos, por cuanto comprendía él, imposible de alcanzarlos. Descendió a la ranchería y la halló con todas aquellas cosas que cabe en su miseria, con mucho acopio de semillas para su bastimento, que mandó quemar para que no volviesen a recogerlas, ni hacer nueva provisión con tanta facilidad y sosiego como las habían acopiado en el tiempo que duró el perdón. También se hallaron dieciocho caballos que eran los únicos que tenían.

Al siguiente día se dirigió este destacamento a las marismas en solicitud de la nación seris, pero no habiéndolos hallado pasó a reconocer el monte del Tenuaje en que halló, a la inmediación de la espesura, dos rebeldes seris que inmediatamente los mataron, y el uno de ellos era el apellidado Padre que anteriormente se mencionó. Los gritos de estos dos fueron causa que se alarmara la ranchería del capitán Marcos que estaba muy próxima, y penetrase a la espesura; sin embargo se le siguió a pie, y aunque al principio tiraron algunas flechas, se internaron con precipitada fuga, y sólo se halló otro rebelde muerto de la bala de fusil. Desde la espesura gritó el capitán Marcos a Crisanto amenazándole que lo había de matar porque guiaba a los españoles, y le respondió que [lo] haría hasta lograr el matarlo a él, y a sus compañeros por su mala fe, y no haber querido aprovecharse del perdón. Se restituyó el destacamento al cuartel del Pitic el 18 de agosto.

El destacamento que salió el día 14 de agosto a las órdenes del capitán don Juan Bergosa por la parte del Bacoachi, cortó el 17 rastros de enemigos con rumbo hacia la sierra de Buenavista, a la parte del norte, y habiéndola seguido el 19 descubrió un indio, y a corto rato una ranchería de Piatos entre dicha sierra, y la Cieneguilla, que tomaba su fuga, por lo que fue preciso atacarla a fuerza de carrera. Viendo los enemigos que se les daba alcance se dispusieron a la defensa guarnecidos de árboles, pero se les batió inmediatamente, logrando matar veintitrés personas de ambos sexos y apresar tres mujeres con ocho criaturas, y veinte caballos.

El capitán de esta ranchería era el más bizarro de los indios de su nación llamado Naspre, como lo acredita en su bárbara defensa, pues hecha pedazos la canilla de una pierna de un pistoletazo, sosteniéndose sobre la otra, flechaba con el mayor ardor, de modo que hirió a dos soldados de presidio, y mató el caballo a un dragón, y otro, al propio tiempo que había echado pie a tierra, le travesó el pecho de un fusilazo, y cayó muerto. La tropa tuvo los dos citados heridos, y otros dos dragones,

y muertos dos caballos de estos. En la ranchería entre otras cosas, se halló el crucifijo, el paño de sol, y un pedazo de sotana del cura de Baroyeca que mataron los enemigos a principios del año. Después de este lance regresó el destacamento girando las marismas, pozos de Garambullos, monte Cenizo, entradas de los embarcaderos a la isla del Tiburón, y monte Tenuaje, sin haber hallado rastro alguno de enemigos, por lo que se retiró al cuartel del Pitic el 26 del citado mes de agosto.

En el mes de septiembre se puso en marcha desde el real de los Alamos para el cuartel del Pitic, pero habiéndole sobrevenido unas calenturas en el tránsito del presidio de Buenavista le precisaron detenerse hasta que se libertó de ellas, aunque no por este accidente dejó de providenciar su infatigable celo y amor al real servicio en el acopio de víveres y aumento de tropas, así de compañías sueltas provinciales, como de indios auxiliares, para la premeditada invasión que proyectaba hacer su ilustrísima, en el Cerro Prieto, con todas las fuerzas posibles a fin de exterminar los rebeldes.

Luego que experimentó alguna mejoría en su salud, se puso en marcha, y llegó al cuartel del Pitic a principios de octubre, e inmediatamente dio principio a sus providencias para la expedición de la tropa, en consecuencia de las noticias que le dieron los indios sibubapas, que el delicado arte de su ilustrísima supo alentar, para que como fugitivos se introdujesen en las rancherías de sus parientes, y examinándolas regresasen a dar aviso de la situación en que se hallaban, lo que practicaron puntualmente, y le dieron individuales noticias de los sitios en que se hallaban rancheados los enemigos. Inmediatamente mandó aprontar los víveres, y que se previniese la tropa, pero el día antes de ponerse en marcha, de los cinco sibubapas que habían venido para servir de guías, desaparecieron dos, y receloso el coronel que hubiesen ido a dar aviso a sus parientes del movimiento de la tropa, representó a su ilustrísima para que se suspendiese la salida por algunos días, pero la gran confianza que tenía de la fidelidad de los dos desaparecidos, no le podía persuadir que hubiesen faltado a ella, y así mandó se ejecutase la expedición el día 17, a cuyo efecto formó el coronel el plano del ataque que sigue en la foja de la vuelta:

Plano y detalle de la tropa e indios auxiliares divididos en cuatro columnas para la proyectada invasión en la serranía del Cerro Prieto en los días 19 y 20 de octubre de 1769:

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
1ª Columna							
Comandantes: En jefe, el coronel don Domingo Elizondo							
Cañón por donde se debe atacar: Arroyo							
Tropa o Cuerpo							
España	1	2	1	2	60		
México	1	1	–	1	28	88	
Presidios	1	1	–	–	56	56	
Indios Opatas auxiliares	–	–	–	–	150	150	
Total							294

	Cap	*Ten*	*Alf*	*Sar*	*Sol*	*Par*	*Total*
2ª Columna							
Comandantes: Sargento Mayor don Mathías Armona							
Cañón por donde se debe atacar: Palma							
Tropa o Cuerpo							
México	–	2	2	2	44	44	
Fusileros	–	1	–	1	36	36	
Presidios	1	1	1	–	55	55	
Indios Pimas auxiliares	–	–	–	–	–	120	
Total							255
3a Columna							
Comandantes: Capitán don Diego Peirán							
Cañón por donde se debe atacar: Loreto							
Tropa o Cuerpo							
América	1	1	1	1	30	30	
Voluntarios	1	–	1	2	55	55	
Presidio	1	1	–		50	50	
Indios Yaquis auxiliares	–	–	–	–	–	100	
Total							230
							[235]
4ª Columna							
Comandantes: Capitán don Gabriel de Vildósola							
Cañón por donde se debe atacar: Cosari							
Tropa o Cuerpo							
España	–	1	–	–	20	20	
Fusileros	1	–	1	3	60	60	
Presidios	1	1	2	–	57	57	
Indios Yaquis auxiliares	–	–	–	–	–	150	
Total							287

Orden que deberán observar los comandantes de las columnas del precedente detalle:

Mañana a las dos de la tarde se pondrá en marcha para el campo del Aguaje la tropa que contienen las tres primeras divisiones, debiendo la cuarta salir de Guaymas en derechura a su destino.

Llegarán con precisión las divisiones de la Palma y Loreto la noche del 18 del corriente a sus respectivos cajones; el comandante de la segunda hará conducir reatados todos sus caballos, con los cincuenta indios yaquis que para este efecto lleva, a incorporarse en la laguna de la Burra, la tarde del día 19 con la primera división; y la tercera dejará su recua y caballada en el propio cajón de Loreto por el que debe penetrar.

La división del arroyo, y del Cosari se introducirán en la sierra la noche del día 19.

La tropa de cada división deberá subir a la sierra provisionada de pinole y tasajo

por cuatro días, y la bota provista de agua, que es cuanto puede llevar el soldado por ser impracticable subir bastimento en acémilas.

El principal objeto es ocupar las alturas de los cuatro cajones al rayar del día 20 para observar, y reconocer desde ellas si se descubren los enemigos, y atacarlos; en cuyo supuesto cada comandante procederá con los esmeros de su acreditado celo, y conducta, gobernándose según su prudencia y pericia militar le dictase.

Al verse los rebeldes estrechados por los cuatro rumbos es regular se efugien según informes de algunos de los rendidos en el paraje llamado la Mesa, o Peñol Grande, que es la superior altura de la sierra, y ésta será el punto céntrico a que se deben reunir las columnas guiadas del práctico que cada uno lleva si no hallaren o descubrieren los enemigos; pero en caso de encontrarlos seguirán con preferencia sus huellas; y si fuere el todo de ellos, y necesitare más tropa para bloquearlos, y asegurar su huida, disparará tres cuetes con algún intervalo de uno a otro, y la más inmediata acudirá con la mayor prontitud al paraje en que hicieren el [la] señal, y las demás se encaminarán a él, si es que no tuvieren objeto más preferible.

Si algún comandante de división tuviere fija noticia de que los rebeldes hubieren desamparado el cerro, dispararán dobles los tres cuetes con la misma intermisión; en cuyo caso, cada columna descenderá al respectivo cajón por donde penetró, por el terreno que hallare más a propósito, y menos incómodo para tomar sus caballos, y seguir la huella de los enemigos; la división que la hallare dando parte al coronel si lo permitiere el terreno, y las columnas que no tuvieren cierta noticia del rumbo que hubieren tomado, descenderán al cajón del Cosari a excepción de la de Loreto que deberá ir precisamente a él.

Ninguna columna descenderá de la sierra, sino en el caso prevenido al precedente capítulo hasta cumplidos los cuatro días de provisión, o que vean u oigan disparar ocho cuetes de dos en dos con intermisión unos de otros.

Con las cavadas [caballadas] dejará cada división cuatro hombres, y un cabo con algunos indios auxiliares; la del Cosari en el mismo, y a él se unirán las de la Palma y el Arroyo.

Los comandantes encargarán a sus oficiales, tropa y auxiliares, prendan si fuere dable, un indio vivo, o india, para informarse del paraje en que estuvieren los enemigos amenazándole con la muerte si no confesase la verdad.

Por punto general no se dará cuartel a ningún rebelde sino a los de menor edad, y en caso de prenderse algún número de estos y mujeres, providenciará el comandante su conducción, con seguridad, al paraje en que hubiere quedado la provisión.

Pitic, 16 de octubre de 1769.
Don Domingo Elizondo.

Diario de lo acaecido en la invasión del Cerro Prieto a consecuencia de la precedente orden.

Penetraron las cuatro columnas por los respectivos cajones a que se destinaron en los días 18 y 19, de modo que al romper del alba del 20 llegaron a los puestos en que se premeditaban arranchados los rebeldes, como efectivamente lo habían estado; pero el aviso anticipado que tuvieron del movimiento de las tropas por los dos indios suaquis que habían bajado de paz, y se huyeron el día antes de salir las tropas de sus respectivos cuarteles, hizo que levantaran sus rancherías dos días antes del arribo de aquellas, y por consiguiente que se frustrase el éxito que se

premeditaba; sin embargo, siguiendo el orden del detalle, continuaron las columnas su marcha al punto señalado para la reunión que era el peñol, en cuyo paraje siempre fundan los enemigos su mayor seguridad, así por estar en el riñón de la serranía, como por ser su mayor elevación.

La división del mando de don Mathías de Armona llegó a la falda de dicho peñol a las doce del día 20, y descubrió en la cima, o mesa el corto número de treinta o cuarenta rebeldes. Inmediatamente ocupó algunos puestos para impedir la huída, y avisó a la de don Diego Peirán hiciese lo mismo a fin de bloquearlos, pues se avistó a la parte opuesta; pero no habiendo recibido el aviso hasta después de las cinco de la tarde, se acercó cuanto pudo hasta que se anocheció, que hizo alto, por no exponer la tropa por aquellos precipicios y por considerar que de noche, cuando le fuese dable llegar era muy arriesgado a confusión el ataque. Cuyas reflexiones le obligaron a diferir su marcha hasta romper del alba del 21 a cuya hora se fue aproximando; pero halló que en la misma noche desampararon los enemigos sin ser sentidos por la considerable circunferencia del peñol, y quiebras del terreno.

En la eminencia descubrieron un indio a quien le dispararon tres tiros, de los que murió, y halló ser un viejo que no pudo seguir a sus compañeros. Estos tiros, concibieron las divisiones del coronel, y don Gabriel de Vildósola, que por una casualidad se habían juntado aquella mañana, que era el [la] señal que indicaban los tres cuetes, y obligó al primero escoger de ambas columnas doscientos setenta hombres de los más ágiles y fuertes y los mandó marchar a las órdenes del capitán don Juan José Bergosa con la mayor celeridad al referido peñol, que sin embargo no estar por el aire una legua, y haberse puesto en movimiento a las siete de la mañana, tardó en llegar todo el día, porque tuvieron que descender a un profundo valle, y luego subir una considerable elevación en que estaba el peñol.

En el camino hallaron despobladas dos pequeñas rancherías, y un viejo que sólo pudo informar hacía dos días haberse ido la gente; era tan decrépito que no se podía mover y aunque el comandante le abandonó, los indios auxiliares que iban de retaguardia lo mataron. Luego hallaron una india, la que habiéndola prendido dijo ser cautiva, de nación Yaqui, la que informó que el todo de los enemigos era muy corto número, y que se habían salido del cerro con resolución, los seris de irse a la isla del Tiburón, los sibubapas a la sierra de los Pilares, y los piatos a unirse con el capitán Vipisi que siempre se arrancha lejos del Pitic, a la parte del poniente.

Las tres divisiones unidas, como se hallaban sin objeto, reconocieron algunos valles y barrancos en todo el día 21, pero la escasez de víveres y la imposibilidad de tenerlos sin descender la tropa, resolvieron los tres comandantes bajar al cajón de Loreto por ser el más inmediato, y estar en él la provisión de la columna que penetró por él.

El coronel con los residuos de su columna, y de la de don Gabriel de Vildósola, regresó y descendió al cajón del Cosari, y recogiendo toda la recua y caballada que se había reunido en él, hizo el reparto de ésta entre la tropa e indios auxiliares para que los condujesen de reata. Después de molesta y prolija faena, se puso en marcha por la cañada grande del mismo cajón, y fue a salir al de la Palma, y sin detenerse pasó al de la Cara Pintada, en cuya embocadura recibió el aviso de don Mathías de Armona haber descendido el día 23 al cajón de Loreto las tres citadas divisiones, con cuyo aviso se puso en marcha la tarde de dicho día, y llegó a incorporarse con el todo el día 24.

La división del capitán don Diego Peirán se encontró con siete enemigos que

había en el cerro, y dos mujeres, y a la descarga murieron los seis y huyó un hombre y una mujer.

Según la huella que hallaron las tropas, la porción de enemigos que había en el cerro se dirigían al rincón de Marcos, y para no dejar escrúpulo al deseo de solicitarlos, se hizo provisionar por cuatro días a trescientos hombres, todos voluntarios, así de la tropa como de indios auxiliares, reiteraron la invasión de la sierra, en cuya altura dieron con el rastro de los sibubapas, y con el desengaño, pues habiéndole seguido un día, hallaron que habían salido del cerro por dicho paraje del rincón de Marcos, dirigiéndose a la sierra de los Pilares, en cuyo seguimiento despaché un destacamento a las órdenes del capitán del presidio de Buenavista para que al paso para él, reconociese dicha sierra, y habiéndolo ejecutado no halló rastro alguno en sus cajones.

El resto de la tropa prosiguió dando vueltas a la sierra, y llegó al cajón del Cosari el día 26 en el que se incorporaron los trescientos hombres que reiteraron la invasión en la sierra, y salieron de ella por el mencionado potrero de la rinconada de Marcos. El 27 campó el todo de la tropa en el aguaje, el 28 en el campo de plaza de armas, y el 29 llegó al cuartel del Pitic.

Según informe de la india cautiva, los piatos los suponían haberse ido al monte Tenuaje, a cuyo reconocimiento se envió un destacamento de un capitán con sesenta hombres de los del cuartel de Guaymas, y se retiró a él sin haber tenido la menor novedad el día 30.

Es bien sensible y doloroso que todos los esmeros en las diligencias, desvelos, y fatigas no sean suficientes a dar con los enemigos, respecto que han conocido el ocultarse con la fuga, era el único medio que los aseguraba el [de] perecer a manos de la tropa, que sólo ha logrado en esta ocasión ver desamparados a los enemigos de las asperezas del cerro, cuyas escabrosidades y precipicios, toda ponderación será sucinta a manifestarlas; y lo mismo se podía decir del espíritu de la tropa en la tolerancia de sus fatigas; pues la columna que penetró por el cajón de la Palma fueron inmensas por la distancia y asperezas y eminencias que superó; la del Cosari pasó al cajón por espacio de dos leguas con agua por encima de la rodilla, y la del Arroyo no salió de ella desde las nueve de la noche que dejó los caballos, hasta las siete de la mañana.

Hasta esta invasión general se ignoraba la mayor parte de la fragosidad de esta sierra, porque los que más hablaban de ella no habían visto sino las entradas y planos de los cajones; en las dos penetraciones que hizo anteriormente la tropa por los cajones de la Palma y Cara Pintada, se impuso en gran parte de sus eminencias, pero en la de que se trata, se reconoció ser infinitamente más lo que restaba que ver, pues se examinó todas las entrañas y elevación de la sierra que la forman un laberinto de elevados e incomprensibles cerros independientes unos de otros, con sucesivo descenso a cada cañada que forma en el plano, y ascenso particular a las elevadas cumbres. En algunas de ellas tenían los bárbaros unas pequeñas plantas de maíz y calabaza que se talaron.

También se halló en la mencionada mesa o peñol como cien ollas de agua, y mucho mescal cocido para mantenerse en la defensa que bociferaban habían de hacer en esta eminencia; pero en cuanto vieron la tropa los que estaban en ella desistieron de la empresa, y con la oscuridad de la noche se pusieron en fuga. La misma tomó la nación Sibubapa que estaba arranchada en el arroyo, por el que entró la primera columna dos días antes que llegara la tropa, con sólo el aviso de que iba.

Con la fuga desvanecen todas las esperanzas de exterminar estos piratas en cuyo logro no quedaba duda, como se lograse estrecharlos a una acción, la que han evitado desde la del cajón de la Palma, sin embargo las ventajas del terreno para ellos, y aún de su mayor número, pues en cuanto reconocen tropa, sea mucha, o poca, sólo piensan ponerse en salvo estas fieras que se contemplan esparcidas por todo el vasto terreno en que giran. En cuyo concepto será preciso variar de método en las operaciones, por cuanto ya no expondrán su libertad a la contingencia de una acción, por cuya consideración se hace preciso buscar los rebeldes en detalle, y con pequeños destacamentos a fin que perseguidos de continuo, y por todas partes, ver si se logran algunas ventajas, o que viéndose hostigados soliciten el perdón porque para exterminarlos se requiere mucho tiempo, por cuanto están [d]esparramados en el país, y ocultos en las más fragosas sierras.

Cuando el coronel se retiró al Pitic el día 29 halló la novedad de haberse ido el ilustrísimo señor visitador a la misión de Ures, doce leguas distante de aquel cuartel a causa de hallarse accidentada su salud, y por ver de recuperarla con la quietud del sitio y separado de tantos negocios como ocurren; a cuyo pueblo fue a darle parte de lo acaecido en la invasión del cerro en los días 18 y 19 del mencionado octubre.

En la precedente invasión del cerro se reconoció había en él, corto número de rebeldes, y que estos le desampararon según el rastro de sus huellas, y los informes que dio la india yaqui; con cuyo motivo el gobernador y coronel deseosos del acierto tuvieron por conveniente celebrar una junta de capitanes, sobre deliberar el más ventajoso método de guerra que se debería seguir en lo sucesivo contra los rebeldes, y habiéndose celebrado se resolvió a uniformidad de votos que siendo la común opinión que habían abandonado el cerro se persiguiesen incesantemente por varios rumbos con pequeños, y sucesivos destacamentos, cuya resolución se puso en práctica el día 13 de noviembre, saliendo tres de a cincuenta hombres cada uno a fin de conseguir por éste, aunque largo método, la exterminación de los enemigos, o que obstinados imploren el perdón.

La continuada indisposición de su ilustrísima, le impedía providenciar en los asuntos que ocurrían en las provincias y expedición, en cuya atención tuvo a bien dejarlos al cuidado del gobernador don Juan de Pineda y del coronel don Domingo Elizondo, como estaban antes de la venida de su ilustrísima, recomendando como único y principal objeto excusar todos aquellos gastos que no fuesen precisos e indispensables respecto a los cortos caudales que existían para la guerra, en cuya atención, de acuerdo ambos jefes, consideraron preciso el retirar a sus casas varias compañías de milicias que de orden de su ilustrísima habían concurrido a las inmediaciones de los cuarteles de Guaymas y Pitic, así por excusar los excesivos gastos que ocasionaban su prest y raciones, como porque no eran necesarios, en cuyo supuesto se retiraron a fines de noviembre. Así mismo se hicieron retirar todos los indios auxiliares por la misma razón.

Carta escrita por el coronel don Domingo Elizondo con fecha 13 de diciembre al excelentísimo señor virrey.

Luego que llegó a este cuartel el ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez, me dijo iba a hacer el último esfuerzo en una invasión general al Cerro Prieto, e intentar exterminar el cuerpo de rebeldes y que de no lograrse era preciso se retirase la

tropa veterana a primeros de diciembre, venturo por carecer de fondos para sostener la expedición. El celo y amor que tan justamente profeso al real servicio, el honor de sus armas, y el mío, me estimula y precisa representar a vuestra excelencia con la mayor sinceridad y respeto lo que comprendo del sistema de esta guerra; y se reduce a que de no continuarla puede originarse alguna nueva incidencia en los naturales de estas provincias. Lo fundo en que los indios más se gobiernan por los ojos y por las especies que produce en ellos la experiencia que por razones que cautivan el entendimiento. Si vieren pues otras naciones mucho más numerosas que la de los sublevados que triunfan su osadía, no quedando totalmente impunes, es temible que guiados de tan mal ejemplo quieran seguir sus pisadas, sacudiéndose el suave yugo de la obediencia del soberano, como lo intentaron recientemente los del río del Fuerte, de lo cual vuestra excelencia con su gran penetración inferirá las funestas consecuencias que pudieran resultar. En esta inteligencia, y en la de que el número de rebeldes se halla muy decadente, vuestra excelencia resolverá lo mejor como siempre.

En consecuencia de lo acordado en la junta de capitanes, salieron los tres destacamentos, y regresaron en principios de diciembre, después de un dilatado giro; el de don Miguel Gallo sin haber tenido la menor novedad, el de don Juan José Bergosa con sólo la de haber hallado dos indios que mató el uno y el otro se huyó en una balsa a la isla del Tiburón, y apresó cinco mujeres y cuatro muchachos; el de don Juan Bautista de Anza con una ranchería de piatos después de anochecido, y receloso de ser sentido, y que no se le huyera, la atacó pie a tierra con fuego muy vivo del que murieron hasta diecisiete personas de ambos sexos y todas edades, y apresó una mujer con diez muchachos. Tres indios que estaban en un pequeño bosque inmediato, viendo al capitán que andaba reconociendo, le dispararon flechas, tan de cerca que le pudieron echar mano, pero sólo una le hirió [a] travesándole una mejilla, e inmediatamente le disparó una pistola, y penetrando el bosque se desaparecieron; pero a la mañana siguiente hallaron el arco y flechas de uno con mucho rastro de sangre que sin duda fue herido.

El capitán, y once indios de esta ranchería hacía cuatro días habían salido a proveerse de carne por ser país en el que estaban de muchas reses cimarronas. Al siguiente día, sin embargo la herida del capitán, siguió el rastro, y al segundo de marcha encontró los citados once indios, pero como sus caballos estaban descansados, y fatigados los de la tropa, sólo pudieron alcanzar dos que mataron, y quitaron veintidós caballos sueltos que pastoreaban, y dos cargas de carne seca.

Con motivo de que se retiraban a sus siembras ochenta indios pimas altos, auxiliares, y debiendo pasar inmediato a la sierra del Purgatorio en que se tenía noticia había una pequeña ranchería de piatos, fue con ellos un oficial y veinte soldados de presidio a fin de atacarla al paso; y habiendo llegado al paraje en que se debía separar del camino real dijeron los auxiliares, no podían ir por falta de bastimento, por cuyo motivo sólo siguieron el capitán y cinco indios, y encontrado el rastro enemigo a la entrada de la sierra que forma una dilatada cañada, siguió el oficial con quince soldados y seis auxiliares, y atacaron el día 8 de diciembre la ranchería enemiga, la que huyó inmediata, y ambas se retiraron a una tercera que se hallaba en lo más interno de la cañada.

Y al ver los enemigos que eran más de sesenta, tan poca gente, ganaron las alturas de ambas laderas de la cañada, de modo que ya les fue preciso retirarse, y

aunque se defendían con el mayor valor, como se hallaban muy fatigados por lo mucho que habían caminado, con el peso de las cueras y la mucha distancia que les faltaba hasta llegar adonde tenían los caballos, los enemigos los iban cargando con tanto ardor que mataron hasta siete soldados; con toda esta desgracia el oficial y los que le quedaron se fue defendiendo en su retirada con el mayor espíritu hasta que ganó la boca de la cañada que defendió, habiendo acudido los cinco soldados que estaban con los caballos, y juntos se mantuvieron, y los enemigos se retiraron, por cuyo motivo montó a caballo, y salieron al llano en que se mantuvo, esperando el socorro que había pedido al presidio de El Altar, y al cuartel del Pitic, y aunque salieron dos destacamentos de cincuenta hombres de éste, y uno de treinta de aquél, a marchas forzadas para atacar las sierra por las dos salidas que tiene, ya la habían desalojado los enemigos por cuyo motivo se retiraron unos y otros.

El día 7 de diciembre salió del cuartel del Pitic un destacamento a las órdenes del capitán de dragones don Manuel de Medina compuesto de sesenta hombres, salió el día 7 a recorrer la sierra de los Pilares y Bacatete, se retiró el 19 sin más novedad que habiendo descubierto dos enemigos a la entrada de un bosque, mataron sus caballos, y se internaron por él.

El capitán de presidio don José Antonio de Vildósola con veinte soldados de infantería montados, y veinte de presidio salió del cuartel de Guaymas el día 9, y a los cuatro días de marcha encontró veinte enemigos, trece mujeres, y algunos muchachos que recogían la simiente del bledo, en cuanto los descubrieron, ya los vieron que trepaban por un cerro arriba; el capitán con doce hombres de presidio echó pie a tierra, los siguió, a quien le hicieron frente, pero los llevaba de retirada con su fuego, lo que dio tiempo para que los veinte hombres de infantería dejaran sus caballos y por una ladera pudieron ganar la altura sin ser vistos a tiempo que los enemigos estaban peleando con los de presidio, les dio la infantería una descarga, y aunque hicieron cara defendiéndose al abrigo de la espesura del bosque no pudieron aguantar el fuego porque les ofendía mucho, y así los pocos que quedaron descendieron del cerro, dejando sus muertos y heridos en el monte.

El capitán al verlos descender, y montando a caballo los siguió a fuerza de carrera a seis rebeldes, y huían por el llano, y algunas mujeres y muchachos, a los que alcanzó, y mató, apresando tres mujeres, y cinco muchachos quienes refieren que de dichos veinte indios sólo lograron escapar tres y algunas mujeres ocultándose en la espesura del bosque. También refirieron que en el Cerro Prieto no había ningún piato, ni seri, sí sólo la cuadrilla del capitán de sibubapas, Tomás, de la que habían bajado los mencionados veinte a recoger semillas porque padecían mucha hambre en el cerro. La acción fue entre el cajón del Cosari, y el de Ana María.

A pocos días de regresados los dos precitados destacamentos, se tuvo noticia que los enemigos habían vuelto al cajón del Aguaje de la sierra del Purgatorio, distante cuarenta leguas del Pitic a la parte del norte, de cuyo cuartel salieron el día 25 de diciembre dos destacamentos para atacarlos por frente y retaguardia, en una propia hora. El mismo día salió otro destacamento a la parte del sur en solicitud de los sibubapas, guiado por Crisanto, gobernador de los seris rendidos. Los dos primeros reconocieron dicho cajón y sierra, y no habiendo hallado a ningún enemigo. El del mando de don Juan Bautista [de] Anza, por llevar caballos dobles, remudó, y pasó a reconocer la sierra de la, de donde se regresó sin novedad. El del capitán don Juan José Bergosa que volvía desde el cajón del Aguaje al cuartel del Pitic por el arroyo de los Tobos, dio con una pequeña ranchería de seris, compuesta de seis hombres y entre ellos el famoso capitán Chepillo que se le mató inmediatamente;

pero no se vieron los cinco restantes por haber salido a cazar. Del fuego que se hizo en la ranchería murió una mujer, y dos muchachos como de doce, a trece años, y apresaron nueve de ambos sexos con cuatro mujeres.

El del mando del capitán don Vicente Moreno atacó una ranchería de seris en la marisma situada en un áspero bosque, en el que se internó tan repentinamente ínterin dejaban los caballos que sólo pudieron alcanzar siete muchachos de ambos sexos, y se vio rastro de sangre, señal de haber herido alguno de ellos con el fuego de fusil. Después prosiguió su correría por el monte Tenuaje, y el cerro del Tanuco, en cuyo paraje vieron cuatro piatos que huyeron tan precipitadamente, como que dejaron sus arcos y diez caballos, pero no fue dable alcanzarlos. El método que se tomó para buscar los enemigos, esto es por detalle y destacamentos cortos, aunque no es el más breve, sí el más útil, y por él pensó siempre lograr el deseado fin de exterminar o reducir los enemigos.

Año de 1770

En fecha 26 de noviembre del año de 1768 mandó el excelentísimo señor virrey marqués de Croix que para quitar a los enemigos el seguro asilo que les ofrece el monte Tenuaje en su fragosidad, que habría sido muy oportuno haberle incendiado, y en data 7 de enero de 1770, reiteró su orden para incendiar todos los bosques en que se acogían los rebeldes. En satisfacción a las dos citadas resoluciones se expuso con fecha de [fecha ausente] de enero de 1769 los inconvenientes que se reconocían en la práctica, con los que se conformó su excelencia, por entonces, pero habiendo repetido la segunda resolución se satisfizo con fecha 20 de marzo de 1770 diciendo que todo el vasto recinto por el que giraban los enemigos era desierto, y por lo general cubierto de fragosidad. Si se incendiaban los bosques era infalible se quemasen los pastos que están en ellos, y trascendería el fuego a los llanos, de que resultaría el grave inconveniente de que los caballos no tendrían pasto por ser el único de que se alimentan, y no habiéndole en la campaña quedaría la tropa en inacción supuesto que no podría salir a ella.

El monte Tenuaje es mayor que se conoce, si después que se desalojó de él el día 9 de septiembre de 1768, el todo de los rebeldes hubiesen vuelto a refugiarse, seguramente se habría incendiado; pero estos bárbaros tienen por aguero el ranchearse en el paraje que han sido batidos, sin embargo las grandes ventajas que les ofrezca el terreno; y prueba de ello es, que desde aquella ocasión no ha vuelto a refugiarse partida crecida, y lo mismo sucede en el cajón de la Palma, sierra de Bacoachi, y cerro del Tonuco, y otros parajes en que han tenido alguna pérdida; de modo que siempre huyen del terreno que conoce la tropa y procuran ocultarse en el que jamás hayan estado.

Si estos bárbaros conociesen las ventajas que lograrían incendiar los pastos imposibilitarían a la tropa el perseguirlos, pues ellos no los necesitarían para hacer sus robos, respecto a su agilidad y robustez de andar a pie; pero la Divina Providencia les ha ocultado este importante secreto, que tal vez darían con él, si se hacía el ejemplar de pegar fuego a los bosques, porque son tan materiales, que hacen e imitan lo que ven, como la experiencia lo tiene acreditado. En el principio del alzamiento se les incendió sus jacales, y luego correspondieron en hacer lo propio en las haciendas, y rancherías de los vecinos, y para obviar iguales daños se abstuvieron las tropas en incendiar sus jacales, y así por lo ya expuesto, como por no ser de ninguna consecuencia ni utilidad. Además de estos motivos asiste el de que para quemar los infinitos bosques que hay en tan dilatado país inculto, se

requiere emplear mucha gente en el corte de árboles para que se sequen, pues de otro modo no quieren arder mucho tiempo, y muchos incend[i]arios.

La única dificultad que se conocía en esta guerra era saber el paraje el en [en el] que se hallaban los enemigos, pues sabido fuese bosque, sierra, o cualquiera otra aspereza, no había la menor duda en desalojarlos y batirlos, si fiados en las ventajas del terreno se obstinasen en su defensa. Pero la desgracia es que sólo la aseguran en una anticipada fuga; sin embargo a todos los inconvenientes referidos, cuando ya no los había porque se había ya rendido el todo de los rebeldes, se enviaron dos partidas para que por los cuatro rumbos incendiasen el monte del Tenuaje, y que internando hiciesen lo mismo en diferentes parajes, en cuya faena gastó la tropa ocho días. Al mes volvió un destacamento para ver el estrago que había hecho el fuego, y halló que en cuanto había quemado algún ramaje a los márgenes del bosque, pero ningún tronco, ni menos había pasado de ellas.

El día primero de febrero se presentaron dos indias seris, con cruz en el cuartel del Pitic implorando el perdón para su ranchería de resulta de haberla atacado el capitán don Vicente Moreno. Se le acordó con condición que se había de presentar en el término de diez días, y lo cumplieron la víspera de fenecer el término, once familias, y un hombre suelto con su capitán que componía el número de cuarenta y dos personas de ambos sexos, y todas edades. Esta rendición se graduó por de mejor fe que la del año próximo pasado, porque se observaba que los rebeldes se hallaban ya fatigados de la guerra, y de su adversa fortuna, por cuyos motivos solicitaron por sí el perdón con tanto empeño presentándose todos de una vez con sus familias.

Las dos citadas mujeres cuando llegaron al cuartel del Pitic refirieron que la nación Sibubapa había padecido una epidémica enfermedad de vómito amarillo, y que habían muerto muchísimos, hombres, mujeres, y niños; el capitán, e indios de la nueva ranchería confirmaron la noticia, de modo que regulando antecedentemente de mayor número ella sola que las dos juntas de piatos y seris, que después de la enfermedad, tendría pocos más que la primera solamente. Con este motivo se hizo un prolijo examen con el gobernador Crisanto, y el nuevo capitán rendido, del número que faltaría a rendirse de su nación, y computaron por sus nombres sólo treinta familias, y reconviniéndoles cómo podía ser tan corto número, respondieron que desde que se abrió la campaña habían muerto muchos más de los que habría visto la tropa sobre el campo, y que lo mismo acontecía a las otras naciones, pero que la de ellos era la que había padecido más. Lo cierto era que los enemigos en aquel tiempo estaban ya muy diminutos.

Habiendo salido a cazar un indio de los seris rendidos avisó haber hallado a otro de guerra, y que instándole a que se fuese con él a rendirse, le respondió no podía por estar un piato con su familia que no la dejaba de vista; con esta noticia pidió licencia el gobernador Crisanto para con otro de su nación salir a buscarle, y se le concedió, y al segundo día regresaron, llevando la cabeza del piato. Esta acción es una de las mayores pruebas de la buena fe con que estaba dicho gobernador, y de la mayor importancia por cuanto indispuso las dos naciones más de lo que estaban, porque naturalmente son opuestos entre sí.

El día 10 de marzo salió el capitán de infantería don Diego Peirán con un destacamento de sesenta hombres, y halló en la costa del mar cuatro familias de seris, las que inmediatamente que lo descubrieron se pusieron en fuga dos de ellos por la mañana, de los que murió uno de un fusilazo; dos mozos se arrojaron al mar, y habiéndoles hecho fuego, de él se ahogó el uno, por otra parte se huyeron dos

hombres al mar, el uno a nado, que se ahogó, y el otro en una balsa, en que recogió al uno de los mozos, y pudieron libertarse. En la ranchería al primer fuego murieron dos mujeres, apresaron otras dos y ocho muchachos de ambos sexos y todas edades. Y sin otra novedad se retiró el destacamento con la presa al cuartel de Guaymas.

Con fecha 14 de marzo dio cuenta el capitán del presidio de el Altar don Bernardo Urrea, haber hecho un robo de ganado en la frontera de la Pimería Alta unos indios de la nación pápagos, cuya noticia se la dio un pima del pueblo de Tubutama que venía de la papaguería, diciéndole que esta nación no estaba de buena fe, y particularmente los de las rancherías del Cuboc, Tarritoaco. Esta inesperada novedad obligó expedir inmediatamente al capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza con un destacamento de sesenta hombres, entre dragones y soldados de presidio el día 17 para incorporarse con el otro capitán don Bernardo Urrea a quien se le dieron todas las instrucciones que parecieron conducentes para asegurar en lo posible la quietud de los indios de la Pimería Alta que se recelaba se uniesen con los pápagos. No sucediendo esta unión, ningún cuidado causaba por sí sola la nación de pápagos por su pusilanimidad, sin embargo se acudió con la fuerza, porque en los principios es más fácil disparar el fuego de la sedición.

Luego que los pápagos tuvieron noticia del movimiento de los dos destacamentos que se encaminaban hacia sus tierras, fueron a presentarse al comandante el día 17 de abril, el gobernador de Comaquibusto que es el primero que movió su ranchería y la había internado a una sierra inmediata al río Gila, y es el mismo en quien se tenían las mayores sospechas de sublevación, el gobernador de Anacam, y el alcalde de Santa Rosa de Ati [Atil], enviando por su gobernador Chanate, quien no se presentó por causa de hallarse enfermo. Y dijeron que arrepentidos de sus excesos abrazaron con sumo gusto el perdón general que en nombre del rey les había enviado, y que en prueba de su arrepentimiento se habían presentado a dar las gracias por el amor con que se los[les] había tratado, asegurando que en adelante vivirían quietos, y sosegados en sus rancherías sin hacer mal a nadie.

El capitán les amonestó que de no hacerlo así iría la tropa y se les castigaría hasta darles la muerte a los que no se enmendasen, y que ellos como justicias contuviesen a sus indios y no consintiesen ladrones, y que en este caso los prendiesen y condujesen al presidio del Altar para aplicarles el correspondiente castigo. Y después de haberles hecho un largo razonamiento, de todo cuanto pareció al comandante conveniente, se restituyeron a sus respectivas rancherías con demostraciones de mucho regocijo con lo que se tranquilizaron las sospechas bien fundadas del alboroto de dicha nación.

El día 17 de marzo una partida de ciento diez enemigos, después de haber pasado el río Yaqui, parte en balsas y otros a nado, se juntaron en el puesto de Encinillas, mataron a tres arrieros, y siguiendo el camino real, en los Luceros, a tres españoles; luego atacaron el pueblo de Onavas, y hallándolo sin más gente que el gobernador, y cinco indios, consiguieron apoderarse de él y matar dos hombres y cinco mujeres, e incendiar quince casas, en cuyas llamas quedaron reducidos a ceniza cuatro muchachos; de donde pasaron al placer del Nacimiento en que había alguna gente lavando oro, de la que mataron tres españoles, ocho indios yaquis, una mujer y una niña, y se ahogaron tres muchachos que [se] arrojaron al río huyendo de los enemigos. Y en el carrizal abajo del Nacimiento mataron a una mujer, y se llevaron cautiva una niña española; también hirieron a un vecino, cinco indios y tres indias.

La mayor parte de estas lamentables desgracias dimanan del descuido con que

viven en estas provincias, sin que las repetidas desgracias despierte la vigilancia de unos vecinos. Que con sólo diesen cumplimiento a las providencias que de antemano tenía dadas el gobernador de ellas, se remediarían todos los daños, o a lo menos la mayor parte.

El teniente del río Chico salió con dieciséis vecinos, y treinta indios en seguimiento de los enemigos, y aunque logró alcanzarlos no se determinó atacarlos por su superior número, y sólo recogió una mujer que después de haberla desnudado los bárbaros la dejaron libre.

Aquel fatal suceso acaecido a cincuenta leguas del cuartel del Pitic y a otras tantas desde Guaymas. De cuya distancia se comprende, ser irremediable estas desgracias, por cuanto los enemigos con la misma precipitación que se introducen a semejantes maldades; se retiran de modo que cuando se llega a saber, ya se hallan refugiados, y ocultos en las malezas.

Con aviso que tuvo el teniente del presidio de Buenavista de haber cortado catorce huellas de enemigos que se introducían por las inmediaciones de la misión de Tecoripa, despachó al sargento con ocho soldados, y siguiendo el rastro los descubrió en las Alajas [Alhajas], pero inmediatamente ganaron sus asperezas y alturas, por cuya razón no pudo atacarlos, y sólo les quitó las bestias que habían robado.

El teniente de Buenavista, comunicó igual aviso al gobernador, y al coronel, quienes despacharon con la mayor celeridad al capitán de dragones don Manuel de Medina con setenta hombres a fin de ver si se les podía cortar la retirada al cerro, pero no pudo dar con rastro alguno. A propio tiempo había salido otro destacamento de Guaymas a las órdenes del capitán don José Vildósola con la de reconocer la sierra de los Pilares, y Bacatete que son fronterizas a la provincia de Ostimuri. Se encontró el día 3 de abril con toda la nación Sibubapa, y atacó varias veces en la sierra de los Pilares, carrizal de Ten, y monte Aricibe aunque siempre sobre su huída, porque tenían vigías avanzadas a una legua del cuerpo de los rebeldes; sin embargo murieron sobre el campo doce indios y cuatro mujeres, apresó otras cuatro y diez muchachos, con cincuenta y dos caballos, y cuanto tenían en su ranchería de ropas y diferentes alhajas que habían robado en las hostilidades cometidas el día 17 de marzo, y sucesivas que en el parte anterior se mencionan.

En el primer ataque que fue de noche, hicieron los enemigos bastante defensa, pero el vivo fuego, y constancia de la tropa les obligó retirarse a la mayor eminencia de la sierra. Informaron las indias apresadas, y dos cautivos de razón que se huyeron en la última acción, y se refugiaron en la tropa, que en el primero choque, tuvieron los enemigos muchos heridos, y que morían los más; y en la tropa sólo hubo tres levemente. Esta al parecer corta pérdida en el sistema de hallarse el mayor número de esta nación resuelta a rendirse, ha sido de mucha consecuencia. Esta noticia dio una de las indias presas, la que motivó al capitán dejarla ir diciendo que le daba libertad por ser tan vieja, pero que encargaba aconseje bien a toda su nación, que ya no le quedaba otro partido que el de rendirse o morir a manos de la tropa.

En principios de abril se rindieron catorce familias de seris con las que se cuentan ciento cincuenta y una personas rendidas, entre grandes y chicos de ambos sexos; también se presentó en el propio día una vieja, pidiendo el perdón para cuatro familias más de seris; se le concedió y partió para conducirlos. Con esta gente se presentaron tres indios de la isla del Tiburón implorando la gracia de que no se hiciese expedición contra ellos, exponiendo que su nación no salía de su isla, que era infeliz, y no incomodaba a nadie, y que en esta atención suplicaban se les

dejase vivir libremente en su país, pues habían nacido en él, prometiendo no pisarían nuestras costas; a que se les respondió concediéndole la gracia de seguridad, con tal que no saliesen de su isla para la costa de la provincia de Sonora, y que volviesen tres de ellos, de aquellos que tuvieran más concepto, para elegirles gobernador y alcalde, a fin que sujetasen, y gobernase a los demás, pues vivían todos a su arbitrio sin sujeción a nadie. Ofrecieron hacerlo así, y regresaron con mucho regocijo.

Los indios seris rendidos de que se trata en el precedente capítulo dieron parte que habían encontrado sobre el camino al capitán de piatos Vipici, con tres indios de su nación que se retiraban de cometer las últimas hostilidades de la provincia de Ostimuri, e iban a juntarse con el capitán Cueras en la sierra de las Espuelas. Dos de dichos seris se ofrecieron enseñar el paraje en que se hallaba la ranchería, y aprovechando de esta favorable oferta se hizo salir al capitán don Juan José Bergosa con sesenta hombres, guiados por los dos seris y el gobernador Crisanto. Llegaron al paraje y reconocieron haber mudado de sitio, pero habiendo ido los dos seris en solicitud de la ranchería a la escucha con la oscuridad de la noche, a poco rato volvieron diciendo haber descubierto una lumbre.

Y creyendo estaría allí la ranchería, despachó el capitán la partida de dragones a ocupar las alturas, y con la gente de presidio, al rayar del alba atacó el puesto, pero halló ser el de la caballada de enemigos, y aunque estaba cerca la ranchería, en el corto rato que duró el descubrirla ya la vieron en fuga por la aspereza arriba de la sierra, y sin embargo alcanzaron los soldados de presidio a dos rebeldes que mataron a golpe de lanza, y los dragones pie a tierra foguearon a los enemigos en su huída, aunque en alguna distancia; pero sin embargo mataron otros dos hombres, tres mujeres, y un muchacho, y apresaron una mujer, una cautiva de razón, y cinco muchachos con cincuenta y ocho caballos con todo cuanto tenían en la ranchería del robo que venían de hacer de Ostimuri. Los dos indios que mataron los soldados de presidio se hicieron fuertes a la desesperada en unos peñascos, e hirieron tres soldados, o dos muy levemente, y el otro aunque no le penetraba la herida, ni era de peligro, murió el propio día a causa de estar la flecha envenenada de fresco.

La nación seris, rendidos solicitaron con el gobernador de la provincia les nombrase sujetos que les mandasen, en cuya consecuencia los convocó a todos en sus casa, y les eligió por gobernador, que ya ejercía de interino a Crisanto, y por alcalde a Francisco, cuya elección celebraron todos, y les entregó las insignias el gobernador don Juan de Pineda.

Desde el día 25 de julio del año próximo pasado de 1769 que el gobernador don Juan de Pineda fue acometido de los accidentes de apoplejía y perlesía se mantuvo en curación en el cuartel del Pitic, y viendo no hallaba el más leve alivio determinó irse a San Miguel de Horcasitas para cuyo pueblo partió el día 18 de abril de este año.

Los anuncios de la india sibubapa apresada en la acción del día 3 de abril, la libertad que dió a la misma el capitán don José Antonio de Vildósola, y el temor que les causó la pérdida que tuvo dicha nación en los ataques que le dió el mencionado capitán, produjeron el favorable efecto de rendirse cuarenta y dos familias sibubapas, en la misión de Belén a su cura don Joaquín Valdés, quien las condujo al cuartel de Guaymas, quienes rindieron sus armas, y obediencia al rey con la mayor sumisión, puestos de rodillas, cuyo acto presenció el coronel don Domingo Elizondo. El día 14 de junio se contaban rendidos sesenta y dos indios de dicha nación que componían el número de ciento setenta y una personas de am-

bos sexos, y todas edades; regresaron a su antiguo pueblo de Belén acompañados de dicho cura y del comisario don Pedro Tueros con la orden de que se les repartiese las tierras que necesiten para sus siembras. Después de dada esta providencia y la de que se les subministrase la ración de maíz para su mantenimiento hasta levantar la cosecha, se restituyó el coronel al cuartel del Pitic.

La nación de piatos que sólo constaba de cuarenta y ocho hombres de arco y flechas solicitó por segunda vez el perdón, pero no aprovecharon de él sino cinco familias con quienes envió a decir el capitán Vipici que bajaría a rendirse con toda su ranchería, y que su detención era únicamente el ver si podía persuadir al capitán Gueijuriguchi que era el más obstinado, y el único que se oponía a la rendición.

Después de sosegados los pápagos, el destacamento que salió a este efecto al cargo del capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza recorrió la frontera de los apaches, pero sólo logró matar dos indios y dos mujeres disfrazadas de hombres con sus arcos y carcaces, y apresar ocho muchachos.

Una partida de rebeldes entraron en la provincia de Ostimuri, y mataron en el rancho de Osobanpo [Osobampo] a un indio yaqui, en el Puerto de los Mescales a dos vaqueros, cerca de Conicari a otro, y en una milpa de maíz a otro, e hirieron a un mozo. Siguió el teniente del presidio de Buenavista con quince hombres a dichos bárbaros, pues no pudo dar con ellos habiéndolos seguido por espacio de catorce días, y habiéndosele fatigado los caballos, le fue preciso retirarse con el dolor de no haberlos podido castigar.

Por los pimas y suaquis rendidos [supieron] que los enemigos que cometieron dichas hostilidades sólo habían sido diez segregados del cuerpo de estas dos naciones, esto es, un indio yaqui que habiendo sido cautivo fue capitaneando, con otros dos también cautivos de su nación y siete sibubapas. Esta partida llegó al Cerro Prieto con su corta presa de ganado de la que ofrecieron a los sibubapas, que se hallaban próximos a rendirse, y a los piatos, pero los primeros no quisieron admitir cosa alguna, y sí los segundos porque padecían mucha necesidad de víveres.

Para que se vea cuán apoderados estaban del terror pánico de los vecinos de la provincia de Ostimuri que sólo diez indios triunfaron, y se pasearon por ella, a la verdad bien vergonzoso para sus vecinos, y mucho más sabiendo que el robo le hicieron en el puerto del real de Baroyeca en que hay bastantes españoles, y mulatos e indios, y no osaron salir sabiendo que los ladrones se hallaban inmediatos en el corral de Facubaro.

Con estos rumores luego que se retiró el teniente del presidio de Buenavista, salió el alférez con doce hombres, y se encontró con cuatro sibubapas de los que mató dos, prendió el uno, y el otro se le huyó.

Con motivo de haber ido escoltando al ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez, cuarenta hombres, se les mandó quedasen los respectivos al [en el] presidio de Fronteras, pues ya no se necesitaba tanta tropa, respecto que el número de rebeldes era corto, por cuya razón se hizo retirar una compañía de milicias que guarnecía el pueblo de San José de Pimas para evitar al real erario el gasto de su manutención, sin necesidad.

Con noticia de que unos treinta enemigos habían salido del Cerro Prieto, y se hallaban en las marismas, y pozo Salado, se destacó a los capitanes don Juan Bautista de Anza y don José Antonio de Vildósola con sesenta hombres cada uno, para poderlos atacar por tres o más partes, y asegurar el golpe, pues de su logro se premeditaba le extinción de los rebeldes, pues los que quedase, era factible se rindieran. En los pozos de Tastiota reconocieron huellas de enemigos que se dirigían

hacia el Salado, las que siguieron con la esperanza de que hallarían agua, pero no encontraron ni una gota, y aunque había rastros frescos, no fue dable seguirlos porque hacía veinticuatro horas que no la probaban, hombres, ni caballos, ni conocían aguaje de allí adelante, cuyo considerable motivo, precisó el precaver acaeciese mayor inconveniente, como era el de exponer la tropa a un evidente riesgo de perecer de sed, cuya novedad puso los dos capitanes en la de regresarse con el dolor de no poder seguir a los enemigos, ni expedir tropa ínterin que lloviese por aquel rumbo, ni el del cerro, pues a excepción del cajón del Cosari, todos los demás se hallaban secos.

El capitán a guerra, y seis indios de San José de Pimas, avisaron al coronel que los enemigos se habían llevado algunos caballos el día 30 de junio, del pueblo de Santa Rosalía, pero que habiéndolos seguido los vecinos se los quitaron, y que recelaban que algunos enemigos se hallaban en la sierra del Chibato, con cuya novedad, y algunos indicios, de que los había en los cajones de San Marcial, se despachó al capitán don Juan Bergosa con sesenta hombres, a reconocer, y batir bien dichos dos parajes.

En el primero antes de llegar a la laguna del Chibato, encontró un piato que pastoreaba seis caballos que apresó, con muerte del indio, y aunque siguió la huella, cuando llegó la tropa a la ranchería, que constaba de cuatro familias, ya las vieron travesar por la cima de la sierra. Prosiguió el destacamento a la sierra de San Marcial y después de varias partidas que dividió el capitán para reconocer con prolijidad distintos puestos, encontró en una ranchería de ocho familias sibubapas, de las que mató cinco hombres, dos muchachos grandes, y tres mujeres, e hirió dos indios.

Esta acción, aunque corta, fue de suma importancia, por cuanto en los muertos estaban comprendidos los dos cabecillas principales de esta nación, y los más o[b]stinados que impedían la rendición de dicha nación, sin embargo que habían prometido bajarse de paz; el uno de ellos era un viejo gentil llamado Paderón que jamás reconoció pueblo, y así nació, vivió, y murió en el monte; el otro era el gobernador del pueblo de Suaqui llamado Tomás, autor de la sublevación de su nación sibubapa, o bien Suaqui. Se retiró este destacamento al cuartel del Pitic el día 15 de julio.

A los rendidos de la nación sibubapa se han aumentado dos familias y todos se mantienen tranquilos en el pueblo de Belén, cuyo residuo es verosímil se rinda en breve por la falta de los dos cabecillas muertos. Rendida toda esta nación se dirigirán las fuerzas a perseguir la de piatos que consiste en cuarenta y tres familias, inmediatamente que llueva.

El indio Crisanto, gobernador de la nación seris, pidió licencia para ir con otros dos a la isla del Tiburón en solicitud de los que faltaban a rendirse, de la que regresó a principios de agosto con el cabecilla llamado el Mulato, y cinco familias más que componían veinticinco personas entre grandes y chicos. También se presentaron con ellas cinco indios de la isla del Tiburón implorando nuevamente el perdón, ratificando la oferta de que su nación no saldría de la isla como lo estaban observando; se les ratificó por el coronel el perdón, con las mismas condiciones que se les impuso la primera vez, con cuya seguridad regresaron muy contentos.

Todos los seris que faltaban a rendirse se habían refugiado a la citada isla, recelosos que como ya eran pocos, los atacasen los piatos por estar estas dos naciones encontradas.

Con motivo que cayeron dos aguaceros a fines de julio, se creyeron generales por el país, y en este concepto se hizo salir al capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza

con un destacamento de sesenta hombres en solicitud de la nación de piatos por estar impuesto del terreno en que los dejó, en su última pasada salida, por falta de agua; y aunque no fue general el agua, pudo llegar aunque con algún trabajo al paraje de la ranchería, que halló levantada de dos días, y que habían desfilado por distintos rumbos para no dejar conocida huella pues salieron de dos en dos. Tomó el rastro de dos mulas, le siguió ocho días, pero con infinitos afanes y trabajos por la falta de agua, por la que fue obligado a retroceder, pues de lo contrario se hubiera expuesto a perecer. Dejó la huella ya crecida, pues se había juntado toda la gente de la ranchería, y caminaban con el rumbo a la sierra del Pitic.

Otro destacamento que con cinco días de diferencia se expidió para este rumbo, al mando del capitán don Miguel Gallo a fin que si los piatos salían huyendo del primero, se encontrasen con él, por ser camino de dicha sierra, a la que regularmente se refugiaban, cuando se les estrechaba por el rumbo opuesto. Cortó como el otro destacamento, el rastro de bastante gente, y sin embargo la falta de agua, se empeñó en seguirle hasta la sierra del Bacoachi, dejando cinco caballos muertos de sed, y ocho hombres postrados en tierra, que a no haberlos provistos de dicho aguaje a toda diligencia con los caballos más fuertes, hubieran perecido. Descansó un día todo el destacamento, y proveyéndose las botas de agua regresó las veinte leguas que dista la mencionada sierra del cuartel del Pitic, en toda la noche y la mañana siguiente.

Con expreso, avisó al coronel don Domingo Elizondo, el padre don Joaquín Valdés desde Belén, que veintitrés familias de sibubapas se le habían presentado [el] día 8 de agosto, y que contase rendida toda esta nación, pues los seis que faltaban se hallaban próximos a seguir el mismo ejemplo, pero que sólo las tenía detenidas la falta de agua, y el recelo de que les sucediese la misma suerte que a Tomás y al Paredón.

De resulta de esta noticia mandó el coronel que los hombres de estas familias pasasen al cuartel de Guaymas a rendir las armas y prestar la obediencia al rey en manos de su comandante, como lo hicieron los cuarenta y dos anteriores.

Luego que llueva se perseguirá a la nación de piatos con la mayor actividad por no haber ya otro objeto.

Con fecha 3 de septiembre el capitán del presidio de El Altar dio parte al coronel don Domingo Elizondo, que con la noticia que tuvo el pueblo de Caborca, de haber pasado por sus inmediaciones tres piatos hacia la papaguería, despachó al gobernador de la misión de Oquitoa, indio muy fiel, y de mucho crédito entre aquella nación, por estar casado con una pápaga, para que indagase el designio que habían llevado.

Y habiendo regresado, refirió que dichos tres piatos habían estado en la primera ranchería de pápagos a explorar su ánimo con motivo de que habían sabido que el año anterior por tiempo de los fríos habían tenido disgusto con los españoles, a que respondió el alcalde de la ranchería ser incierto, que ellos estaban bien en sus tierras, y muy contentos con los españoles, que no querían andar por los cerros como ellos, por no ser venados, ni mescales. En vista de este mal recibimiento, no se explicaron más abiertamente los piatos, y se volvieron, observándoles su marcha los pápagos hasta que salieron de sus tierras. Este fue el último recurso que les quedaba por hacer a estos obstinados rebeldes que según todas las noticias, y rastros, se hallaban en algunas de las sierras del Picú, Buenavista, o del Oro, cincuenta leguas distantes del Pitic. Por el rumbo de aquellos, los vecinos del pueblo de Santa Ana que se hallaban al rodeo de reses, encontraron tres piatos que carneaban una, a los que atacaron, y mataron al uno, pero los otros dos se les huyeron.

El día primero de octubre salió del cuartel del Pitic el coronel don Domingo Elizondo con un destacamento de doscientos hombres a reconocer en un día, y a un propio tiempo, las sierras del Picú, Buenavista, y del Oro, dividiendo la tropa en tres destacamentos, a cuyo fin llevó un mes de víveres y dobles caballos la tropa. Se reconoció con prolijidad dichos parajes, y toda la tierra de poniente a norte sin encontrar una huella, de que el capitán del presidio del Altar prosiguió el 27 y 28 de septiembre nueve familias de piatos, y sólo pudo coger una mujer, una muchacha, y catorce caballos.

Desde el campo de los pozos de San José, destacó el coronel al capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza con cincuenta hombres, con orden de travesar la sierra del Bacoachi, y reconocer la de la Higuerilla y otros parajes por el rumbo del poniente, y que saliese a unir con el todo de la tropa al campo de Curiel como lo hizo. En el monte Cenizo halló dicho capitán una ranchería de ocho familias de seris, que había regresado de la isla del Tiburón, de la que mató cuatro hombres, tres muchachos grandes, e igual número de mujeres, y apresó tres mujeres y diez muchachos, pues los cuatro hombres restantes se libertaron por la casualidad de hallarse fuera de la ranchería a cazar.

El día 10 de noviembre se presentaron los mencionados cuatro seris solicitando el perdón, y obtenido, pidieron sus hijos a que les respondió el coronel no los quería entregar, respecto que su rendición no era voluntaria, sino llevada por el interés de recoger sus hijos, y que en este supuesto si querían quedarse en la ranchería de su nación se les trataría como a los demás, y que si no se fuesen, que lo mismo era buscar ocho que doce. Se conformaron en quedarse diciendo que ya se habían libertado por casualidad, no se querían exponer más. Se les propuso que solicitasen la rendición del corto residuo de su nación, y que entonces se les entregarían sus hijos.

El capitán de sibubapas rendidos, Cristóbal Cainabac [muy atrevido] salió con doce hombres escogidos de su nación a indagar el paradero de los piatos, y estando durmiendo en las alturas de la sierra del Cerro Prieto oyeron rumor y formaron su cerca por las laderas, y en cuanto vieron entrar en ella ocho piatos, les dieron una descarga de flechas, de que murió uno e hirieron a otro; y receloso de que se uniesen los demás de su nación, y los atacasen, se regresaron a toda diligencia a Guaymas.

El capitán don Diego Peirán salió de Guaymas el día 18 de septiembre con setenta hombres, guiado por el mencionado Cristóbal Cainabac, y habiendo reconocido la cañada, o cajón del Salitre en el Cerro Prieto, y otras escabrosidades con infinito trabajo, así por las muchas aguas, como por el mal terreno, sin encontrar rastro alguno de enemigos, pasaron a la boca del cajón de la Higuerilla, y habiendo entrado en él a pie, hallaron la huella de cinco caballos y unas cenizas calientes, cuyas señales ciertas de enemigos, le empeñó caminar toda la noche, y al amanecer del día reconoció el sitio, pero no halló ninguno. Por cuyo motivo, y hallarse muy fatigada la tropa, se puso en marcha para el paraje en que había dejado los caballos, y a cosa de las ocho de la mañana hizo alto para que tomaran algún alimento los soldados.

Uno de ellos se separó a poca distancia, y descubrió a los enemigos muy inmediatos a la entrada de un bosque, avisó a su capitán, y con la mayor celeridad los atacó. Pero los enemigos, al abrigo del bosque, huyeron a ganar la eminencia de un cerro muy elevado que sucedía al bosque, dejando caer grandes peñascos, pero sin haber causado ningún daño; observaron que los enemigos ayudaban a subir a dos de ellos, heridos, y luego los vieron abandonar, y despeñarse muertos, y lo

mismo sucedió con una mujer. Recogió ocho caballos que tenían, y regresó a Guaymas sin otra novedad.

Inmediatamente salió otro destacamento del mismo cuartel a las órdenes del capitán don José Antonio de Vildósola, y habiendo reconocido todas las entradas del Cerro Prieto y varias alturas, no halló ni una huella, por lo que se restituyó el día 12 de noviembre.

Con noticia de que se habían dejado ver los enemigos entre la sierra de Santa Rosalía y Nacameri, se destacó al capitán don Juan José Bergosa con cincuenta hombres a reconocer todo este terreno, pero no hubo tales enemigos, y la noticia fue incierta, por lo que se restituyó el destacamento al cuartel del Pitic el 25 de noviembre.

El capitán del presidio de El Altar avisó que, los piatos habiéndose llevado dos caballos de la misión del Pitic, hizo saliese su teniente con doce soldados y algunos indios de aquel pueblo, siguiendo el rastro, que halló entraba en el cajón de la sierra del Viejo, que sin embargo no distaba que siete leguas, dieron un rodeo de treinta para entrar en el cajón, y habiendo penetrado por él se halló con una ranchería de dieciocho familias, pero antes de llegar a ella fue descubierto, y ganaron las alturas, desde las que le gritaron que no querían pelear porque estaban para bajarse de paz a sus pueblos, pero que antes querían hablar con el viejo Tomás, y que los dos caballos que habían robado, por pura necesidad, ya se los habían dejado en la ranchería. Lo[s] que recogieron, y se restituyó la tropa al presidio por ser poca la gente que llevaba, y considerar infructuoso el seguirlos por la sierra, además que a dicho teniente sólo pudieron seguirle cuatro soldados, y algunos indios, porque a los demás de los primeros se les había espeado los caballos. Si los enemigos hubieran querido ofender a los soldados,[lo hubieran logrado] sin peligro propio, a causa de las ventajas que les ofrecía el terreno en que tenían la ranchería con su retirada segura.

Luego que el coronel tuvo este aviso, salió desde el cuartel del Pitic con suficiente tropa el día 15 de noviembre, dos días antes de llegar a la sierra del Viejo, hizo su marcha de noche para no ser descubierto por la polvareda. Llegó el 26 al rayar del alba a la boca del cajón en que estaba la ranchería, pero ya la habían abandonado los enemigos, y reconoció que por un arroyo se habían introducido en lo alto de la sierra, y que la siguieron a lo largo de ella, por ser toda de peña suelta, para en su retirada no dejar huella; sin embargo travesó la tropa con los caballos de mano toda la sierra, y no se halló huella, por cuyo motivo no queda objeto que seguir, además que todos los caballos bajaron de la sierra ensangrentadas las ranillas, y por consiguiente espeados. Todo lo que obligó restituirse al campo de la Cieneguita en que se dejó la recua con los víveres y los caballos de remuda.

En dicho campo tuvo noticia el coronel aunque no muy segura, que los apaches se habían dejado ver por las inmediaciones de la Pimería Alta, y por no distar más que dieciséis leguas se dirigió con todo el destacamento en solicitud de los enemigos. En el campo del Corral de Espino se tuvo noticia que los rastros tiraban al cajón del Aguaje de la sierra del Purgatorio, a que llegó el destacamento el día 29 a las diez de la noche; inmediatamente se echaron partidas a pie a reconocer la boca, y se vio que todas las noticias habían sido inciertas, pues ni en el camino, ni en el cajón, se halló huella, y lo propio se experimentó en la cañada de la Higuera de la misma sierra el día 30, desde cuyo sitio se restituyó el destacamento al cuartel del Pitic el día 8 de diciembre.

Desde el campo de la Cieneguita se despachó el oficial, y los treinta soldados

que habían quedado de escolta a los víveres y caballada, por estar descansados sus caballos, para que reconociese las inmediaciones de un pozo que hay en la parte del norte de la sierra del Viejo, y que se restituyese dando la vuelta por la circunferencia de ella, con sólo el fin de cortar rastros. Y al llegar a la sierra de los Mochos vio que travesaban, por la cima de su eminencia, porción de gentes, e inmediatamente halló el sitio en que estaban arranchados, y que le habían abandonado precipitadamente, pues dejaron en ella muchas pieles de venado y semillas con que [se] mantienen, borrando con ramas la huella que hacían a la salida de la ranchería. No los pudo seguir, ni detenerse a observar su dirección, porque sólo había llevado tres días de provisión, respecto que su objeto sólo era cortar rastros, y que se debía incorporar en Aguas Frías al tercer día. Pero como por las noticias que se tuvieron varió de ruta el grueso del destacamento, se enviaron víveres a Aguas Frías, y orden al oficial para que se fuese de retirada al Pitic por la sierra del Bacoachi y cerro del Tanuco.

La conversación de los piatos con el teniente de El Altar, y no haberle querido hacer armas, indicaba ser cierto lo que profirieron de rendirse, y para cerciorarse de la verdad, o adquirir más luz, llamó el coronel al intérprete luego que llegó al Pitic, y encargó que en sus conversaciones particulares con las cinco familias de piatos rendidos, que había en él, explorase el ánimo, y les tocase el razonamiento que tuvieron sus parientes con el mencionado teniente, quienes luego que les suscitó la especie, le dijeron que las familias que se vieron en la sierra del Viejo y en la de los Mochos, eran unas mismas, y que era cierto estaban en un ánimo de rendirse, y que si se les enviase a sus pueblos aseguraba su rendición, porque les repugnaba hacerlo al cuartel del Pitic, de miedo que los matasen los españoles.

El intérprete como que salía de él, les aconsejó pidiesen al coronel que les dejase ir a las cinco familias a sus pueblos de la Pimería de poniente en que habían nacido. Inmediatamente expusieron su pretensión, y se les acordó; y en su consecuencia salieron del Pitic el día 11 acompañadas de un cabo y cuatro soldados para establecerse en la misión del Pitiqui, ofreciéndose el viejo Tomás, que era el que vino de embajador cuando su nación trató de rendirse, y el mismo con quien dijeron los de la sierra del Viejo deseaban hablar, que dejarían las familias en el tránsito de la Arituaba, y que con otro compañero iría en derechura a buscar a sus parientes para que luego se rindan, y que no dudaba lo harían, porque lo deseaban. En la partida que acompañó las cinco familias, fue incluido el intérprete, con orden de observar sus conversaciones, y que en el caso que se rindiesen las dieciocho familias presupuestas, se informase del paradero de los demás de su nación y del ánimo en que se hallaban.

Avisó el padre don Joaquín Valdés que la nación de sibubapas rendidos, se hallaban muy contentos, y que habían hecho muy buena siembra. Lo mismo practicaron los seris, inmediato al Cerro de la Conveniencia, un cuarto de legua del Pitic, habiendo hecho una muy buena cerca, y abierto una [a]cequia para extraer agua y regar.

El capitán don Juan Bautista de Anza dio parte al coronel que los apaches en su presidio de Tubac, que es el más avanzado a la parte del norte, habían atacado y llevádose la mayor parte de la caballada, representando al mismo tiempo se le permitiese retirar a dicho presidio con los treinta hombres que tenía en el Pitic para providenciar su reemplazo, y poder guardar aquella frontera. Y en atención a que quedaban pocos rebeldes que rendir y tener suficiente tropa para perseguirlos se lo acordó el coronel, y partió el 18 de diciembre.

Se aguardaba con impaciencia la última resolución sobre la anunciada rendición de la nación de piatos, para que de no tener el favorable éxito que se espera, salir a campaña en su solicitud, hasta cuyo logro no cesarían las correrías, ni se omitiría diligencia, ni fatiga que conduzca a exterminar, o rendir esta obstinada nación.

Año de 1771

Con referencia a lo dicho el día 11 que desde el sitio de la Arituaba irían los indios piatos en solicitud de los de su nación, regresaron al presidio de El Altar a causa de que se les acabó la provisión, y que subministrándoles [suministrándoles] alguna, volverían a salir con el mismo fin. Notició dicho capitán de esta novedad al comandante de la expedición don Domingo Elizondo, proponiéndole salir con veinticinco hombres acompañado de dichos dos indios, convino en ello, puso en la planta su salida el día 3 de enero.

Aprovechando el capitán don Bernardo Urrea la prometida fidelidad de los dos indios, y valiéndose también al propio intento, y para que sirviesen de embajadores de sus respectivos parientes del gobernador del pueblo del Pitiqui, y de los alguaciles de los de Caborca y Visani [Bísanic], los despachó el día 7 desde la sierra del Viejo con este encargo que admitieron gustosos. Y bien equipados de mulas, bastimento, y tabaco, siguieron hasta el 11 sin otra novedad que la de haber hallado dos rastros como de dos días.

Con esta noticia e [y] remplazados los víveres consumidos, volvieron a salir el 12 y regresaron a las cuatro de la tarde del 14 al campamento del Alamo Muerto [en] que se les había citado, trayendo dos indios despachados al capitán, por el cabecilla Sebastián Vipici, para que le dijesen que si le parecía bien se podía retirar al presidio, y que él iría en derechura con su gente. No pareció acertado a don Bernardo Urrea alejarse a tanta distancia, y sí que la mañana siguiente volviese el viejo Tomás con los dos indios que condujo, y algunos regalitos a hacer saber al expresado Sebastián Vipici que se bajaría a los pozos de San Ignacio con su gente donde le esperaría, y que prestando la obediencia al soberano marcharían juntos a sus pueblos.

De resulta de esta diligencia se presentó el día 16 dicho Vipici con toda su ranchería compuesta de doce familias. Todos los hombres prestaron la obediencia al rey, y juramento de fidelidad en cuyo real nombre les concedió el perdón dicho capitán, dándoles a entender al mismo tiempo el gran beneficio que lograban, y la obligación en que se veían de enmendar sus pasados errores, y portarse en lo sucesivo con la mayor fidelidad reiterándoles también la promesa de que serían establecidos en sus propios y respectivos pueblos, y que serían bien tratados, y mantenidos en el camino.

La mañana del día 17 dispuso el capitán que los dos indios exploredores [exploradores], y dos de los nuevamente rendidos marchasen en solicitud de José Guiatonori, y le intimasen con las propias ofertas que se rindiese con su cuadrilla, citándolos para la Cieneguita donde se mantuvo hasta el día 23 que como a las tres de la tarde se le presentaron los exploradores, y con ellos el nombrado José Guiatonori con su cuadrilla compuesta de nueve familias solicitando todos con demostraciones de rendimiento el perdón que igualmente les concedió el expresado capitán don Bernardo Urrea de que quedaron muy contentos, prometiendo vivir como cristianos, quietos, y sosegados en sus pueblos, suplicando con vivas instancias se les volviesen sus familias presas en el cuartel del Pitic de que les aseguró el capitán y que para ello escribiría al coronel don Domingo Elizondo.

Continuó sus marchas el capitán y habiendo llegado el 28 al presidio de El Altar, dio cuenta al comandante de la expedición de todo lo referido, y de que el 26 en la misión de Caborca repitió el razonamiento a los rendidos en presencia del padre ministro, y de los tres gobernadores de los pueblos, o misiones de Pitiqui [Pitiquito], Visani [Bísanic] y Caborca, quienes prometieron de su parte tratarlos, y vivir como hermanos. El número de las familias rendidas los días 16 y 23 compone el de veintiuna. El 27 bautizó dicho padre ministro quince criaturas y entregaron los rendidos una cautiva española de dieciséis a dieciocho años, con cinco más de poca edad, y de ambos sexos de las naciones yaquis y opatas.

Los nuevamente rendidos ofrecieron obligar al capitán Guifuriguichi, y Cueras a que presten la obediencia con sus rancherías, y que para recogerlas saldría el 25 de febrero el mencionado capitán don Bernardo Urrea acompañado de Sebastián Vipici, y José Guiatonori, cabecillas de las dos últimas cuadrillas que prestaron la obediencia, y de los dos indios exploradores que sirvieron a este fin en la anterior salida.

El día 18 de enero se rindió una familia de la nación seris y que se hallaba en la isla del Tiburón, y trajo un recado al gobernador Crisanto de parte de seis más que igualmente procedían de dicha isla, y que saliese a recibirlas señalándole puesto, como con efecto salió, y las condujo, y presentó en el cuartel al coronel comandante, y luego se establecieron en la ranchería que tiene esta nación en dicho cuartel.

El padre fray Juan de Sarabe avisó al cuartel del Pitic que Ignacio Pluma Blanca, y otro, indios ambos suaquis o sibubapas, presentaron al gobernador de la misión una crucecita de seda a fin que se la entregaran al referido padre encargándole la enviase al comandante de la expedición, y solicitase el perdón para las seis familias que faltaban rendirse de esta nación, en inteligencia que bajarían a los ocho días que corresponde el 29 de febrero, para cuyo día citaban al padre para recibirlas, a quien comisionó el coronel para que los admitiese, y asegurase del perdón, precediendo la rendición de las armas, y la obediencia al soberano.

Esta rendición fue de resulta de haber visto al cabecilla Guifuriguchi estar de movimiento, con apariencia de rendirse, con motivo de haber muerto a un cuñado suyo, también de los más principales obstinados, del modo siguiente: habiendo robado a las indios buaymas [guaymas] tres caballos, salió el teniente de dragones don Francisco Martínez, capitán de la segunda compañía volante con treinta hombres, siguiendo el rastro a media legua del cañón de la Nopalera del Cerro Prieto, alcanzó a ver a los dos rebeldes que robaron los caballos, e inmediatamente los siguió a toda carrera, y pudo alcanzar al uno, y cogerlo vivo, pero el otro logró ganar las asperezas, y libertarse. Al preso le ofreció la vida con tal que le enseñara el paraje en donde estaba su ranchería; prometió hacerlo, y para el efecto, dejando los caballos la tropa fuera del cajón de la Cara Pintada, empezaron a internar la sierra después de oscurecido el día, y a cosa de las dos de la mañana desde una eminencia intentó despeñarse el indio, pero como el capitán iba a su lado, y con toda precaución, y desconfianza le observaba los movimientos, y al primero que hizo le asió de los cabellos, que sólo su extraordinaria fuerza pudo contenerle, e inmediatamente le dio una estocada de que murió en el momento.

El día 24 de marzo regresaron los cuatro indios piatos que fueron a persuadir al residuo de su nación de mutuo propio a que se rindiesen, con uno de estos enviado por el cabecilla Guifuriguchi para que hablase con el comandante, y supiese de él en derechura si le acordaba el perdón a quien se le dio verbalmente, y dijo que no dudase de la buena fe respecto que el rey les perdonaba, si rendían sus armas, y

obediencia. Para demostrar dicho cabecilla de la buena fe con que deseaba el perdón, enviaba tres cautivos que tenía en su ranchería, de lo que el uno era indio yaqui, y los otros dos españoles. Se agasajó, y regaló al indio embajador según costumbre, y regresó el día 26 con los cuatro exploradores, de cuya resulta se aguarda la rendición de los piatos como lo han hecho cinco familias con veintidós personas entre grandes y chicos que salieron a encontrarse con el capitán don Bernardo Urrea al campo de Aguas Frías.

El propio día se presentó en el cuartel del Pitic el hermano del capitán Marcos de la nación seris que se hallaba en la isla del Tiburón, y dejando el hijo por renes [rehenes], se fue a conducir su familia, y persuadir a su hermano a que se viniese con él, sin embargo haber enviado a decir que él era ya muy viejo, y que se había retirado a morir en dicha isla.

El día primero de abril regresó con su familia al cuartel del Pitic, pues la tenía a prevención en los pozos de San Juan, y preguntándole por su hermano Marcos, respondió no haberle visto porque se hallaba en la isla del Tiburón con sólo su familia, y la de su hijo.

Sólo en el cabecilla Cueras de la nación de piatos, que con cuatro indios está, se recela su rendición, y como se hallan ya desamparados malició el capitán Urrea no fuesen estos por último recurso a convocar a los pápagos. Y por precaución, por si lo intentaba aquel obstinado rebelde, envió al gobernador del pueblo de Oquitoa a la Papaguería para estorbarlo, pero después que trató sobre este asunto con todos los gobernadores de la Papaguería ha vuelto con la favorable noticia de que asegurase a dicho capitán que hasta entonces no había comparecido Cueras, ni sus compañeros, pero que si llegaren a ellos a perturbar su tranquilidad, que los prenderían, y conducirían presos al presidio de El Altar, porque ellos no quieren despreciar la quietud y buena correspondencia que tienen con los españoles. Dicho gobernador refirió que conoció que los ánimos de los pápagos están de buena fe, y que sólo están aplicados a disfrutar la buena estación de aguas que logran, haciendo abundantes siembras de trigo, maíz, y calabazas.

El día primero de abril regresaron los cuatro exploradores piatos que pasaron al Cerro Prieto, conduciendo cinco familias, y algunas viudas con sus hijos, componiendo el todo treinta y dos personas de ambos sexos, y todas edades.

El cabecilla Guifuriguchi salió al propio tiempo del cerro enviando a decir al capitán, se podía ir al presidio, que él se presentaría en la misión del Pitiqui [Pitiquito] con las cuatro familias que le quedaban. Los emisarios dijeron que el haberse tomado este tiempo es con el fin de ir a recoger algunas prendas que tenía escondidas en las marismas, y que no dudan de su rendición. En el campo de Gurgus estuvo con el comandante de la expedición el capitán del presidio de El Altar, quien se encargó de la rendición de las diez familias de piatos que faltan. No se duda del logro, porque este oficial hace treinta y cinco años que trata y gobierna los pueblos de esta nación con mucha aceptación entre los indios.

El 8 de abril salieron del cuartel del Pitic una recua de cien mulas por otras tantas cargas de trigo al pueblo de Guásabas, escoltadas de un sargento, y diez fusileros de montaña, cuando en otras ocasiones sólo iba un cabo y ocho hombres, les salieron en el puerto de las Bolas tres partidas de apaches (conviniendo todos cuantos los vieron, y reconocieron el rastro, que pasaban de doscientos) que esperaban apostados y cubiertos de unos grandes peñascos que formaban la angostura del río Sonora; de modo que no fueron descubiertos hasta que dieron el alarido

por frente, centro y retaguardia y de tan inmediato, que de la descarga que dieron, al propio tiempo le travesó por el pecho al sargento una flecha, que saliéndole por la espalda siguió su dirección con veinte pasos; fue tan cruel la herida que en cuanto pronunció "fusileros pie a tierra, y fuego a esos bárbaros" quedó sin habla y al instante expiró.

Los diez fusileros que estaban distribuídos por la recua desmontaron con la mayor prontitud, y con la misma se unieron a donde estaba muerto el sargento, y guarnecieron de los peñascos que ofrecía el arroyo, y principió el fuego que le graneaban con mucha viveza, con el que defendían la recua que ya la arreaban una partida de enemigos, haciendo frente otra más considerable; de modo que los fusileros conocieron el eminente riesgo en que se hallaban, y que no les quedaba otro recurso que morir matando, en cuya resolución se defendían con tanta intrepidez, espíritu, y constancia en el fuego, que obligaron a los bárbaros a retirarse en fuga a la altura de un inmediato cerro, abandonando sesenta y seis mulas y siete apaches muertos de que se infiere habría porción de heridos. De los fusileros murió uno a lanzadas, y salió otro con dos heridas y una a un arriero levemente. Recogieron los dos muertos y heridos, y cargándolos en mulas prosiguieron su viaje sin comparecer más los enemigos.

Luego que llegaron a la misión de La Concepción, enterraron los muertos, se curaron los heridos, y los dejaron para continuar en ella, y los ocho fusileros restantes su viaje a la misión de Baviácora; desde la que dio parte el cabo, de cuanto había acaecido en la acción que duró casi una hora, al coronel, quien instantáneamente despachó un sargento y veinte soldados de presidio con caballos que se pudieron recoger en el cuartel sin esperar la dilación que habría en que se trajesen de la caballada, con orden de marchar con la mayor celeridad que fuese dable hasta encontrar con la partida de fusileros.

Al siguiente día despachó igualmente un alférez, y treinta hombres para que marchase a esperar, en la medianía del camino, el regreso de la recua para escoltarla con seguridad hasta el cuartel del Pitic. Las cuarenta y cuatro mulas de carga que se llevaron los enemigos fue irremediable, porque la primera partida de ellos que cortó la recua, la arreó con la mayor aceleración, dejándose ver la imposibilidad de seguirles el alcance, huyendo; quedando la partida en el corto número como el de ocho hombres, y ser el de los enemigos tan considerable. Fue la defensa a esfuerzo de un extraordinario y superior valor, de forma que ha dejado maravilladas a todas las gentes del país, cuyos naturales se hicieron lenguas del espíritu de aquellos pocos hombres, esmerándose en los respectivos pueblos [a] agasajarlos; y los que más se admiraban los indios naturales, [era de] cómo tan poca gente mantuvieron su terreno, y pudieron defender que a los dos muertos no les quitaran la cabellera.

En la segunda rendición y establecimiento de la nación seris por el año de [17]44, solicitaron enviar sus diputados al excelentísimo señor virrey para obtener su mayor seguridad, y como no se le [lo] acordó el gobernador en aquel tiempo, y después les sorprendió con las armas estando establecidas en su pueblo de Los Angeles, se hallaban unos de los rendidos recelosos les aconteciese ahora igual fatalidad, y esta desconfianza les hacía proferir en sus conversaciones particulares, la idea de ir a la capital de México, hasta que se determinaron descubrir la idea a un oficial de presidio para que la noticiase al coronel don Domingo Elizondo. Con cuyo antecedente llamó a los justicias, y les dijo que no tan solamente condescendía gustoso de que enviasen sus embajadores al excelentísimo señor virrey, sino que

tenía suma complacencia, para que se cerciorasen por sí, de que el perdón que les había acordado fue en virtud de orden del excelentísimo señor virrey marqués de Croix.

Al siguiente día volvieron los justicias a ver al coronel, y darle las gracias en nombre de todos los indios e indias de la ranchería, diciéndole que todos estaban tranquilos, y tenían contentos sus corazones, y que para elegir los representantes les diese permiso para juntarse y acordar al mismo tiempo el paraje en que debían formar su establecimiento. Después de dos noches de conferencias convinieron y acordaron uniformes formar el pueblo para su establecimiento al pie del Cerro de la Conveniencia, distante un tiro corto de fusil del cuartel del Pitic, en cuyas tierras tienen hecha su siembra, abierta [a]cequia, y trabajan una presa en el río para extraer la [el] agua para riego. Nombraron así mismo por diputados para ir a ponerse a los pies del excelentísimo señor virrey, y suplicar rendidamente la confirmación del perdón general, y establecimiento, a Crisanto, gobernador de la nación, a José Antonio, a Antonio, y a Juan Antonio.

Este último es hermano del cabecilla principal Marcos, y se cree no se rendirá, ni su hijo, hasta que regresen estos cuatro emisarios, los que salieron el día 8 de abril acompañados de dos cabos de escuadra del regimiento de dragones de España, a fin que en su ruta no les sucediese algún contratiempo, y resultase en los demás de su nación la desconfianza que es natural en todo indio, y con más razón en estos por sus pasados delitos.

Fueron en México muy bien recibidos del excelentísimo señor virrey y del ilustrísimo señor don José de Gálvez; los agasajaron ambos señores, y les dieron dos vestidos a cada uno. Les acordó el excelentísimo señor virrey el perdón general firmado de su mano, y sellado con el sello de sus armas; les otorgó igualmente el establecimiento en el paraje que deseaban, a cuyo fin había pasado de antemano sus oficios el coronel, con el fin de que estuviesen con sujeción con la inmediación de la tropa del presidio. Igualmente les dio una medalla de plata del tamaño de un peso con la efigie del soberano, para el citado gobernador Crisanto, otra para José Antonio, nombrado por capitán a guerra de su nación, y otra para el gobernador de la nación de Sibubapas. Inmediatamente que llegaron al Pitic los cuatro citados indios, cuando se presentó y rindió el cabecilla Marcos con su hijo, y ambas familias que eran los que faltaban de esta nación a prestar la obediencia.

A su imitación se presentaron los indios de la isla del Tiburón por tercera vez a prestar la obediencia al comandante del Pitic, pretendiendo se les nombrase, y confirmase por gobernador y alcalde a dos de ellos que estaban en el número que fueron a esta pretensión que se les acordó, y entregó las insignias.

A consecuencia de la orden, del excelentísimo señor virrey, se puso en marcha el coronel del regimiento de dragones de España, comandante de las tropas de la expedición, el día primero de mayo, y llegó a México el 11 de agosto, a la ligera con cuatro piquetes de dragones por los tránsitos que contiene el siguiente itinerario, dejando dadas sus providencias para el embarco de la infantería luego que arriben los buques al puerto de Guaymas.

Día 20 de mayo se verificó la rendición del cabecilla Guifuriguchi con sus cuatro familias de piatos con los que sólo falta de toda la nación, Cueras, y cuatro indios más que se mantienen en su obstinada rebelión; este malvado andaba vagante solicitando seducir a los de su nación nuevamente, pero le salió inútil su depravada intención; pasó al Tiburón solicitando con el alcalde a que pasase al Pitic, y convidase a los seris en su nombre para ir a robar; se convino dicho alcalde, y

habiendo conferido la especie con el gobernador Crisanto, dieron inmediatamente parte al comandante del cuartel don Francisco Vellido, quien les dijo que ya que se les había proporcionado tan buena ocasión para acreditar la buena fe de su nación no la despreciase, que por su parte les daría a los soldados que quisiesen para irlos a matar.

A que respondieron que ellos solos irían anticipando al alcalde del Tiburón (a quien le dijo le esperarían en el monte del Tenuaje) y les llevaría un recado de parte de los seris que irían unos cuantos, porque querían saber de su boca sus pensamientos, para si les convenía seguirle. Con cuyas prevenciones partió el citado alcalde, y con medio día de intermisión una partida de seris; llegaron al paraje en que se hallaban los cinco piatos, y después de una muy larga conferencia se pusieron a dormir, y en cuanto vieron los seris que estaban los piatos dormidos los mataron a todos, y les cortaron las cabezas, y al siguiente día las presentaron por triunfo al comandante del cuartel del Pitic quien les dio infinitas gracias, y los agasajó, y regaló como es costumbre.

Por cómputo, el más prudente y fidedigno del número que compondría el cuerpo de rebeldes (antes de la expedición) de las tres naciones, seris, piatos y suaquis o Sibubapas, y relaciones que el gobernador don Juan de Pineda formó después del primer alzamiento general de los piatos, y sibubapas, y únicamente de aquellos que no quisieron (aprovechando del indulto general que se les promulgó en aquel tiempo) restituirse a sus respectivos pueblos, y por consiguiente subsistiesen en su rebelión, y por noticias bien fundadas del número de que se compondría la nación seris (que ya andaba en los montes desde el año de 1746 cuando las otras sublevaron) se calculaba ascendería a seiscientas familias el todo de las naciones que infestaban las provincias de Sonora.

Estas quedan totalmente tranquilizadas de las hostilidades que han padecido, porque aquel considerable número de rebeldes ha venido a reducirse ciento ochenta y uno habiendo sido muertos los restantes por las armas, y enfermedades. Quedan establecidos en sus respectivos pueblos y terrenos antiguos del modo siguiente: cincuenta y nueve familias seris a un tiro de fusil del cuartel del Pitic en que formaron su pueblo, y se les ha repartido abundante porción de tierras en que han sembrado, y hecho su cerca, [a]cequia, y presa en el río (aunque requiere asegurarla para que las crecientes no la deshagan) para extraer el agua y regar sus siembras. Las cuarenta y ocho familias de Piatos se han repartido en sus respectivos pueblos en que nacieron, como son Pitiqui [Pitiquito], Visani [Bísanic], y Caborca, cuyos naturales trabajan en común las tierras de la misión, y sus frutos sirven generalmente para su mantenimiento, en que están comprendidos nuevamente rendidos. Lo mismo acontece con las setenta y cuatro familias sibubapas repartidas en las misiones de Belén y Suaqui de que son naturales.

Las exactas y fieles noticias que el discurso de tres años ha recibido el superior gobierno instruyen el buen éxito que ha tenido la expedición militar en las provincias de Sonora y Ostimuri, y del feliz estado de tranquilidad en que han quedado libres de las continuas y lamentables hostilidades que desde el año de 1746 sufrían. El logro es evidente que ha sido dilatado, pero preciso, porque los rebeldes discurren siempre que no media tiempo entre su prisión, y su castigo, y en lugar de hacerse el ánimo a vencer o morir en un combate, prefieren el tomar la seguridad en una anticipada fuga.

Por cuya razón no se han logrado ventajas considerables en las acciones, porque apenas se ha proporcionado ocasión cuando han ocurrido un conjunto de accidentes

irremediables, e incapaces de preverse, por cuyo motivo se recurrió a un menudo detalle por el que con el tiempo y la constancia se ha conseguido el fin; y lo que se asegura es que en cualquiera número y paraje que se ha conseguido la dicha de hallar a los enemigos, se les ha desalojado del puesto, y obligado a que precipitadamente se entregasen a la fuga, sin que las malezas de los cerros, ni el confuso laberinto de los bosques (en que regularmente habitaban) haya servido de obstáculo, como se vio en las cuatro invasiones de la sierra del Cerro Prieto la agilidad con que la superaron la tropa.

Para conservar la tranquilidad y fidelidad de los rendidos, no se comprende necesario de otro medio que el de no hacer novedad en los establecimientos que la cauce en los ánimos de los indios, y tratarlos con amor, y dulzura, gobernándolos con prudencia y desterrando aquel trato de esclavitud con que han sido manejados, motivo por el que se exasperaron muchos y causaron las sublevaciones que acaban de extinguirse, a fuerza de fatigas y considerables gastos de la real hacienda.

Aunque no es el asunto de este diario de operaciones militares el tratar del placer nombrado de la Cieneguita, parece lo permite la casualidad de haber sido descubierto por el tránsito de un destacamento de tropa por dicho paraje, y así sólo se insinuará su riqueza.

A fines de noviembre de 1770 tuvo su principio el descubrimiento, del mencionado placer de oro, distante doce leguas del presidio de El Altar en la provincia de Sonora; su opulencia en marzo de 1771, y continuaba produciendo la tierra el beneficio de aquel precioso metal, con tal abundancia que generalmente le graduaban en aquellas provincias por el mayor que se había conocido en ellas, excediendo en mucho a los famosos de San Antonio de las Huertas, Saracachi y Bacoachi; en estos, unos hallaban y otros no, y el mayor beneficio que conseguían los operarios era lavando las tierras; pero en el de la Cieneguita no podían hacerlo por la escasez de agua, y sólo aprovechaban del oro a granel que hallaban, sin más trabajo que hacer hoyos de tres a cuatro palmos de profundidad, y remover las tierras.

A que se añade que todos hallaban, y en todos parajes de un distrito de doce leguas de longitud, y como una y media de latitud. Se sabe a punto fijo que salió en dicho placer un grano de oro de nueve marcos (que lo deshizo su dueño) algunos de tres, cuatro, cinco, y muchísimos desde dos onzas, hasta catorce. También se halló en el placer nombrado de Yecorato cerca del real de los Alamos aquel famoso grano de oro de veintidós quilates, y peso de dieciséis marcos cuatro onzas y cuatro ochoavas, que rescató el comisario intendente de la expedición, don Pedro Corbalán, y trajo a la capital de México el coronel don Domingo Elizondo que entregó al excelentísimo señor virrey marqués de Croix. Y le llevó su excelencia para presentarlo al soberano como alhaja, por lo rara, digna de llegar a los pies de su majestad.

México, primero de septiembre de 1771.

V

Late-Eighteenth-Century Missionization, Resettlement, and Warfare (1772–1803)

As the following documents reveal, the Sonora Expedition, despite its manpower and expense, did not change the basic patterns of Seri society or the ways in which Seris and Spaniards related to one another. Spanish officials tried the same old strategies, including missionization and resettlement, intensive military campaigns, and the co-optation of Seri leaders. They even contemplated invading Tiburón Island again in 1799, going so far as to mass troops on the Sonoran coast. But once again, Seri mobility, and their unparalleled knowledge of the desert and sea, kept many of the Comcáac outside the Spanish domain.

Nonetheless, they never threatened the security of Spanish Sonora as forcefully as they did in the mid-eighteenth century. This was due in large measure to the effective militarization of the northern frontier embodied in the new *comandancia general* of the Provincias Internas. By the end of the 1700s, the Spaniards had made peace with the Comanches, Navajos, and Utes, and forced several thousand Apaches into the new establecimientos de paz, or peace camps, near frontier presidios such as Tucson and Janos.

Just as important was the growth of Spanish Sonora. Peter Gerhard (1982) estimates that there were 50,000 Indians and only 15,000 non-Indians in Sinaloa y Sonora in 1700. A century later, the Indian population had climbed modestly to 55,000, but the non-Indian population had risen to 70,000 (Gerhard 1982). Spaniards and other gente de razón may not have penetrated Seri territory yet, but they were pushing aside Opatas, Eudeves, and Lower and Upper Pimas. Spanish Sonora in the early 1800s was much less vulnerable than it had been at midcentury.

Ramón Blanco poling a reed balsa with a turtle harpoon in Bahía de Kino, 1922. The Seris raiding Loreto in Baja California would have crossed the Gulf of California from island to island in balsas such as this one. (Photograph by Edward H. Davis; courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian)

The Abortive Mission at Carrizal and the Martyrdom of Fray Gil, 1772

In the aftermath of the Sonora Expedition, Spanish officials struggled to maintain their precarious peace with the Seris. Much of their attention was focused on the fledgling Seri community just outside Pitic, but in the late summer of 1772, two Seris from Tiburón Island—Ignacio Cazoni and another named Tumuzaqui—journeyed to San Miguel de Horcasitas, then the capital of Sinaloa y Sonora. They greeted the new governor, Mateo Sastre, swore their obedience to him, and requested a church and a missionary on Tiburón itself. Sastre dispatched Lieutenant Manuel de la Azuela and eight soldiers to locate the most appropriate spot for a mission. Franciscan missionary Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé—described by historian John Kessell (1975:74) as "a fervently penitential Christian . . . who wore a hair shirt, scourged his flesh, and wept while saying Mass"—accompanied the detachment.

Azuela and his detachment first met with Cazoni and twenty Comcáac families from the island at the spring of Carrizal northeast of Bahía de Kino, which the Seris called Xax Caail *('water wide'). Then they crossed over to Tiburón and talked to the Tiburones who had remained there. Both the Seris on the mainland and the Seris on Tiburón insisted upon Carrizal as the mission site. In his letter to Governor Sastre, Gil notes that Carrizal is "completely useless for any kind of farming." Instead, Gil suggests that the mission Indians gather salt from a nearby salt bed. He also asks the governor to provide the new mission with a "medium-sized fishing boat" from Guaymas. Interestingly enough, the Mexican government established a fishing cooperative among the Seris in the 1930s. Agents of both the Spanish Empire and the Mexican Republic tried numerous strategies to integrate and assimilate these migratory, non-agricultural people into their hierarchical, regimented political structures. For more than four hundred years, most of their attempts have failed.*

Chapter 18 of Part 2 of the Crónica seráfica y apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España, *written by Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita and published in 1792, takes up where Gil's letter leaves off. It describes Gil's abortive attempt to establish a mission for the Seris at Carrizal and addresses the conflict between the Franciscans and Governor Sastre over financial responsibility for the venture. It also contains several classic statements that demonstrate the immense cultural distance between the Franciscans and the Comcáac. When Governor Sastre tells the Seris on Tiburón to leave their island and join the other Seris at Pitic, for example, they refuse, asking instead that a mission be established on the island itself. According to Arricivita, "They did not want to join the latter [the Seris at Pitic], though, or to abandon their licentious disorder and the sanctuary for their wickedness (for they could have no other interest in an island that was devoid of comfort, for want of water and everything else needed to make it inhabitable)." In the opinions of the Franciscans,*

not even the Seris could possibly want to remain on Tiburón unless it was to live a life of sin. The friars apparently were obsessed with Seri polygamy (Kessell 1975). The notion that the Comcáac loved their way of life—a life predicated upon mobility and flexibility—was foreign, and inimical, to missionary discourse.

Arricivita goes on to say, "Just as their congregation into a pueblo was a mere sham, there being only three leaders' huts, so also was the instruction they sought. Whether due to the terrain or to the strength of their wandering nature—which is almost fundamental, and more peculiar to them than to other Indians, for neither on their island nor on the beach do they have lands appropriate for planting, much less for that stability required by civil and political life—the missionary saw that [a mission] could never develop." No other statement better captures the arrogance, poignancy, and latent destructiveness of both Jesuit and Franciscan attempts to convert the Seris into agrarian Catholics. Moreover, the description of Seri mobility as "almost fundamental, and more peculiar to them than to other Indians," presages the pseudo-evolutionary nonsense spouted by W. J. McGee ([1898] 1971) of the Bureau of American Ethnology more than a century later. To return to the main theme of this documentary history: The Seris and the Spaniards understood one another all too well. Neither could accept the fundamental cultural differences dividing them.

The Crónica seráfica *also describes Gil's death at the hands of several Seris including a young man named Ixquisis on March 7, 1773. As Arricivita points out, many Tiburones deplored the murder. When Cazoni, the leader of the Tiburones, found Gil's body, he buried it and executed two of Gil's assailants. A third was captured and imprisoned for three years before his death from "consumption." Drawing several pious morals from Gil's martyrdom, Arricivita concluded that the prisoner died "a good Christian."*

After Gil's death, Carrizal was abandoned and no further attempt was made to establish a mission in Seri territory. With forty-seven other Tiburones, Cazoni eventually settled near Pitic, where he clashed with Crisanto, the leader of the Seris there. In 1777, Crisanto killed Cazoni after Cazoni accused him of murdering his daughter and practicing witchcraft.

Gil to Sastre, September 16, 1772

Lord Governor and Captain General:

When I arrived in this coastal region of San Miguel de Horcasitas to visit Your Lordship, I chanced upon news as useful as it was happy. The heathen Indians of Tiburón Island had presented a petition to Your Lordship through their governor, Ignacio Cazoni, asking to be admitted to the flock of the Holy Church and obedience to our lord the king, may God keep him. This news inflamed my tepid heart with the desire to locate myself among those heathens and see whether they were ratifying their petition. To put my resolution into practice, I took advantage of Your Lordship's having sent Lieutenant Don Manuel de la Azuela[1]

1. Manuel de la Azuela (1733–1790) was born in Balmaceda, Spain, but came to New Spain as a young boy. In 1763, he became alférez of the presidio of Horcasitas and lieutenant sixteen days later after Antonio Sánchez was killed by Apaches. He served as interim governor of Sinaloa y Sonora from March to May 1773, after the death of Governor Sastre on

to reconnoiter the island, to find the place or locale where the mission could be placed, as [the Indians] had agreed in their petition.

To this end, I voluntarily and with pleasure undertook the journey. I arrived at the site of Carrizal, where the governor, the alcalde, and some twenty families had gathered, summoned by Don Manuel de la Azuela. I explained my purpose in coming, which was to make them Christians and take them to heaven, etc. They answered that they did indeed want a priest, to be Christians, and to subject themselves completely to the obedience of our sovereign. However, this could only happen under the conditions that the mission be placed in Carrizal, where all the families would come from the island, and that I remain their priest until I died among them. I happily agreed to all of this to attain something better, that being their salvation.

Not content with this, there being no more than a third of the heathens from the island present [at Carrizal], Don Manuel de la Azuela and I decided to cross over to the island. When most of those heathens had been called together, I proposed the same [terms] to them. They were happy, content, and pleased to agree to everything, but always under the same conditions.

Given this, I am forced to inform Your Lordship that the place where they ask to establish their mission is completely useless for any kind of farming. The land is pure sand or caliche, lying next to the sea as it does. This defect is so [insurmountable] for the mission and [the Indians] themselves that the [only] measures to be taken as far as I can see are as follows:

First, there is supposed to be a [salt bed] near the proposed site, unproductive until now because it has not been worked.[2] The salt becomes concentrated with time but dissolves when the rains come. If granted to the mission, its yield would secure everything needed to feed and clothe the population. A team of twenty or twenty-five of the mules remaining from the expedition could be installed at the mission for this purpose, with no new expense to the royal treasury.

There is also an estuary[3] with many fish located a short distance from the site. A medium-sized fishing boat from among those in Guaymas belonging to the royal treasury could be given [to the mission] for fishing. The fish caught would help toward the same goal of feeding and clothing those poor souls.

In addition, [the Seris] have been requesting that I go to live with them as soon as possible, and it will be necessary for our lord the king to support me, a companion, and those poor souls who have asked for me. About twelve leagues from Carrizal there is a site called Tenuaje[4] that has good farmland, although the crops are poor due to the lack of water for irrigation. I have thought to sow as much as possible there this year, in order to reduce the cost to the royal treasury. To do

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March 15, 1773. He was appointed captain of Fronteras presidio in 1778 and served there until his death.

2. This salt bed may have been one of the reasons why the Spaniards called Seris from this region Salineros.

3. Estero Santa Cruz at Bahía de Kino.

4. Tenuaje probably was at or near the Monte Tenuaje mentioned in the "Account of the Sonora Expedition" and other documents. Located twelve leagues (about 31.2 miles) away from Carrizal, Tenuaje would have been somewhere on the coastal plain west of Hermosillo that was plowed under after World War II to make way for the agricultural region of the Costa de Hermosillo.

this, there are more than enough oxen in Pitic that belong to the royal treasury. There is also a place near Tenuaje, about eighteen leagues from Carrizal, that is suitable for cattle, sheep, and horses, and I beg Your Lordship to provide the means to acquire both. The last site is situated between Siete Cerros and the Cerro de Gorguz.[5]

Finally, kneeling at your feet with the greatest submission, I beseech Your Lordship to further provide for the establishment and foundation of the house and church, the furnishings for the one and the decorations and vestments for the other, and as much else as our lord the king might be pleased to grant for the founding of new missions. Likewise, I assume there are vestments in Pitic from the expedition, and I beg of you, please, to order that they be turned over to me to use until others can be installed.

Everything I hope for warrants granting, being so justified and zealous a service to Both Majesties, and for the good of the [Indian] souls. San Miguel de Horcasitas, September 16, 1772.

Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé[6]

AGN, Provincias Internas, 81

Crónica Seráfica, Chapter 18, by Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita

Of the missions established among the Seris and the cruel death that the Carrizal Seris visited upon their minister.

Before the rebel Seris in the Cerro Prieto came down and surrendered to our armies, for which purpose the most excellent lord visitor traveled to the Pitic garrison, Father Fray Mariano Buena[7] accompanied him with the sole aim of remaining as their minister in the mission that would be built for them. They did not come down at that time, however, although they did so some months later. The governor, seeing them congregated and peaceful, asked the father to instruct and baptize them, which he quickly promised to do. When he requested the provisions needed to establish a mission, however, such as a church, sacred ornaments, a house, an allowance for the minister, and other necessary things, [the governor] replied that he did not have the authority to give them and that [the father] should apply to Mexico City for them. This required a great deal of time, and the father, seeing the excessive delay and [realizing] the urgency of making sure those Indians were not without a minister, agreed to install one among them. He gave the responsibility to Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gil, recently named president of the colegio,

5. The Cerro de Gorguz is located northeast of Siete Cerros and southwest of Pitic (Hermosillo). It is south of the meandering channel of the Río Sonora and south of Highway 16, which runs from Hermosillo to Bahía de Kino right through Siete Cerros.

6. Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé, O.F.M., was born in Alfambra, Spain, and arrived in New Spain in 1763. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, he served at Guevavi in the Pimería Alta for nearly four years before his disastrous encounter with the Seris (Kessell 1975).

7. Mariano Buena, O.F.M., was president of the Franciscan missions in Sonora. In 1768, following the expulsion of the Jesuits, he led fourteen of his fellow Franciscans from the missionary college of Querétaro to staff the missions of Sonora.

having told him repeatedly that he was worn out from the constant long trips and labors that had caused his illnesses, from which he died the following year.

The new president was desirous of satisfying his own zeal and the governor's urgings, as well as the need of those miserable Indians for the bread of the doctrine. In spite of the fact that he had not been given provisions by Mexico [City], he sought some wine and candles from various benefactors in order to celebrate Holy Mass, which is the only consolation that the missionaries have amidst so many sorrows. For some assistance in maintaining the ministry, he designated Fray Matías Gallo to go with him, and they both traveled to the ranchería of the Seris. There they found not even a hut in which to take shelter, because the commissary in charge of rations for the Indians was absent. Trusting to Divine Providence, however, by custom a stranger to any calumny, they took possession of that new reduction on November 17, 1772. It should be noted that this is also the date of the letter in which the viceroy advised the father guardian of the colegio that a stipend had been furnished for the minister's support, and he charged him with letting him know the number of sacred chalices, vestments, and other implements necessary for founding the mission.

This was not enough to satisfy the missionaries' desires to instruct all those Indians in the Christian faith, for although the entire nation had come down in peace, a substantial number [of Indians] were unable to hear the Christian doctrine. Many had withdrawn to their old haunts, mainly on Tiburón Island. From there they came to the presidio of Horcasitas and, feigning great faithfulness and obedience to the governor, insisted that they would not leave their island and that the governor should give them a priest who would baptize them like those at Pitic. They did not want to join the latter, though, or to abandon their licentious disorder and the sanctuary for their wickedness (for they could have no other interest in an island that was devoid of comfort, for want of water and everything else needed to make it inhabitable). The Indians were well aware of this, but to veil their intentions, they asked that their pueblo be established on the opposite coast [Sonora]. They would settle there, leaving the island. What they requested was no less inconvenient; for when the coast was surveyed, all that was found was a small spring in a canebrake [at Carrizal]. All the land was like a beach, and there was very little firewood and no wood for building. The governor deemed it of great advantage to the entire province for these Indians to form a pueblo, however, and did not want to lose the opportunity of their asking for it. If they remained at liberty on their island, [the province] would be exposed to another uprising, and all the work of pacifying them would be wasted.

Being of this opinion, he urged the father president to establish this other new mission, but the father saw that the site lacked all of the conditions that necessarily attend new settlements. It was extremely disadvantageous, and the mission would not be of any benefit because the Indians would not want to abandon their island to submit themselves to the doctrine. Nor could the coast provide them with the necessary food, being sandy, uncultivated land, and it would be necessary for the king to subsidize [the Indians] with food permanently, or they would wander around under the pretext of searching for it, without attending the catechism. The president presented these and other arguments to the governor, so he would use his powers to make those Indians—since they were asking for baptism so insistently—join the others of their nation at Pitic, where there was already a missionary. The governor would agree to nothing, however, and the bitter dispute

that followed resulted in the viceroy lodging a grievous complaint with the colegio, having been told that the missionary fathers were unwilling to place a minister among the Seris.

This was clearly a false charge, for Father Buena was already at Pitic with the visitor, with the sole intention of being their minister, before the Seris came down from the Cerro Prieto. When they gave themselves up peacefully, the same father promised the governor to catechize them. Installation of a missionary was delayed only because of the wait for supplies from Mexico [City]. Before these arrived, the president [Gil] went ahead and established the mission, appointing Fray Matías Gallo to help there, exposed to the absolute necessities of complete poverty. It would have been easy for the colegio to satisfy His Excellency, but to free him from similar indignities, that such an extreme recourse might not be repeated, [the father president's] sons [the Seris] offered to go to Carrizal, and he went personally to found the mission that the governor was asking for. This was accomplished on November 26, 1772, and [the president] remained there as its minister with no company or escort other than a boy whom he took along to serve as an acolyte during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

With [the help of] those same Tiburón Indians, the father raised a hut that would serve as a church, and a small cottage for his cell. When he immediately began with the greatest love to call them together for religious instruction, he saw that the desire they had shown the governor for becoming Christians was not so powerful that they would leave their island to attend instruction. Only a few came for instruction and to attend prayers, and only when they felt like it. Just as their congregation into a pueblo was a mere sham, there being only three leaders' huts, so also was the instruction they sought. Whether due to the terrain or to the strength of their wandering nature—which is almost fundamental, and is more peculiar to them than to other Indians, for neither on their island nor on the beach do they have lands appropriate for planting, much less for that stability required by civil and political life—the missionary saw that [a mission] could never develop. Nor was it within his power to establish it, although such was the demand the viceroy made in his letter to the father guardian, saying, "Your Reverence shall name a missionary father in whom all the appropriate characteristics are present, for the newly pacified Seris are in need of a minister who will treat them with a great deal of love, who will zealously incline them toward cultivation of the land and other undertakings, and who imperceptibly will make them understand the benefits of political life and recognize the fruits of his preaching."

These lofty desires, however, which might be feasible among the Seris of Pitic, were almost impossible with those from Carrizal. The only fruit the missionary could expect from the life he led was reduced to helping some child or adult with special instruction at the point of death. The father's only hope for a remedy to such an unhappy state was that Mexico City would take some measures which, in providing for a stable peace with those Indians for the relief of the province [knowing its status], would also provide for a settlement that would facilitate achieving their pacification and the well-being of their souls—something that could never be accomplished while they were allowed to live on their island. Yet everything soon failed, due to an unforeseen occurrence.

Recorded in the *autos* created to inform the viceroy on the matter is the following statement from the general of Tiburón Island: "On March 6, 1773, an Indian named Ixquisis came to the mission at night and told one of his relatives that

the Piatos, who had risen up with the Apaches, were coming to kill the father and the justicias. [The relative] immediately announced this, and as a result everyone quickly withdrew to the hills, accompanied by the father. They saw the father's house burning at midnight, along with the three belonging to the justicias. Before daybreak, the father sent the general [Ignacio Cazoni] and three others to search for the families scattered over the hillside. They were unable to return until nightfall, at which time an Indian advised them that the priest had been killed. Going out the following day to look for him, they found him dead and brought him back to bury him. While they were doing so, two Tiburón Indians arrived who were accomplices in the priest's death. The general ordered that they be killed on the spot, and the governor did so in short order, beating them to death. He also declared that the Indian Ixquisis was the one who had killed the priest, and that he already had been taken prisoner, [the charge] having been well investigated." The prisoner confessed to the same, albeit with many lies, and that he had stoned the father to death, without giving any reason for having committed such a heinous crime. In the following month of April, His Excellency the viceroy communicated this news to the father guardian of the colegio in a letter so moving that, for many reasons, gratitude demands it be included in this chronicle as worthy of perpetual remembrance.

Letter of His Excellency, the viceroy:

> I reflect on the justifiable anguish that will have been caused Your Reverence and the holy community by the unfortunate news of the tragic, violent death of Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gil de Bernabé, reverend father president of the Sonoran missions. The loss of this apostolic gentleman, who surrendered his life to the impulse of his ardent charity, merits our deepest sorrow. We must all console ourselves in the knowledge that the labors and fervent desires of that most zealous missionary—who was so sweetly suffused with love for his neophytes that he had resolved to end his days among them, as he affirmed in a letter written to the late governor Don Mateo Sastre,[8] perhaps announcing his own impending death—have found grace and their greatest reward in the Almighty Father. Nevertheless, we will not cease to mourn the sad event that occasioned his loss, obeying the dictates of human nature while accepting His divine will.
>
> According to the reports that the lieutenant of the presidio has given me, not all the nation of Tiburón Indians is involved in the sacricide committed, inasmuch as they have striven to show their sorrow and compassion. This was demonstrated in the various emotional displays with which they buried their missionary father's corpse—watering his remains with their tears, covering them with a tent as a sign of their love, and finally, carrying out the very painful act of justice, under orders from their governor, of executing two of the accomplices who happened to show up while they were employed in the mourn-

8. Mateo Sastre was appointed governor of Sinaloa y Sonora in 1772 after serving as lieutenant colonel in the Spanish army. Soon after he arrived at San Miguel de Horcasitas, however, he had a stroke that paralyzed his right side. His disorderly and licentious behavior scandalized missionaries, vecinos, and soldiers alike. He died in Horcasitas on March 15, 1773, and was buried in the parish church there.

> ful demonstrations described—as if to say that there was no other way for them to unburden their generous and compassionate souls, nor to punish and instill fear in others, save by this example. I furnish Your Reverence with this news, together with that of my having arranged for the body of the father president to be moved, with all due propriety, to the church or chapel closest to the place where he is buried today, in order to mitigate in part your just grief. I also implore and charge you to quickly name the religious most to your liking to the presidency of the Sonoran missions, given the great importance to the service of God and the king of there being a person capable of directing them and of filling the void left by the deceased.

In fulfillment of His Excellency's orders, the interim governor and the clergyman from San Miguel de Horcasitas—that church being the closest—went to Carrizal. They found the grave of the deceased Fray Juan Crisóstomo still covered with a tent after six months, marked with a cross and well guarded by the Indians. Upon exhuming the body, which they found to have wasted away, they observed no unpleasant odor to come from the bones. They placed them in a box provided for that purpose, and carried them to the aforementioned presidio. The new father president, Fray José de Caja, sent these men a letter in which he entreated them to allow him to bury [the priest] in the church at the Ures mission, so that even in death he would not be separated from his brothers. They agreed, and the nearest missionaries gathered together and carried his remains to the mission church. On October 7, they conducted funerary services with a public viewing and buried him in the presbytery, on the epistle side. Although they renewed their tender affections the following year by performing funerary honors for him with all the solemnity possible, it seems the most fitting expression will occur whenever one invokes the special and pious memory that this priest's good examples have earned him, in correspondence with the posthumous fame with which he is venerated in that province.

It would not deviate much from the story to reflect on the punishment suffered by the prisoners for such enormous crimes. Three are mentioned in the *autos*. Two, as accomplices, were condemned to death by the general of the island. The other, who was more to blame, tried to escape by throwing himself into the sea, but he was caught and taken before the judge of the presidio. He died three years later, unpunished for his crimes. Thus it was that the two who were judged by the Indians were tried, sentenced, and executed within a few hours. In the [case] of the other one, he had not been sentenced even after several years, although he was convicted and, without any compulsion, had confessed to the Spanish leader that he had stoned the priest to death. This thought brings to mind the observation that Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, made shortly before his death concerning the advantage the Turks have over Christians in the administration of justice. For them, two or three days are sufficient to complete even the most important legal proceedings, whereas among Catholics, any case is dragged out for many years. Limiting matters to criminal cases only, certainly procrastination is apt to be the stepmother of justice in these, for they might not be well investigated if they are shortened; yet there are some so atrocious and so impossible to ignore that, on account of their very enormity, Christians also decide them within a few days. When an especially cruel or ugly transgression or crime is recently

committed, zealous judges become impassioned and the aggrieved public clamors, even though there may be no party urging it, and the offenders are exposed easily and the crimes proven, with everyone agreeing upon the most severe vengeance.

The *fiscal* considered the hearts of those Indians to have been pierced by these violent sentiments, and with regard to their action, he stated "that naturally inspired, it had affirmed the various sentiments aroused in their hearts by this fatality, one of those being that the general of the island should order the two accomplices in the death of the religious to be executed in the camp, where they had shown up. In no other way could [the Indians] assuage their generous, compassionate feelings except with such a rigorous punishment, nor could they take satisfaction for or avenge that offended territory but by that swift correction." No law would tolerate such procedures except in very extraordinary cases, however, and [the *fiscal*] asked that the prisoner's case be substantiated in every way. He instituted court proceedings that were extremely careful, and nearly impossible in those regions and circumstances, for which reason popular opinion held that they were too slow. Because of their delay, the prisoner would die after quite some time, without ever having been sentenced. The outcome, however, makes one think that this disposition was preordained in the hidden and inscrutable cabinet of Divine Clemency. During his lengthy imprisonment, that Indian's baptism—which had been in doubt—was secured by the curate of the presidio, after he had been well instructed in the faith. From the time [the Indian] entered [the prison], an atrophy began wasting him away, weakening him, caused either by the lack of the continuous physical exercise with which he had lived, or by the parsimonious amount of the wild foods with which he had nourished himself. It was confirmed as consumption. His symptoms required the continual assistance of a missionary, who did not leave him until his last breath. [This missionary] administered all the sacraments to [the Indian] and was much consoled to see him die as a good Christian.

From Crónica seráfica y apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España, *Capítulo XVIII. Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita. México: Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1792.*

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Gil a Sastre, 16 de septiembre de 1772

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

Habiendo llegado a esta de San Miguel de Horcasitas a visitar a vuestra señoría, tuve casualmente la noticia, tan proficua cuanto feliz, de que los indios gentiles de la isla del Tiburón, por su gobernador, Ignacio Cazoni, habían presentado un memorial a vuestra señoría en el que pedían se les admitiese al gremio de la Santa Iglesia, y obediencia al rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde), con cuya noticia se encendió mi tibio corazón en deseos de presenciarme con dichos gentiles y ver si ratificaban su petición. Para poner en práctica mi determinación, me valí de la ocasión de enviar vuestra señoría al teniente don Manuel de la Azuela

a reconocer aquella isla, ver el paraje o sitio en que se pudiera poner la misión, y a que se ratificasen en su petición.

Voluntariamente gustoso me puse en viaje a dicho fin. Llegué al sitio del Carrizal, al que concurrió, llamado del dicho don Manuel de la Azuela, el gobernador, con el alcalde y como unas veinte familias. Propúseles el fin que llevaba, que era a hacerles cristianos, llevarlos al cielo, etc., y me respondieron que sí querían padre, ser cristianos y sujetarse enteramente a la obediencia de nuestro soberano, pero que había de ser con las condiciones de que la misión había de ponerse en dicho Carrizal, a donde saldrían de la isla todas las familias, y que yo había de ser su padre hasta morir con ellos. Todo lo que concedí gustoso por conseguir lo más, que es su salvación.

No contento con esto, ya por no haberse hallado presentes más de la tercera parte de los gentiles de aquella isla, y ya con el motivo de pasar a dicha isla el dicho don Manuel de la Azuela, yo en su compañía, y convocados los más de aquellos gentiles, les propuse lo mismo, los que alegres, contentos, y gustosos convinieron en todo pero siempre con las mismas condiciones.

Esto supuesto, se me hace forzoso representar a vuestra señoría cómo el sitio que piden para establecersen [*sic*] es del todo inútil para todo género de siembras, por ser su terreno pura arena, [y] salitre como que está contigua a la mar, y que para este defecto tan notable a la misión y a ellos mismos, que los arbitrios que se pueden tomar según lo que he visto, digo que son:

Primero, que supuesto que hay una [sali]na cerca de dicho sitio, infructuosa hasta de ahora, por no haber [saca]do de ella, la que, si en tiempo se coagula la sal, en llegando las lluvias se deshace, se adjudique a la misión, para con su producto [sa]car lo necesario para alimentarlos y vestirlos; para lo que se hace preciso poner en la misión un atajo de veinte o veinticinco mulos [de] los que quedaron de la expedición, sin nuevo gasto del real erario.

Otro, que habiendo a distancia corta de dicho sitio un estero [en] el que hay mucho pescado se adjudique una lancha mediana de [las] que hay en Guamas de la real hacienda, para pescar, y con el pescado ayudar al mismo intento de bastimentar y vestir a aquellos pobrecitos.

Otro, que habiéndome pedido, que cuanto antes me vaya a vivir con ellos, y ser preciso, que el rey nuestro señor mantenga a mí, a otro compañero y a aquellos pobrecitos. Como me lo pidieron, he pensado, que un sitio llamado el Tenuaje, distante como doce leguas del dicho Carrizal, con tierras buenas para siembras, aunque muy contingentes las cosechas por falta de aguas para su riego; sembrar este año lo que se pudiere, para que sean menos los gastos a la real hacienda, para lo que hay en el Pitic sobrados bueyes para ejecutarlo, pertenecientes a la real hacienda. Y habiendo cerca de dicho Tenuaje, y a distancia del Carrizal, como dieciocho leguas, [un] sitio apto para ganado mayor, menor y caballada, suplico a vuestra señoría de la providencia para la consecución de uno y otro. Este último sitio está entre Siete Cerritos y el cerro del Gurgaz.

Ultimamente suplico a vuestra señoría, puesto a sus plantas con el mayor rendimiento, se digne dar la providencia más ejecutiva para el establecimiento, y fundación de la casa, e iglesia, [el] ajuar de aquella y ornato y ornamentos de esta; y todo cuanto el rey nuestro señor, se digna conceder para la fundación de las nuevas misiones. Como también el que, supuesto que hay en el Pitic ornamento de la expedición, se digne ordenar se me entregue para suplir ínterin se ponen los demás.

Todo lo que espero se digne conceder como tan justificado y celoso del servicio de ambas majestades, y bien de las almas. San Miguel de Horcasitas, 16 de septiembre del año 1772.

F. Juan Chrisóstomo Gil de Bernabé

Crónica seráfica, Capítulo XVIII, por Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita

Fúndase misiones a los seris, y cruel muerte que los del Carrizal le dieron a su ministro.

Antes de bajar los seris sublevados en el Cerro Prieto y de sujetarse a las armas, a cuyo fin pasó el Ilustrísimo señor visitador al cuartel del Pitic, fue en su compañía el padre Fray Mariano Buena, con solo el fin de quedarse por ministro suyo en la misión que se les debía poner; pero no habiendo bajado en aquella ocasión, después de algunos meses lo hicieron, y viéndolos el gobernador congregados y pacíficos, le pidió al mismo padre ministro que los instruyera y bautizara, a lo que se ofreció pronto; pero pidiendo las providencias necesarias para la fundación de una misión, como son la de la iglesia, ornamentos sagrados, casa y manutención del ministro, y demás necesarios, le respondió que no tenía arbitrio para darlas y que ocurriría a México: era para esto necesario mucho tiempo, y viendo el padre la demasiada demora, y la urgencia con que se debía atender a que aquellos indios no estuvieran sin ministro, convino en que se les pusiera, y se lo encargó al padre Fray Juan Chrisóstomo Gil, como a nuevo presidente que había nombrado el colegio, por haberle repetidamente representado hallarse ya fatigado de los largos y continuos viajes y trabajos que le habían causado los accidentes de que murió al siguiente año.

Deseoso el nuevo presidente de satisfacer su propio celo y las instancias del gobernador, como a la necesidad que tenían del pan de la doctrina aquellos miserables indios; no obstante que no se habían dado las providencias de México, buscó de varios bienhechores alguna cera y vino para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio, que es el único consuelo que en tantas aflicciones tienen los misioneros, y con algún socorro para la manutención del ministro, destinó al padre Fray Matías Gallo para que lo fuera, y los dos pasaron a la ranchería de los seris, en donde no hallaron ni una choza en que abrigarse por estar ausente el comisario que racionaba a los indios; pero fiados en la Divina Providencia, cuyo estilo es muy ajeno de toda calumnia, tomaron posesión de aquella nueva reducción el día diecisiete de noviembre del año de setenta y dos, lo que se hace notar, por ser el mismo de la fecha de la carta en que el señor virrey le avisaba al padre guardián del colegio estar asignado el sínodo para la asistencia del ministro, y le encargaba le dijera el número de vasos sagrados, ornamentos y demás utensilios necesarios para la fundación de la misión.

No podía ésta satisfacer los deseos de los misioneros de catequizar a todos aquellos indios, porque aunque toda la nación bajó de paz, no era poca la porción de ella que no podía oír la doctrina cristiana; pues muchos se habían retirado a sus antiguas madrigueras, principalmente a la Isla del Tiburón, desde la que venían al Presidio de Horcasitas, y aparentando al gobernador una grande fidelidad y obediencia, le instaban para no salir de su isla, el que les diera un padre que los

bautizara, como a los que estaban en el Pitic, pero sin querer agregarse a ellos, ni dejar la rochela de su libertinaje, y asilo de sus maldades; pues no podían tener otro interés en una isla que no tenía comodidad alguna por carecer de agua, y de todas las demás circunstancias para poder poblarla: bien lo conocían así los indios; pero para paliar sus intentos, pedían que en la costa fronteriza se les formara su pueblo, y que allí se congregarían saliendo de la isla. No era menos inconveniente lo que pedían, pues registrada la costa solo se halló en un carrizal un corto ojo de agua, y toda la tierra como de playa, muy poca leña y ninguna madera; pero juzgaba el gobernador que juntar en pueblo a estos indios, y no perder la ocasión en que lo pedían ellos, era negocio muy interesante a toda la provincia; porque quedándose a su libertad en la isla, quedaban expuestos a otra nueva sublevación, y que se perdiera cuanto se había trabajado en pacificarlos.

Con este dictámen instaba al padre presidente que se fundase esta otra nueva misión; pero viendo el padre que el sitio carecía de todas las circunstancias que se deben atender en las nuevas poblaciones, y ser sumamente incómodo, y que la misión no sería de provecho alguno, porque los indios no querrían desamparar su isla para sujetarse a doctrina, ni la costa podría darles los alimentos necesarios por ser un arenal criazo, con lo que sería preciso que el rey los subsidiara siempre con los alimentos, o que ellos con el pretexto de buscarlos anduvieran vagos, y sin la asistencia al catequismo. Estas y otras representaciones le exponía el presidente al gobernador para que empleara sus facultades en hacer que aquellos indios, pues pedían con tanta instancia el bautismo, se agregaran a los otros de su nación en el Pitic, en donde ya tenían misionero; pero a ninguna accedía el gobernador, y cuando se altercaban tan pesadas contestaciones, resultó una sensible queja que el señor virrey dió al colegio, por haberle informado que los padres misioneros no querían ponerle un ministro a los seris.

Era ésta una clara impostura, pues antes que los seris bajaran del Cerro Prieto, ya estaba el padre Buena en el Pitic con el señor visitador, con solo el destino de ser su ministro; cuando ellos se dieron de paz, el mismo padre se le ofreció al gobernador para catequizarlos, y solo se demoró el ponerles misionero por esperar las providencias de México, y sin haber llegado éstas, fue el presidente y formó la misión, dejando al padre Fray Matías Gallo en su asistencia, y expuesto a las precisas necesidades de una total indigencia; y aunque le fue fácil al colegio satisfacer a su excelencia; pero sus hijos para libertarlo de semejantes bochornos, y que no se repitiesen tan extraños recursos, se ofrecieron para pasar al Carrizal, y el presidente fue personalmente a fundar la misión que el gobernador pedía, y se verificó el día veintiseis de noviembre del año de setenta y dos, quedándose en ella de ministro, sin más compañía ni escolta que un muchacho que llevó para que le sirviera de acólito en el Santo Sacrificio de la misa.

Con los mismos indios tiburones levantó el padre un jacal que sirviera de iglesia, y una pequeña choza de celda, y comenzando desde luego con el mayor amor a convocarlos para el catequismo, vió que los deseos que al gobernador le mostraban de ser cristianos, no eran tan eficaces que por asistir a la doctrina dejaran su isla, pues solo algunos, y cuando les parecía, venían de ella y asistían al rezo; pero como la congregación a pueblo era solo aparente, y en solos tres jacales de los mandones, así era también la instrucción que buscaban; y o por razón del terreno, o por fuerza de su ingenio ambulativo, lo que en ellos es casi necesario y más propio que en otros indios, por no tener ni en su isla, ni en la playa territorios aptos para siembras, y menos para la estabilidad que constituye la vida civil y

política, veía el misionero que esta no podría nunca tener forma, ni estaba en su mano el establecerla, aunque era encargo que el señor virrey le hacía al padre guardián, diciendo en su carta: "Vuestra reverencia nombre un padre misionero en quien concurran las más apreciables circunstancias, pues los recién pacificados seris necesitan de un ministro que los trate con mucho amor, y que celoso se dedique a inclinarlos al cultivo de las tierras y demás ocupaciones, que insensiblemente les haga conocer los beneficios de la vida política, y sentir el fruto de la predicación."

Pero estos superiores anhelos, que pudieran ser factibles en los seris del Pitic, eran casi imposibles en los del Carrizal, pues todo el fruto que el misionero pudiera esperar de su modo de vivir, estaba reducido o a algún párvulo, o a algún adulto, que por especial auxilio catequizara en el artículo de la muerte: y para el remedio de tan infeliz estado, no tenía más esperanza el padre, que la que de México fueran unas providencias, que proporcionando la estabilidad de la paz de aquellos indios para el sosiego de la provincia, con el conocimiento de su estado, se les proporcionara también un establecimiento que facilitara el logro de su pacificación y bien de sus almas, que nunca pudieran verificarse dejándolos habitar en su isla; pero todo se frustró en poco tiempo por un improviso suceso.

Consta de los autos que se formaron sobre él, para dar cuenta al señor virrey, la declaración del general de la Isla del Tiburón: "que el día seis de marzo de setenta y tres por la noche llegó a la misión un indio llamado Ixquisis, y le dijo a un tío suyo, que los indios piatos, revueltos con los apaches, venían a matar al padre y a los justicias, y que este inmediatamente lo avisó, por lo que luego se retiraron todos al cerro, acompañándolos el padre, y que a la media noche vieron arder la casa del padre, y las tres de los justicias, y antes de amanecer despachó el padre al general con otros tres a buscar las familias repartidas por el cerro, y que no pudieron volver hasta la noche, en la que un indio les dió el aviso de que habían matado al padre, y yendo al siguiente día a buscarlo, lo halló muerto y lo trajo para enterrarlo; y que estando en esto, llegaron dos indios del Tiburon, cómplices en la muerte del padre, y el general mandó que allí mismo los mataran, lo que brevemente ejecutó el gobernador, quitándoles las vidas a palos: declaró también que el que mató al padre fue el indio Ixquisis, que ya había entregado preso, por tenerlo bien averiguado." Esto mismo confesó el reo, aunque con muchas mentiras, y que lo mató a pedradas, sin dar motivo alguno para cometer tan atroz delito. Al siguiente mes de abril comunicó el excelentísimo señor virrey esta noticia al padre guardián del colegio, con una carta tan patética, que por muchas razones debe la gratitud ingerirla en esta crónica, como digna de perpetua memoria.

Carta del excelentísimo señor virrey:

> Considero el justísimo dolor que habrá ocasionado a vuestra reverencia y a esa santa comunidad la noticia infausta de la lastimosa violenta muerte del reverendo padre presidente de las misiones de Sonora Fray Juan Chrisóstomo Gil de Bernavé. La pérdida de este varón apostólico, que rindió la vida a impulso de su ardiente caridad, es digna del mayor sentimiento; y si bien debe a todos consolarnos la consideración de que hallaron en el Señor omnipotente la gracia y el premio más ventajoso las fatigas y fervientes deseos de aquel su celosísimo misionero, que penetrado dulcemente del amor a sus neófitos, estaba resuelto a acabar sus días entre ellos, según lo afirmó, anunciándose acaso su próximo fin, en carta escrita al difunto gobernador Don Mateo Sastre: no por eso

dejaremos de sentir el triste suceso que ocasionó su falta, cumpliendo con los movimientos propios de la humana naturaleza, pero conformándonos al mismo tiempo con la voluntad divina.

Según los avisos que me ha dado el teniente del presidio, no está comprehendida toda la nación de indios tiburones en el sacricidio ejecutado, pues a porfía han manifestado todos su dolor y ternura, acreditándolo en las diversas demostraciones de sentimiento con que dieron sepultura al cuerpo de su padre misionero, regando sus cenizas con lágrimas, cubriéndolas en señal de su amor con una tienda de campaña, y finalmente ejercitando en este dolorosísimo acto la justicia de quitar la vida por disposición del gobernador de dichos indios a dos de los cómplices que casualmente se presentaron, cuando estaban empleados en las expresadas lúgubres demostraciones, como dando a entender, que de otra manera no podían desahogar sus ánimos generosos y compasivos, ni aterrorizar y escarmentar a otros, sino con este ejemplo: cuyas noticias doy a vuestra reverencia con la de que también he dispuesto se traslade el cadáver del padre presidente, con la decencia que corresponde, a la iglesia o capilla más inmediata al lugar donde hoy está enterrado, para que en parte mitigue su justa pena, rogándole y encargándole nombre inmediatamente el religioso que sea de su mayor satisfacción para la presidencia de las misiones de Sonora, respecto a lo mucho que importa al servicio de Dios y del rey el que haya un sujeto capaz de dirigirlas, y de llenar el hueco del difunto.

En cumplimiento de los órdenes de su excelencia pasaron al sitio del Carrizal el gobernador interino y el señor cura del Presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, por ser la iglesia más inmediata a él, y después de seis meses hallaron la sepultura del difunto padre Fray Juan Chrisóstomo todavía cubierta con una tienda de campaña distinguida con una cruz, y bien guardada de los indios: y exhumando el cuerpo, que se halló consumido, notaron no exhalar los huesos ningún fastidioso olor, y los colocaron en una caja prevenida al intento en ella los condujeron al dicho presidio, y el padre presidente nuevo Fray José de Caja, les pasó a los dichos señores un oficio en que les suplicaba, que permitiesen el que se les diera sepultura en la iglesia de la misión de los Ures, para que ni en la muerte quedaran separados de sus hermanos: condescendieron los señores, y convocados los misioneros más cercanos, los condujeron a la iglesia de la misión y, el día siete de octubre les hicieron los funerales de cuerpo presente, enterrándolos en el lado de la epístola en el presbiterio; y aunque al siguiente año renovaron sus tiernos afectos, haciéndole con toda la solemnidad posible otras fúnebres honras, parece que tendrá mejor lugar su expresión en el que le corresponda, cuando se haga la especial y piadosa memoria, que los buenos ejemplos de este padre le adquirieron, para la fama póstuma con que es venerado en aquella provincia.

No será extravío de la historia el reflejar en la justicia que por tan enormes delitos padecieron los reos. Tres constan en los autos declarados, dos que por los cómplices en ellos, mandó el general de la isla que se les quitasen las vidas, y el otro, que como más culpado, intentó la fuga arrojándose al mar, pero cogido, fue presentado al juez del presidio, y después de tres años murió impune de sus delitos; de suerte, que la causa de los dos juzgada por los indios, en pocas horas fue bien averiguada, sentenciada y ejecutoriada; y la del otro, aunque estaba convencido, y sin apremio alguno, le había confesado al jefe español, que él había matado al padre a pedradas, ni pasados algunos años llegó a estado de sentencia. Esta reflexión

hace venir a la pluma la observación que Pedro el Grande, Czar de Moscovia, hizo poco antes de morir, sobre la ventaja que los turcos hacen a los cristianos en la administración de la justicia: pues cuando para aquellos, dos o tres días son bastantes para terminar el proceso más importante, entre los católicos cualquiera causa se demora muchos años; pero reduciendo la materia a las criminales, aunque es cierto que la procrastinación en ellas, suele ser madrastra de la justicia, y que por abreviarlas pueden no ser bien averiguadas; pero hay algunas tan atroces e intergiversables, que por su misma enormidad también los cristianos las determinan en pocos días, recién cometido un delito y crímen de especial sevicia y fealdad, los jueces celosos se enardecen, y aunque no haya parte que pida, el público irritado clama, y con facilidad se descubren los delincuentes, y se averiguan los delitos, conspirando todos a la más severa vindicta.

De estos violentos impulsos consideró el señor fiscal penetrados los corazones de aquellos indios, y en vista de su resolución dijo que ilustrados con las luces naturales habían acreditado en ella los varios sentimientos que esta fatalidad hizo nacer en sus corazones, siendo uno de ellos el que el general de la isla mandara quitar las vidas sobre el campo a los dos cómplices en la muerte del religioso, que en él se presentaron: como que de otro modo no podían desahogar sus generosos compasivos afectos sino con tan riguroso castigo, ni satisfacer y vengar aquel territorio ofendido sino con aquel pronto escarmiento. Pero como tales procedimientos no les tolerara derecho alguno sino en casos muy extraordinarios, pidió que al reo preso se le substanciase la causa en toda forma, y prescribió una instrucción tan prolija, y casi impracticable en aquellas tierras y circunstancias, por lo que al juicio humano pareció que por su demasiada lentitud, su demora fue la que hizo que después de mucho tiempo muriera el reo sin que la causa se sentenciara. Pero los efectos hacen pensar que esta providencia fue dictada primero en el reservado e inexcrutable gabinete de la Divina Clemencia; porque en la dilatada prisión de aquel indio, su bautismo, que era muy dudoso, se aseguró por el cura del presidio, después de bien catequizado; pues desde que entró en ella, o ya por faltarle el continuo ejercicio corporal en que vivía, o la frugalidad de los alimentos agrestes en que se nutría, se fue consumiendo por una atrofia que lo extenuó y confirmó tísico, logrando en sus síntomas la asistencia continua de un misionero, que no lo desamparó hasta el último suspiro, el que le administró todos los sacramentos, y quedó con mucho consuelo de verlo morir con todas las disposiciones de un buen cristiano.

The Settlement of the Seris at Pitic, 1772

The following two documents underscore the importance Spanish officials placed on preserving peace with the Seris and keeping them settled near Pitic. In the words of historian John Kessell (1975:77), "The proposed Pitic settlement was no ordinary doctrina. The government had spent hundreds of thousands of pesos to congregate a few hundred Seris. When the defense of New Spain dictated, the viceroy had pulled back Elizondo and his regulars. Because of the high initial investment and commitments elsewhere, word came down: whatever it takes, keep the Seris quiet. And no matter how logically the Franciscans argued against coddling these Indians, Pitic remained the peace symbol, a far cheaper way to deal with the Seris."

The "Instructions" Intendant Pedro Corbalán sent his assistant, Pedro Tueros, focus upon the division of arable land among the Seris. They call for a community and a mission field, but they also divide lots among individual Seris, giving three suertes[9] *to the governor, and two each to the captain, alcalde, and "indios distinguidos." A protégé of José de Gálvez, Corbalán ordered mission lands to be divided into individual suertes that could be distributed among vecinos as well as Indian members of a mission community. In the words of historian Cynthia Radding (1990:314), "Although Gálvez's orders were not carried out with the full rigor which he intended, his reforms set an indelible pattern for the future development of the province. They established the legal structure which privileged private property over common holdings and opened Indian villages to greater numbers of vecinos. In general, the legislation authored by Gálvez tended to separate the Indian from his community, conferring him with a theoretical 'equality' as a taxpaying citizen."*

The Viceroy to Corbalán, 1772[10]

Señor Pedro Corbalán,

Along with your letter of August 17, I have received a copy of the letter that Don Juan Honorato de Rivera[11] wrote, informing you that the work of

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9. A suerte was a land allotment; Barnes, Naylor, and Polzer (1981) give its size as 552 x 276 varas (10.65 hectares or 26.3 acres). These suertes were smaller.

10. Fray Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, viceroy of New Spain from 1771 to 1779. He sent several expeditions to explore the Pacific coast of North America in response to the Russian explorations of the same coast. In 1776, at the age of seventy and after forty-four years of service, he asked to be relieved. The king could not find an adequate replacement, so Bucareli y Ursúa continued in the post until 1779.

11. Rivera was the contractor hired to excavate the *acequia*, or irrigation ditch, to irrigate Seri fields at their new pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe outside Pitic.

procuring water in Pitic is completed. Because you have laid out the measures to be taken in settling the Seris, he requests that a priest accordingly be assigned to minister to them.

Therefore, on this date I have advised the governor of that province that, by agreement with you, he is to arrange for the immediate construction of the Seris' mission church and the rebuilding of that belonging to the Sibubapas. The cost should be as is customary, comparable to whatever it may have been for the [churches] built at the king's expense for the other missions of this province, and you are to furnish the necessary funds from the royal funds in your charge, in accordance with the laws of the realm. The Sibubapas' perverse customs beg a prompt remedy, so they do not have an opportunity to increase with lamentable results. I have strictly ordered the aforementioned governor to avail himself of the most gentle means in reducing the said Indians, admonishing them to build their houses, cultivate the land, and subject themselves to a civil and Christian life. I hope that you will assist in achieving these just ends.

I will take the appropriate measures to ensure that the Seri mission is furnished with sacred vessels, vestments, and other articles, and you should inform me if it will be necessary to do the same for the Sibubapas. I believe that the [Sibubapas'] mission already has a minister, and with this understanding, I have not asked the reverend father guardian of the Apostolic College of Querétaro[12] for more than one [minister] to instruct and indoctrinate the Seris. You will arrange for his stipend to be paid from royal funds.

I have no doubt that you will continue with the care and efficiency called for to settle these Indians and see that they are taken care of and taught accordingly. In particular, I think it quite appropriate to distribute the lands, including those necessary for the mission and community fields, as well as supply the essential equipment. It is very important that you settle some subjects who possess the qualities of work experience, a calm spirit, piety, and other good characteristics, so that the Indians' fickle notions may be contained and they may learn how to work the land and not be disturbed in their reduction. You will notify me of whatever occurs, managing everything with the greatest prudence, deportment, and consideration.

[In the name of] God, Our Lord. Mexico, November 17, 1772.

Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 247.

12. Father Antonio Linaz received authorization from Pope Innocent XI to establish the Apostolic Colleges for the missionaries of the Propagation of the Faith in 1682. Six colleges were established in New Spain. Their most important purpose was to reduce the Indians to the body of the Church. The Apostolic College of Querétaro was established in 1683, its full name being Santa Cruz de Querétaro.

Instructions of Intendant Pedro Corbalán, 1772

Instructions to be observed for establishing the reduced Seri Indians in the environs of the Pitic presidio.[13]

Once the Seri Indians rendered obedience to our Catholic monarch, brought to it by the strength of his invincible armies, the settlement of their nation into a pueblo would have been a matter that required a great deal of attention from Colonels Don Juan de Pineda and Don Domingo Elizondo, the former as governor, and both as commanders of the military expedition that was ended successfully in these provinces. So, too, did it merit the higher-ranking attention of His Excellency the Marqués de Croix and His Excellency the present viceroy, as much for the importance to the state of [the settlement's] implementation as for the aforementioned Indians' own comfort and the advantage that undoubtedly would follow for these provinces should they remain in their promised prosperity. It was equally necessary for me, in fulfillment of higher orders and in consideration of the stated reasons, to be exceedingly diligent with regard to this matter for more than two years, and now it has become essential, for those very reasons, to seek the most suitable means for realizing the settlement of the Seri nation.

Understanding that nothing was more conducive to accomplishing [the reduction] than designating to the Seris the site of their settlement and assigning them lands to which they might remove, I proceeded by agreement with the aforementioned Colonel Don Domingo Elizondo to carry out both [objectives] to the satisfaction of the Indians. Experience then demonstrated that such a course was in vain if an irrigation ditch by which to draw water from the Río Sonora was not financed for them first, so they could water the crops on the land assigned. Even though this project received priority and was worked on quite a bit between June and September of last year, it could not be entirely completed due to various difficulties encountered by the lieutenant of grenadiers, Don Francisco Merino, to whom I gave the assignment. Finally, I contracted for hired workers to continue and finish [the job]. This has been accomplished, or so I was advised on [November] 4 by Don Juan Honorato de Rivera, a resident of San Miguel de Horcasitas, who is obligated by formal agreement to convey the water for irrigating the lands of the Seris.

With the work on the irrigation ditch completed, the water was to arrive the same day all the way to where they were building barracks at Pitic (which should be understood as right up to the mission's oven [kiln?], just about where the assigned lands start). Thus, I believe it would be useful to informally appoint individuals who could evaluate whether the work was completed satisfactorily, in order to discharge the stipulated obligation in that event or to repair whatever problems those experts might notice. To this end, and in order to be able to inform His Excellency the lord viceroy that the work on the irrigation ditch for the Seris is in accordance with directions and quite satisfactory, your first task, before declaring the project completed and received, will be to appoint two or more reliable individuals of the greatest ability. After being sworn in, they should accompany you to inspect and examine the ditch, noting anything in need of repair so that Don Juan Honorato de Rivera may correct it, or if no repairs are required, be re-

13. These instructions accompanied a letter from Corbalán to Pedro Tueros, Alamos, August 29, 1772.

leased from the stipulated obligation. All of this is to be specified in due form for the record and should be sent as testimony to the lord viceroy.

Once the preceding is finished, you should proceed to determine which lands are to belong in general to the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, as the Seri village will be known, and specifically assign an adequate portion to each Indian, with first preference given to the allotment for the community field and another for the endowment and property of the mission itself. The general size or extent of the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe must be four leagues of productive land, which so as not to include the lands of those Pimas who have settled at Pitic, should be taken from either side of the lands already assigned to the Seris. These are the [lands] found between where the barracks were built and the hill called Conveniencia, excluding only those that belong by legal title to the hacienda administered by Fray Benito Moncerrat. I do not know who legitimately owns it. The allocation can begin from the barracks downstream along one bank or the other, or along the [irrigation ditch] by which the water is drawn, ending only when the Seris are satisfied—whether it occupies two leagues in width and two more in length, in the shape of a square, or three in length and one in width, in the form of a rectangle, or the opposite—however they themselves request and find suitable.

In order to distribute the individual plots proportionately and set apart the fields for the mission and the community with the same allotment, it is essential that you first create a comprehensive list or census of the governor, captain, alcalde, and anyone else you think should enjoy some exception, although it should be no more than accords with whatever esteem they may hold among their people. The distribution will be governed by the assumption that one fanega of corn sows a field 400 varas long and 200 varas wide.[14] Without a doubt, it would be convenient to make each suerte this size, assuming there are sufficient lands for as many as are needed, and all should be distributed in the following manner: eight suertes for the community field, five for that of the mission, three for the governor, two for the captain, another two for the alcalde, and the same to whomever else merits the distinction.

It may happen, however, that despite there being a great deal of land contained between the Pitic barracks and the hill called Conveniencia, there will not be enough to determine all of the necessary allotments by the previous formula, or that the Indians among whom the lands must be divided will not be content to take [the lands] unless they reach the spot fixed upon. In either case, it becomes necessary to take a general measurement of the width and length of all the lands that may be useful for planting or which the Indians may choose for themselves. Then, having available the number of varas resulting from this measurement and the total number of assignments, or allotments, into which they must be divided, two hundred plots of flat ground [*llanas*] will be formed. These will be converted to the total varas of width in the measurement and the total varas of length, each of which will be divided by the total number of land allotments that should be made, including those pertaining to the mission and the community. The resulting quotient of both calculations will correspond to each individual lot assign-

14. It is extremely difficult to assign an exact value to the fanega. Extrapolating from known quantities, however, one fanega equaled roughly 55.5 liters or 1.575 bushels. A vara was 0.84 meter or 32.9 inches.

ment. For example, arable lands have been measured at no more than 20,000 varas in length and 10,000 in width, and must be distributed in the following form and order:

	Parties Concerned	*Suertes*
Community Field	1	8
[Field] of the Mission	1	5
Governor	1	3
Captain	1	2
Alcalde	1	2
Indian of Distinction	1	2
Another of the Same	1	2
Individual Indians	56	56
Totals:	63	80

Calculations

Varas in Length	*Varas in Width*
20,000/250	10,000/125
04 80	024 80

Given these totals, the 20,000 varas of length will be divided by 80 land allotments, as can be seen in the calculation, with a resulting quotient of 250 varas. That will be the length of each land grant. Then, dividing the 10,000 [varas] by the same 80 allotments will result in 125 varas, which will be the width of each grant. The community field will include eight land allotments; if the width and length of each [grant] are multiplied by this number, it will be found that in the present case the [community] field will be 2,000 varas in length and 1,000 in width. By this rule, the proportions of the rest undoubtedly will be discovered. Any varas of land that fall short of the foregoing particular measure in either width or length, [but constitute a plot] in which a fanega of corn may be sown, will be given to those parties concerned wherever they so request, or [the latter] will be given the right without prejudice to take them in the future, which [arrangement] it will be wise to make known to those parties concerned and record in a formal document.

In order to implement all that is referred to herein, a knowledgeable surveyor is needed. Should you be unable to find another to discharge the duty who is closer at hand, it will be necessary for you to call upon the surveyor who lives in this province. It would be proper to advise him, or whomever you may chance to find, that in recompense for his labor and commensurate with the workdays he employs in the above-mentioned distribution of lands, he will enjoy a salary or reward as determined by the most excellent lord viceroy, based on the diligence he exercises in the matter. In accordance with the previous arrangements, however, yokes of oxen, cattle for breeding, tools, and seed should be delivered to the Seri Indians immediately, along with anything else that will enable them to begin managing for themselves, without requiring anything.

At present, I do not regard the realization of everything as a certainty. This is

as much in consideration of the Seris' lack of industry and application as because, previously, it was essential to use the same religious [both] to minister to them and watch over the goods that were delivered to them. Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance to quickly find a place for the Seris' own community and not to lose the favorable opportunity to sow a reasonable crop of wheat this year, in order to thus liberate the royal treasury that much earlier from the cost of [the Seris'] rations. To these ends, I sent an order to the commissioner in Pitic on [August] 17, asking him to expedite the yokes of oxen and the tools the [Seris] request, so they can make a channel for the water as far as the river and immediately clear the lands where they must plant this year, be it as a community or each man individually, whichever suits them. I advised the said commissioner that I would persuade the Seris with the best arguments [possible] to apply themselves heartily to these labors. To the same effect, I also sent an official letter on the same date to the governor of the provinces, [asking him] to encourage and motivate the Seris as much as possible.

In keeping with this line of thinking, it will work to the greatest advantage if you grant the Seris, for now, the equipment mentioned above, the seeds, and everything else they may need to assure a good crop, or the best they can [produce] in the present year. You should also exhort them to [this labor], and encourage them—with whatever means and expedients your prudence and love of service for our incomparable monarch dictate—[to use] the specified field equipment and the other goods bestowed upon them. Because the Seris lack, as has already been mentioned, the knowledge required to cultivate the fields, the commissioner of Pitic should take special care to closely monitor their planting efforts and harvest the crops on a timely basis. He should also keep an account of [the equipment] and seeds that he delivers, identifying those Indians who receive [the equipment and seeds] for themselves, and stating what [seeds] are for collective sowing. To these ends, it is essential to at least place among them a knowledgeable person to direct them in the capacity of overseer. Otherwise, I am convinced that little or nothing of what has been suggested would have any effect, and consequently, the expenses and vigilance invested in [the project] would be wasted.

Accordingly, and in consideration of the great importance to the royal treasury that the Seris, as is just, maintain themselves at the cost of their own labor as before, and not at the expense of the exchequer as now, I believe it would be very advantageous for you to seek and quickly place the aforementioned person to teach them exactly what they need to know in this region about the art of agriculture. A moderate salary (which will not compare with the expenses intended for use otherwise) should be authorized for his work, and [the individual] should lack neither any of the abilities the job requires nor the discretion with which he must forcefully treat the Seris.

When the Seris become accustomed to planting individually for their own use, which I consider unlikely, it will be of the utmost importance to persuade them to plant as a community also. There is no doubt that they would consume their individual harvests in little time, and I do not have [the food] they would request, assuming they continue for the rest of the year as they are now. Thus, in order to opportunely anticipate their needs, it is necessary to encourage and motivate them, as I have said, to plant a large amount for the community, with the promise that they will save all the crops they harvest for when they lack food, and that they will distribute [the crops] among themselves in the same order by which they now

distribute the rations they receive at the expense of the royal treasury—which it would be well to make them understand.

Finally, the advantages to be expected from the greater comforts the Seris may achieve—which attracts them to live together thus with the heathen inhabitants of Tiburón Island—[and] their inalterable adherence to the obedience they have sworn, are tranquility in many parts of these provinces, and before long the liberation of the royal treasury from some considerable expenses. Thus, nothing should be neglected, nor should any task be omitted, which might lead to placing the Seris in a state by which they might prosper for themselves within a very short time.

Written in the *real* of Los Alamos, on August 29, 1772.

Pedro Corbalán

Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 247.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Virrey a Corbalán, 1772

Señor Pedro Corbalán,

Con carta de usted de diecisiete de agosto último, he recibido copia de la que le escribió don Juan Honorato de Rivera, avisándole haberse concluido la obra de la saca del agua en el Pitic, y exponiendo usted las providencias que iba a dar para el establecimiento de los seris, pide se les ponga un religioso a propósito; que les administra.

En su consecuencia prevengo con esta fecha al gobernador de esa provincia que de acuerdo con usted disponga se fabrique inmediatamente la iglesia de la misión de los seris, y se reedifique la de los sibubapas, proporcionando el gasto según la costumbre, que haya habido en las que de cuenta del rey se construyeren para las otras misiones de esta provincia facilitando usted de las reales cajas de su cargo el caudal que se necesite con arreglo a lo que previenen las leyes del reino. Las perversas costumbres de los sibubapas piden el más pronto remedio para no dar lugar a que, tomando mayor incremento, se experimenten funestas resultas. Al mencionado gobernador le he encargado estrechamente se valga de los medios más suaves para reducir a dichos indios amonestándoles, a que edifiquen sus casas, cultiven las tierras, y se sujeten a la vida política y cristiana, y espero contribuya usted al logro de estos justos fines.

Para que la misión de los seris esté provista de vasos sagrados, ornamentos y demás utensilios daré oportunamente las providencias que corresponden, debiendo usted decirme si para la de los sibubapas será necesario ejecutar lo mismo. Esta misión creo que tiene su ministro, y bajo de este concepto, no he pedido más que uno al reverendo padre guardián del Colegio Apostólico de Queretaro para que instruya y doctrine a los seris, cuyo sínodo dispondrá usted se satisfaga de esas cajas reales.

Y no dudando continúe usted con el esmero, y eficacia, que indica en solicitar el establecimiento de estos indios y que sean atendidos; y enseñados como corresponde, me parece muy a propósito el repartimiento de tierras, en particular, y las que sean necesarias para las milpas de la misión y comunidad, como también

que se les faciliten las herramientas conducentes; siendo muy del caso proporcione usted la vecindad de algunos sujetos en quienes concurran las calidades de inteligencia en el laborío, quietud de ánimo, piedad, y demás buenas partes para que aprendan los indios el modo de trabajar las tierras no sean perturbados en su reducción y les contengan sus variables ideas. De cuanto ocurra me dará usted las respectivas noticias, manejándose en todo con la mayor prudencia, conducta y reflexión.

Dios Nuestro Señor. México, diecisiete de noviembre de mil setecientos setenta y dos.

Instrucciones del Intendente Pedro Corbalán, 1772

Instrucción que ha de observar para el establecimiento de los indios reducidos de la nación seri en las inmediaciones del Presidio del Pitic.

Como el establecimiento de los indios de la nación seri en formar pueblo después que prestaron la obediencia a nuestro católico monarca por medio de la fuerza de sus armas invencibles, haya sido un asunto que no sólo mereció mucho cuidado a los coroneles don Juan de Pineda y don Domingo Elizondo, gobernador el primero y ambos comandantes de la expedición militar, que se terminó felizmente en estas provincias, sino que se hizo también acreedor él mismo a la superior atención del excelentísimo señor Marqués de Croix, y del actual excelentísimo señor virrey, así por la importancia que de su ejecución se sigue al estado, como por la propia comodidad de los nominados indios, y por la ventaja que resultarán sin duda a estas citadas provincias de que ellos permanezcan en su prometida felicidad; me fue preciso igualmente, en cumplimiento de superiores órdenes y en consideración a las indicadas causas, poner en el particular la mayor aplicación, así de dos años a esta parte, y se hace ahora indispensable por las propias razones, solicitar los medios más proporcionados para realizar el dicho establecimiento de la nación seri.

Habiendo comprendido que para verificarlo nada era antes conducente como determinar a los seris el paraje de su población y asignarles tierras para que cambiasen, procedí de acuerdo con el dicho coronel don Domingo Elizondo a la ejecución de uno y otro, a satisfacción de los mismos indios, pero luego demostró la experiencia que era en vano lo practicado si primero no se les costeaba una acequia y se sacaba por ella la agua del Río de Sonora para que pudieran regar las citadas tierras de siembra señaladas, y aunque se dio principio a esta obra, y se trabajó en ella bastante desde junio hasta septiembre del año próximo pasado, no pudo conseguirse en el todo por varios inconvenientes expuestos por el teniente de granaderos don Francisco Merino, a quien comandé este encargo, hasta que dispuse últimamente que se continuara y perfeccionase por arrendamiento, como se ha logrado, pues me avisa con fecha de cuatro del corriente don Juan Honorato de Rivera, vecino de San Miguel de Horcasitas, y obligado por escritura formal a conducir la [el] agua para riego de las tierras de los dichos seris.

Que teniendo ya concluida la obra de la acequia, debía llegar por ello al mismo día el agua hasta donde estuvieron formando los cuarteles en el Pitic (lo cual ha de entenderse precisamente hasta el horno de la misión, por ser casi donde empiezan las dichas tierras asignadas, y así que me sirviese nombrar personas de confianza

que reconocieran si estaba a toda satisfacción la citada obra, para eximirse en este caso de la obligación otorgada, o reparar las faltas que en ella notasen los inteligentes. A este efecto y el de poder después hacer constar al excelentísimo señor virrey que la obra de la acequia para los seris está conforme a lo escriturado, y muy a satisfacción, será el primer cuidado de vuestra merced, antes de darla por concluida y recibida, nombrar dos o más personas de la mayor inteligencia y confianza, las cuales, juramentadas en forma, deberán acompañarle a la veeduría y reconocimiento de la citada acequia, anotando en este acto cuanto sea digno de reparo, para que lo enmiende el sobredicho don Juan Honorato de Rivera, y si nada hubiere que lo exija, para darlo por libre de la obligación otorgada, todo lo cual deberá especificarse en diligencias formadas, así para que conste en lo sucesivo, como para enviar testimonio de ellas a dicho señor virrey.

Evacuado que sea lo antecedente, deberá usted proceder a determinar las tierras en general que correspondan a la misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, que así ha de llamarse el pueblo de los seris, y a señalar en particular una porción competente a cada indio, prefiriendo antes la asignación para la milpa que ha de haber de comunidad, y otra para dotación y heredado de la citada misión. La medida general o extensión de que debe constar el sobredicho pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe ha de ser de cuatro leguas de territorio útil, las cuales, para no incluir las tierras de los pimas que se hallan radicados en el Pitic, deberán tomarse por los dos vientos sobre las ya asignadas a los citados seris, que son las que se hallan entre donde estuvieron formados los cuarteles y el cerro que llaman de la Conveniencia, a diferencia [deferencia] sólo de las que con justo título pertenezcan a la hacienda que administra fray Benito Moncerrat, la cual no sé a quién corresponde legítimamente; y empezando a tirar la medida desde los citados cuarteles río abajo por una y otra banda, o por la que se ha sacado el agua, solamente se terminará a satisfacción de los dichos seris ya sea ocupando dos leguas de ancho y otras tantas de largo, en figura de cuadro o tres a lo largo y una de ancho en forma de cuadrilongo, o al contrario, según los mismos pidieron, y que se reconozca que les conviene.

Para repartir proporcionadamente las tierras en particular, y separar con el mismo orden las milpas de la misión y de la comunidad, es antes indispensable que usted forme una lista o padrón comprehensivo de gobernador, capitán y alcalde, y de otro que se considere deba gozar de alguna excepción aunque no sea más que por la aceptación que tenga entre los otros, regulándose que con una fanega de maíz en sembradura ocupa el terreno de cuatrocientas varas de largo y doscientas de ancho, sin duda sería conveniente, habiendo tierras bastantes para cuanto se necesita, que constase cada suerte de la expresada medida, y que luego se repartiesen todas en esta forma: ocho suertes a la milpa de comunidad, cinco para la de la misión, tres al gobernador, dos al capitán, otras tantas al alcalde y las mismas a otro, cualquiera que fuere, conducente distinguirlo.

Pero, como puede suceder, sin embargo de ser más las tierras comprendidas entre los citados cuarteles del Pitic y el cerro llamado de la Conveniencia, que no hay las suficientes para determinar por la antecedente medida todas las asignaciones indispensables, o que los indios a quienes han de repartirse no se acomodan a tomarlas sino hasta paraje señalado, se hace preciso en cualquiera de estas cosas tirar una medida general, así de ancho como de largo, sobre todas las tierras que haya útiles de siembra, o que los mismos indios elijan para sí, y luego, con presencia del número de varas que resulten de dicha medida, y del todo a que asciendan las

(asignadas), digo, asignaciones, en que han de dividirse, se formarán doscientas llanas, las cuales se reducen a partir por la una la suma de varas de largo de la medida, y por la otra las varas de ancho de la[s] mismas, por el total de suertes de tierra que deban hacerse inclusas las respectivas a la misión y a la comunidad; siendo lo que salga al cociente de ambas cuentas lo que corresponde a cada asignación de tierra en particular "verbi gracia" se han medido por no haber más tierras útiles veinte mil varas a lo largo y diez mil a lo ancho, y han de repartirse en la forma y orden siguientes.

	Interesados	*Suertes*
milpa de comunidad	1	8
de la misión	1	5
gobernador	1	3
capitán	1	2
alcalde	1	2
indio distinguido	1	2
otro dicho	1	2
indios particulares	56	56
interesados	63	80

Operaciones

varas de largo	*varas de ancho*
20,000/250	10,000/125
04 80	024 80

Formadas así las cuentas, se partirán las veinte mil varas como se ve en la operación por las ochenta suertes, y saldrán al cociente, doscientas cincuenta varas, y tantas tendrá de largo cada dotación de tierra, y partiendo luego las diez mil, por las mismas ochenta suertes, vendrán ciento veinticinco varas, que serán el ancho de la propia dotación, y por que la milpa de comunidad ha de incluir ocho suertes multiplique ese por este número el ancho y largo de cada una, y se hallará que en el caso presente constará la dicha milpa de dos mil varas de terreno a lo largo, y de un mil a lo ancho, por cuya regla de proporción se encontrará sin duda lo demás que se pretende. Todas las varas de tierra que faltaren de la antecedente medida en particular así de ancho como de largo, al completo de las que ocupa en sembradura. Una fanega de maíz se les dará a los interesados en los parajes que los pidieren, o se les dejará el derecho a salvo para que las tomen en lo sucesivo. Lo cual será bien que se haga saber a los interesados, y que conste de formal diligencia.

Considerando que para la práctica de lo hasta aquí referido, se necesita de persona inteligente en la agrimensura, se hace como preciso, no encontrando otra más a mano para desempeñar el encargo, que llame usted al medidor de tierras que anda por esa provincia, al cual, o al sujeto que usted se encuentre por ventura, será conveniente advertirles que a proporción de los días útiles que empleare en el sobre dicho repartimiento de tierras, y en recompensa de su trabajo, gozará el salario

o gratificación que tenga a bien señalarle el excelentísimo señor virrey en vista de las diligencias que se practicaren sobre el particular, aunque en consiguiente a las anteriores disposiciones, que se entregaren desde luego a los indios seris las yuntas de bueyes, reses para cría, herramientas y semillas, y cuanto fuere conducente a que, sin necesitar de algún útil, pudieran empezar por sí a gobernarse.

No tengo al presente por acertada la ejecución en el todo, así por considerar la falta de industria y de aplicación que concurre en los dichos seris, como porque antes era esencial requisito que se pusiera a los mismos religiosos que los administrara, y que [?] sobre los bienes que se les entregue; no obstante, siendo de suma importancia procurar de pronto a los referidos seris su propia comunidad, y que no pierdan la proporción favorable de hacer este año una razonable siembra de trigo para libertar cuanto antes por este medio a la real hacienda de los gastos que exigen sus raciones, tuve por indispensable a estos fines que, por el comisionado del Pitic, a quien pasé orden sobre ello en diez y siete del corriente, se les facilitan [facilitaran] las yuntas de bueyes y herramientas que pidiesen los mismos, así para que dieran curso al agua hasta el río, como para que fuesen talando y beneficiando desde luego las tierras donde deben sembrar este año, bien sea de comunidad o cada uno para sí, como más les acomode, previniendo a dicho comisionado que persuadiera de mi parte con las mejores razones a los referidos seris a que se aplicasen con gusto a estos trabajos, y al propio efecto pasé también oficio con la citada fecha al caballero gobernador de las provincias, para que los estimulara y animase en todo lo posible.

Siguiéndose la máxima antecedente, será de la mayor conveniencia no sólo que usted les franquee por ahora los útiles arriba expresados, semillas, y demás que necesiten para verificar una buena siembra, o la mayor que puedan, en el presente año; sino que les persuada también a ello, y estimule por cuantos medios y arbitrios le dicte su prudencia, y amor al servicio de nuestro incomparable monarca. De los nominados bienes de campo y demás efectos que se feliciten [faciliten] a los citados seris deberá tener especial cuidado el comisionado del Pitic, y él mismo llevará también la cuenta de ellos, y de las semillas que entregue, con distinción de los indios que las reciban para que sí en particular, y expresión de las que sean para sembrar en común; careciendo los dichos seris, como va expuesto, de la inteligencia que se requiere para sembrar los campos, verificar con acierto las siembras que pretendan hacer, y levantar las cosechas oportunamente, es indispensable a estos fines ponerles a lo menos una persona práctica que los dirija en calidad de mayordomo, pues de lo contrario estoy persuadido que de lo insinuado poco o nada llegaría a tener efecto, y que serían inútiles por consiguiente los gastos y desvelos que en ello se hubiesen impendido.

Bajo cuyo concepto, y en consideración a la mucha importancia que se sigue a la real hacienda de los referidos seris se mantengan cuanto antes como es justo a costa de su trabajo, y no a expensas del erario como en la actualidad, hallo por muy conveniente que solicite usted, y ponga desde luego, la dicha persona que los instruya en lo preciso que deben saber en este país del arte de la agricultura, señalando por su trabajo a lo que fuese un salario moderado (el cual no tendrá comparación con los gastos que se pretendan excusar por otra parte), y procurando que a la misma no falte la habilidad que demanda el encargo, ni la prudencia tampoco con que debe forzosamente tratar a los nominados seris.

Cuando éstos, que lo dificulto [?], se acomodasen a sembrar cada uno para sí, será de suma importancia sin embargo persuadirlos a que siembren también de

comunidad, porque no habiendo duda en que consumirían en poco tiempo sus cosechas particulares, no la tengo tampoco en que pedirían al instante se les mantuviese como ahora lo restante del año, y así, para ocurrir oportunamente a sus necesidades, se hace preciso esforzarlos y animarlos a que, como va dicho, siembren mucho de comunidad, bajo el seguro de que todas las cosechas que levanten se les guardará para cuando les falte que comer, y de que se les repartirán por el mismo orden que al presente se distribuyen las raciones que perciben de cuenta de la real hacienda, lo cual será bien hacerles entender.

Finalmente siendo las ventajas que deben esperarse de la mayor comodidad que logren los referidos seris, su permanencia inalterable en la obediencia que tienen jurada, que atraigan los mismos a vivir juntos así a los gentiles habitadores de la Isla del Tiburón, la tranquilidad en mucha parte de estas provincias, y el libertar en breve a la real hacienda de algunos gastos considerables, no debe perdonarse en atención a todo, ni omitirse diligencia que conduzca a poner a los citados seris en estado de que por sí sean felices dentro de muy poco tiempo.

Dada en el Real de los Alamos a veinte y nueve de agosto de mil setecientos setenta y dos años.

Pedro Corbalán

The Resumption of Seri Hostilities, 1777

Less than a decade elapsed after the Sonora Expedition before Seris and their Upper Pima allies were fighting the Spaniards again. This time, as Governor Francisco Antonio Crespo's letter to Viceroy Bucareli y Ursúa makes clear, they were occasionally joined by some Apaches. The prospect of Spanish Sonora's internal rebels uniting with her most formidable external foes filled Spanish officials with apprehension.

Unrest in the Pimería Alta was caused in large measure by the gold placer mining boom taking place at Cieneguilla. Gold was discovered there in November 1770. Within little more than a year, more than 5,000 prospectors and merchants had descended upon the region, many of them Yaqui Indians. During the first four years of production, 16,000 ounces of gold worth about six million dollars at today's prices were taken from Cieneguilla's alluvial deposits, most of it by dry placering. And when Cieneguilla's gold began to play out, new discoveries in 1775 at Santa Rosa de Buenavista eight leagues east of there kept the boom alive until Apache and Seri attacks—and Upper Pima rebellion—forced many of the prospectors to leave (West 1993).

Back from Alta California, Juan Bautista de Anza led three expeditions into the Cerro Prieto against the Seris. By April 1778, eighty-three Seris had sued for peace. Tiburones and Tepocas soon did the same and offered to settle at Gil's abortive mission of Carrizal. By the end of the year, the number of rebel Seris settled at Pitic had doubled, and hostilities died down (Navarro García 1964). It is interesting to note that the authors of the documents apparently refer to the people formerly described as "Salineros" as "Seris" while retaining the older geographic distinctions for Tiburones and Tepocas.

By 1780, however, attacks had resumed, including a devastating assault on Guaymas. Teodoro de Croix, commandant general of the recently formed Provincias Internas, asked his commanders how to "extinguish" the Seris and considered many of the same old strategies: deporting the men by sea, sending the women and children to the Californias, and invading Tiburón Island. Then, in the spring of 1781, thirty Seris deserted Pitic. But an epidemic of measles killed more than fifty Seris at Pitic and spread to the Tiburones and Tepocas. That epidemic, combined with campaigns by presidial soldiers from Pitic, Buenavista, and Altar, again led to a temporary decrease in hostilities (Navarro García 1964).

Tensions soon escalated, however, and by the end of 1783, Felipe de Neve, who succeeded Croix, proposed to deport all Seris at Pitic south to Mexico. He also sent detachments of Spanish dragoons, presidial soldiers from Altar, and Pimas from the new presidial company of San Ignacio into Seri territory. On the night of March 19, the Seris fled Pitic (Navarro García 1964).

Navarro García, the historian who has treated this period of Seri-Spanish hostilities in the most detail, does not believe Neve's actions against the Comcáac

had much effect. But as the documents that follow indicate, a large number of Seri prisoners were deported south to Guadalajara in the spring of 1784. From there, they were to be marched to Mexico City, where Viceroy Matías de Gálvez proposed to send them to Cuba or Puerto Rico so they could not escape and return to their homeland. It was the same policy proposed by Rodríguez Gallardo four decades earlier.

Crespo to Bucareli, 1777

Most Excellent Lord:

Since I notified you on November 22 about the state of the province, the Pimas and Seris, along with a very few Apaches, have committed numerous atrocities and murders in the pueblos of Cocóspera and Sáric in the Pimería Alta. They have set fire to the homes or jacales there. They ran off all the livestock and killed two Indians in Cocóspera and eleven in Sáric, wounding several more. Among the wounded was a soldier from the presidio of Terrenate, one of the five who were stationed in Cocóspera. If these incidents continue, the Pimería Alta will soon be annihilated. Many settlers have already abandoned the area. It naturally follows that the few settlers who remain will do the same, even those who never thought of doing so, simply to avoid the fury and cruelty of the rebels. Otherwise, a total rebellion will occur.

The barbarous and incorrigible inclinations of the rebels are known beyond the slightest doubt. So as soon as they began to carry out their wicked deeds, the region experienced the lamentable consequences which are far more worthy of attention than those caused by the Apaches alone. In July 1775, I forcefully stated this verbally to the inspector at the presidio of Terrenate. I have continued to do so in writing, seeking the punishment and extermination of these internal enemies. Otherwise, no matter how much progress is made on the frontier, this entire land will return to the same calamitous state it was in during the last uprising. And it will be even worse because of the aid of the Apaches, which the rebels did not have then.

Either because this official trusted the opinion of others more than mine, or because he had a different opinion of the Indians, my reports have had the misfortune of receiving little attention. Nevertheless, I succeeded in obtaining thirty men from Buenavista so that they, along with this company [Horcasitas] and that of Altar, could pursue the rebels. I stated all this to Your Excellency in my letter of April 20. As soon as their actions began to bear fruit, however, the order came to transfer the new soldiers, along with ten others, sixty settlers, and one hundred Opata Indians, to the company of Captain Don Luis Antonio del Castillo.[15]

Because of the increase in troops, much progress was made, largely as a direct result of the knowledge of the terrain acquired during the general campaign of 1775. (I know nothing about the campaign itself because Castillo, ever since he

15. In 1776, Governor Francisco Antonio Crespo sent Captain Luis Antonio del Castillo on a punitive expedition against a hostile gathering of Seris, Pimas, and Apaches as commander of the flying company of Sonora. In February 1777, four hundred Apaches descended on Captain Castillo and his men in a place called Tinaja. The soldiers managed to escape only after fighting from sunup to sundown (Navarro García 1964).

became captain of the flying company, has only written me to ask for help.) At the same time, however, the sad tragedies I informed Your Excellency about before were also experienced—including the boldness of our enemies and their increase. As my letter of November states, ten Seri families have joined the rebels. It is feared, I must add, that some missing Tiburones have accompanied them as well. Moreover, the Piatos have greatly increased in numbers, although I cannot say by how many. During the attacks on the aforementioned pueblos, about forty rebels have been observed, including four or six Apaches. It is necessary to remember, too, that other rebels are off caring for their families or dispersed in small groups in other locations.

Even though the number of enemies may seem small, the situation requires a completely different strategy from that which might have been sufficient a year and a half ago. I can now assure Your Excellency, without fear of error, that the presidios of the frontier can barely protect the region. There are not enough troops to suppress the rebels, especially considering the ruggedness and vastness of the terrain which this province contains, as Your Excellency knows.

In order to put an end to their havoc, I think it is appropriate to station the flying company at the mission of San Ignacio,[16] along with the ten men from San Bernardino.[17] Soldiers from Altar, San Ignacio, and this presidio [Horcasitas] could then constantly patrol the areas under frequent Indian attack as well as those places where they usually take refuge. By carrying out such operations and decisively reconnoitering the trails of the region, they can insure the security of the *real* of Ciénaga [Cieneguilla]. Because of its natural resources and the large population those resources have attracted, the *real* of Ciénaga is one of the most secure settlements in the area. I therefore do not believe that we need to station a military escort in that *real*—a suggestion you made to me in your letter of November 20.

Unless Don Luis del Castillo has some superior order that opposes this plan, then, I suggest that he and his company transfer to the San Ignacio mission. That would leave twenty men from the presidio of Buenavista at San Bernardino. With such reinforcement, that presidio [San Bernardino] will be able to send a detachment of ten men to Fronteras, a move that is necessary to save the settlement upon which the presidio [of Fronteras] depends. The remaining ten soldiers from Buenavista (at San Bernardino) could then move to Santa Cruz [de Terrenate]. Twenty soldiers from the presidio of San Agustín del Tucson[18] will also be able to leave that pueblo without risking its safety, because Tucson and San Xavier del Bac have many friendly Indians. Consequently, thirty troops will be able to come to the aid of Santa Cruz, which will be plenty to insure its security.

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16. Father Kino established the mission of San Ignacio de Cabórica in 1690 on the east bank of the Río Magdalena. As with the southern missions, European diseases soon decimated the Indian converts and the mission was "repopulated by converts from outlying districts, notably the Pápagos" (Gerhard 1982:283).

17. Commandant Inspector Hugo O'Conor transferred the presidio of Fronteras to the San Bernardino Valley east of modern Douglas, Arizona, in 1775.

18. In June 1775, Hugo O'Conor transferred the Tubac presidio to San Agustín del Tucson. Construction on the presidio began in 1775 but was not completed until 1779. In 1785, the perimeter wall still had not been completed. Military engineers severely criticized the construction of the fort as completely inadequate for defense (Moorhead 1975).

Of course, this arrangement may not be immediately carried out in all its aspects because the paymasters cannot presently be found in the *real* of Alamos. Until they return, it may perhaps be necessary to keep ten soldiers of this company [Horcasitas] and others from the flying company along the frontier. Nevertheless, it is indispensable to send as many troops as possible without delay to the Pimería Alta, which has been so pierced by the events referred to previously.

Because of the urgency of the situation, which I have expressed, and because the commandant inspector of Chihuahua [Hugo O'Conor] has received a new appointment, I have decided to carry out these plans. I hope they meet with Your Excellency's approval. The commandant inspector informed me of his change of appointment on November 17 of last year. He advised me to direct my correspondence to his successor, José Rubio.[19]

As I have told Your Excellency, Captain Castillo has not given me a report of his campaigns, nor of anything else, since he was placed in charge of his company. He has also referred to himself as "commander of the troops of Sonora" in several orders issued to pueblos demanding Indians without delay. Because Your Excellency would be perfectly justified in wondering whether I support his actions, I consider it necessary to tell you now that I have asked this official the reason for such unusual conduct. I am currently awaiting his response in order to accurately notify Your Excellency of his explanation and to determine what action I need to take.

May God guard the important life of Your Excellency for many years. San Miguel de Horcasitas, 18 January 1777.

Francisco Antonio Crespo[20]

To: His Excellency Fray Bachiller Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 73.

The Deportation of Seri Prisoners, 1784

My Lord:

I have arranged for a column of perfidious enemy Seri rebels to be brought to this city by a detachment of sixteen soldiers taken from the presidios of this province and a company of Catalan Volunteers under the command of Alférez Don Ignacio Ibarrola. The prisoners have committed many murders, robberies, and other atrocities and were caught on an occasion when they intended to rob the settlers.

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19. José Rubio succeeded Hugo O'Conor as Commandant Inspector of the Internal Presidios. O'Conor reported at the end of his term that he had left the presidios equipped and running. José Rubio disagreed when he assumed the responsibility. He found that the firearms were inadequate and the soldiers did not know how to use them. They also experienced shortages of food and work animals (Moorhead 1975).

20. Francisco Antonio Crespo led a distinguished political and military career. He served as governor and captain general of Sinaloa y Sonora from 1773 to 1777, where he assisted O'Conor in reorganizing the military presidios, re-established the postal service from Horcasitas to Guadalajara, and campaigned against the Pimas and Apaches.

They were taken prisoner in the field by a detachment of troops that set out from the *villa* of Pitic for the purpose of following and punishing these cruel and savage enemies. I cannot now tell Your Lordship how many are in the column. However, as of this date I am directing the captain of the Spanish Dragoons, Don José Sáenz Rico, to send Your Lordship a detailed report with the sex and age, more or less, of every individual.

The troops conducting all of them cannot possibly continue on through this city because their horses will arrive exhausted. For this reason, I beg Your Lordship to order the prisoners to be placed in secure prisons and to be kept there at the disposition of the most excellent viceroy of Mexico. I am sending the corresponding report to him so that he may take the most active and prompt steps to have them transported with proper safeguards to that capital and from there to the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa[21] or to wherever they will have no hope of ever returning to their country. If this should ever happen, it would result in grave harm to the peace, calm, and tranquility of this province.

From the day these inhumane foes set out, I arranged for them to be given one *real* daily from the royal treasury, just as prisoners of war receive, until their arrival at this city. From here on, Your Lordship may arrange for the same to be done as far as Mexico City, if the most excellent viceroy does not decide otherwise.

I hope Your Lordship will vouchsafe to assist with the greatest efficiency in this important service to the king, so these prisoners may be taken on to Mexico City with the security and precautions necessary to ensure that none of them may escape, and there they may be delivered to Alférez Don Ignacio Ibarrola so that he may send them on to this capital. May Our Lord protect Your Lordship for many years. Arizpe, March 22, 1784.

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive and obedient servant,

Felipe de Neve[22]

To: the regent and president of the Real Audiencia de Guadalajara, Don Eusebio Sánchez Pareja.

I certify that the preceding is a copy of the original. Guadalajara, April 30, 1784.

Juan Heviquio Rodríguez, Scribe

Celaya, June 7, 1784

Fiscal of the Royal Treasury

Most Excellent Lord:

Along with the letter of April 30, I sent to Your Excellency a certified copy of the document which Don Felipe de Neve, commander of the Provincias Internas,

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21. The fortress of San Juan de Ulúa was constructed on the island of the same name in the port of Vera Cruz. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the fleets from Spain unloaded their cargo on the island, whence it was transferred to the mainland. The fortress also served as a prison for criminals and political prisoners during the colonial period.

22. Felipe de Neve (1724–1784) was born in Bailen, Spain. He served as governor of the California Provinces between 1775 and 1782. From 1783 until his death the following year, he served as interim commandant general of the Provincias Internas.

sent to me, in order to inform Your Lordship of its contents. It states that the column of prisoners and the troops conducting them seem to be considerable in number and that, for this reason, it will not be easy to secure them in the royal prison as it is rather small to keep more than two hundred criminals. They have already begun to suffer from malignant fevers, which will easily spread among these wretched beings if they stay more than a short time. The money for their food, how they are to be conveyed, and the unavoidable costs of all this demand that early provision be made. I have informed Your Excellency of all this so that when you decide upon the measures to be taken, you may inform me.

The commander informed me in his letter of April 3 of a new uprising that includes those Indians who had been settled in Pitic, and this event made him suspend the sending of the column. I am advising Your Excellency, as is proper, so that if it seems right to you, the loyal officers in charge of the treasury may take action to subtract from the royal treasury the costs of feeding the prisoners and of bringing them to this city. If this seems right to Your Excellency, you can then issue the corresponding order to these ministers to carry this out.

May God Our Lord protect Your Excellency's important life for many years. Guadalajara, May 28, 1784.

Don Eusebio Sánchez Pareja.

To: Señor Don Matías de Gálvez[23]

Your Excellency will agree to order that everything be done as the regent in Guadalajara proposes. To bring this about, the corresponding order should be issued to the royal officials, who will help the person charged with bringing the savage Indians in accordance with the orders issued by the office of the commander of these Provincias Internas on March 2. It should be a requirement that records be kept and a sworn statement be made as to all expenditures so that in the royal tribunal this expense may be charged to the accounts of these provinces.

As to the fate of the prisoners: In order to make sure of their punishment and avoid all possibility of escape and return to their homes, which could be harmful as the commander understands, Your Excellency should make arrangements that as soon as they arrive at this court, they are to be sent to the tower [the promontory] of Havana or to Puerto Rico for the rest of their lives. Mexico, August 20, 1784.

Mexico, August 24, 1784.

As the *Fiscal* of the Royal Treasury requests.

Done on September 6.

In fulfillment of what the most excellent viceroy agreed to in his order of last September 6 and which Your Highness corroborates in your decree of October 27,

23. Matías de Gálvez (1717–1784) was born in Macharaviaya, Spain. He was the brother of Visitor General José de Gálvez. He served as viceroy of New Spain in 1783 and 1784. His son Bernardo de Gálvez succeeded him after his death.

we are delivering the funds needed to take the column of prisoners to this capital in obedience to the orders given us.

May God protect Your Highness for many years. Guadalajara, November 9, 1784.

President and oidores of the Real Audiencia governing New Spain.

Antonio Fernández García Navarro

Felipe Ruiz de Madrid.

Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 258.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Crespo a Bucareli, 1777

Excelentísimo señor:

Desde que expuse a vuestra excelencia con fecha de 22 de noviembre último número 132 el estado de esta provincia, han ejecutado en la Pimería Alta repetidos estragos y muertes los pimas y seris, juntos con muy pocos apaches, en los pueblos de Cocóspera y Sáric; han incendiado sus casitas o jacales, se llevaron todo el ganado, y han muerto dos indios en el primero y once en el segundo, con algunos heridos, y entre ellos un soldado del presidio de Terrenate de cinco que hay destacados en Cocóspera. La repetición de estos sucesos, aniquilará brevemente la Pimería Alta, pues es muy natural se siga el que la abandonen los pocos vecinos que hay en ella y, cuando no un total alzamiento, el que dejen sus pueblos todos aquellos que lo han ejecutado anteriormente, y tal vez algunos más de los que nunca lo pensarían, por solo libertarse del furor y crueldad de los rebeldes.

Conociendo sin género de duda su incorregible bárbara inclinación pr[eví?] desde luego que empezaron a ejercitar sus maldades las funestas consecuencias que iba a experimentar el país, mucho más dignas de atención que todas las que pueden seguirse de los apaches sin su compañía. Lo expuse eficazmente al inspector, de palabra, el año de 75 por el mes de julio, en el presidio de Terrenate, y lo he continuado por escrito, solicitando el castigo y exterminio de estos internos enemigos pues sin él, por más ventajas que se consigan en la frontera, volverá toda esta tierra a las calamidades del pasado alzamiento, y aun peor con el auxilio de los apaches, que antes no tuvieron.

Mis informes, bien sea porque otros hubieren merecido a este jefe mejor concepto, o porque el suyo hacia las circunstancias de estos indios haya sido distinto del mío, han tenido la desgracia de ser poco atendidos. Conseguí sin embargo, se me agregaren treinta hombres de Buenavista para, con esta compañía y la del Altar, perseguir a los alzados, como manifesté a vuestra excelencia en mi carta de 20 de Abril número 10; pero no bien se empezaba a experimentar el fruto de sus salidas, cuando tuvo la orden de remitirlos con otros diez, sesenta vecinos, y cien indios ópatas, a la del capitán don Luis Antonio del Castillo.

De cuya providencia, aunque hayan resultado los felices progresos que debo discurrir como consecuencias forzosas del conocimiento de terrenos que se adquirió en la compañía general del año de 1775 (de que nada sé, porque Castillo desde que se halla capitán de la compañía volante solo me ha escrito para pedirme auxilios),

también se han experimentado en el mismo tiempo las tristes tragedias que dejo insinuados a vuestra excelencia, la avilantez de los enemigos, y su aumento. Expuse a vuestra excelencia, en mi citada carta de noviembre, se habían agregado a los rebeldes diez familias seris. Y ahora debo añadir se recela los acompañan otras tantas tiburones que se echan menos; los piatos han crecido bastante, aunque no puedo decir en que número, entre unos y otros contando cuatro o seis apaches, se han observado juntos en las ocasiones de atacar a los pueblos referidos, como unos cuarenta, pero es necesario creer algunos más cuidando sus familias y dispersos por otras partes en pequeñas partidas como se han notado.

Este número de enemigos dentro de Ca[?], aunque parece todavía corto, pide ya muy distinta providencia de la que hubiera bastado año y medio ha; hoy puedo asegurar a vuestra excelencia, sin miedo de errar el concepto, que con solo resguardar los presidios de la frontera en la forma necesaria, no queda tropa para reducirlos, en una aspereza y extension de terreno como vuestra excelencia sabe contiene esta provincia.

Para cortar la seguida de sus estragos, tengo por conveniente poner la compañía volante en la misión de San Ignacio e incorporar a ésta los diez hombres que tienen en San Bernardino para que, desde el Altar, San Ignacio y este presidio, se recorran continuamente los frecuentes parajes que hostilizan los indios y en los que por lo común se refugian, comprendiéndose en estas operaciones la seguridad del Real de la Ciénaga, registrando forzosamente sus caminos, con lo cual considero podrá excusarse la escolta (de que vuestra excelencia me habla en carta de 20 de noviembre próximo pasado) para dicho real, que es siempre la más segura población, así por su disposición material como por lo númerosa en esta virtud.

Y en suposición de que don Luis del Castillo no tenga alguna orden superior que se oponga a este plan, le paso ahora la de que se transfiera con su compañía a dicha misión de San Ignacio, dejando en San Bernadino veinte hombres de la de Buenavista, con cuyo refuerzo podré dar aquel presidio un destacamento de diez a Fronteras, que es preciso para conservar aquella población necesaria a la subsistencia del presidio; los otros diez restantes de Buenavista pasarán a Santa Cruz, que con veinte del presidio de San Agustín del Tucson que pueden salir sin arriesgar aquel puesto, respecto a tener muchos indios los pueblos del Tucson y San Xavier del Bac, se refuerza el citado de Santa Cruz con treinta que bastarán para su seguridad.

Podré no tener efecto desde luego en todas sus partes esta disposición, por hallarse los habilitados en la actualidad en el Real de los Alamos, y ser tal vez preciso hasta que vuelvan se queden en la frontera diez soldados de esta compañía y alguno más de la volante, pero es indispensable el poner sin retardo la tropa que se pueda en la Pimeria Alta, demasiadamente intimada con los acaecimientos referidos.

Me he determinado a tomar por mí esta resolución que espero merezca la aprobación de vuestra excelencia, así por la necesidad expuesta como por considerar al comandante inspector en Chihuahua con motivo de su nuevo destino, que me participa con fecha de 17 de noviembre próximo pasado, advirtiéndome dirija mis noticias a José Rubio su sucesor.

He dicho a vuestra excelencia que el capitán Castillo no me había dado cuenta de sus operaciones ni otra cosa desde que se halla mandando su compañía. Y como sin más insinuación podría justamente vuestra excelencia extrañar mi conformidad, considero preciso añadir ahora que habiendo preguntado a este oficial el motivo de tan raro procedimiento, y el de nombrarse "comandante de las armas de Sonora"

en varias órdenes que expide en derechura a los pueblos pidiendo indios, aguardo solo su respuesta para dar parte a vuestra excelencia de todo con la exactitud que corresponde, tomando yo al mismo tiempo la determinación que pida el caso y sea proporcionada a mis facultades.

Dios guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia muchos años. San Miguel de Horcasitas 18 de enero de 1777.

Francisco Antonio Crespo

Excelentísimo señor bachiller fray don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

La Deportación de los Prisioneros Seris, 1784

Muy señor mío:

Con una partida de diez y seis soldados, de los presidios de esta provincia, y compañía de voluntarios de Cataluña, y al cargo del alférez don Ignacio Ibarrola, he dispuesto se conduzca a esa ciudad una collera de pérfidos enemigos seris rebeldes, que han cometido muchas muertes, robos y otras atrocidades, y han sido aprehendidos en ocasión que intentaban robar las familias que se habían hecho prisioneras en el campo por una partida de tropa que salió de la Villa del Pitic a perseguir y castigar a estos crueles bárbaros enemigos. No puedo decir ahora a vuestra señoría el numero fijo de los que componen dicha collera, pero prevengo con esta fecha al capitán de Dragones de España don José Sáenz Rico que dirija a vuestra señoría una relación circunstanciada que lo especifique, y exprese los sexos y edades, poco más o menos, de cada individuo.

La tropa que los conduce a todos no es posible que pase de esa ciudad, porque los caballos que llevan llegarán muy estropeados; y por esta causa pido a vuestra señoría que los mande poner en seguras prisiones, manteniéndolos a disposición del excelentísimo señor virrey de México, a quien ahora paso el correspondiente oficio para que se sirva tomar las más activas y prontas providencias para que se tansporten con las propias seguridades a aquella capital, y los destine desde ella al Castillo de San Juan de Ulúa, o adonde jamás les quede esperanza de regresar a su país, pues si alguno le verificase, causaría gravísimos daños a la quietud, sociego y tranquilidad de esta provincia.

Desde el día de la salida de estos enemigos inhumanos, he dispuesto que, como a prisioneros de guerra, se les suministre de cuenta de real hacienda la ración de un real diario a cada uno hasta su arribo a esa ciudad, y desde ella podrá vuestra señoría prevenir se ejecute lo propio hasta México, si el excelentísimo señor virrey no dispone otra cosa.

Espero que vuestra señoría se servirá contribuir con la mayor eficacia a este importante servicio del rey, y a que los referidos prisioneros sean conducidos a México, con la seguridad y precauciones que conviene para que ninguno haga fuga, disponiendo que los prisioneros que llevan se entreguen al referido alférez don Ignacio Ibarrola, para que los devuelva a esta capital. Nuestro señor guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años. Arizpe, veinte y dos de marzo de mil setecientos ochenta y cuatro.

Beso las manos de vuestra señoría, su más atento y seguro servidor.

Felipe de Neve.

Señor regente y presidente de la real audiencia de Guadalajara, Don Eusebio Sánchez Pareja.

Es copia de su original, de que certifico.
Guadalajara y abril treinta de mil setecientos ochenta y cuatro años.
Juan Heviquio Rodríguez, escribano.

Celaya, 7 de junio de 1784.
Señor Fiscal de Real Hacienda.
Excelentísimo señor:

Muy señor mío, con carta de 30 de abril próximo pasado, dirigí a vuestra excelencia copia certificada del oficio que me remitió el señor don Felipe de Neve, comandante de las provincias internas, para instruir a vuestra señoría de su materia, diciéndole que el trozo de prisioneros y tropa que los conduce parece considerable, y no ser fácil asegurar los primeros en la real cárcel por ser esta de poca extensión, guardar más de doscientos reos, y haberse comenzado a experimentar fiebres malignas, cuyo contagio sería fácil en estos miserables si permaneciesen más tiempo de el de una ligera posada; que los socorros para sus alimentos, el modo con que han de ser conducidos, y los indispensables costos que esto prepara demandan prontas y anticipadas providencias a su llegada, lo que manifesté a vuestra excelencia para que dictando las que fuesen de su superior mandado [?], me las comunicase.

Y como en carta del día tres de abril antecedente me dijo [?] el expresado señor comandante haber dado parte del nuevo alzamiento y fuga de los indios que permanecían establecidos en calidad de pacíficos en la población de Pitic, cuya ocurrencia le hizo suspender entonces el enviar la enunciada collera, aviso a vuestra excelencia como corresponde, y a fin de que si le parece que los oficiales reales de estas cajas se encarguen de habilitar [?] del caudal de Real Hacienda los costos que hayan de causarse en la alimentación de los prisioneros y los de su conducción a esa ciudad, [?] a bien vuestra excelencia expedir la respectiva orden a estos ministros para que lo verifiquen.

Dios nuestro señor guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia muchos años. Guadalajara y Mayo 28 de 1784.
Don Eusebio Sánchez Pareja.

Excelentísimo señor Don Matías Gálvez

Vuestra excelencia se servirá mandar se haga en todo como propone el señor regente de Guadalajara, a cuyo efecto se expida la orden correspondiente a oficiales reales, quienes ministrarán al sujeto encargado de la conducción de los indios bárbaros, con respeto a la razón que asigna el oficio del señor comandante de estas provincias internas de dos de marzo, con la prevención de que se lleve cuenta y relación jurada de lo que se entregare, a fin de que en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas se cargue esta cantidad a los gastos de dichas provincias.

Y en cuanto al destino de los reos, a fin de que se asegure su castigo y evite todo riesgo de deserción y regreso, que podría ser muy perjudicial, como preve dicho señor comandante, dispondrá vuestra excelencia que luego que lleguen a esta corte se remitan al Morro de la Habana o Puerto Rico para todo el resto de su vida. México y agosto 20 de 1784.

Con orden
México 24 de Agosto de 1784.
Como pide el señor Fiscal de Real Hacienda.
Hecho en 6 de septiembre.

En cumplimiento de lo que el excelentísimo señor virrey tenía acordado en superior orden de seis de septiembre último, que vuestra alteza corrobora en su decreto de veinte y siete de octubre anterior, entregaremos el caudal necesario para la conducción del trozo de prisioneros a esa capital, en la conformidad que se nos previene.

Dios guarde a Vuestra Alteza muchos años. Guadalajara 9 de noviembre de 1784.

Presidente y oidores de la Real Audiencia gobernante de Nueva España.
Antonio Fernández García Navarro
Felipe Ruiz de Madrid

The Abandonment of the Seri Settlement at Pitic, 1790

The Franciscan mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, located at the base of a small hill called La Conveniencia west of the Cerro de la Campana, suffered many of the same problems the Jesuit missions faced. During the 1770s, 243 Seris were baptized there, but the peak years were 1773, with forty-eight baptisms, and 1774, with seventy-three. As memories of the Sonora Expedition faded, however, baptisms declined and Seri interest in the mission waned. Seris began to abandon the mission as well, the first major exodus occurring in 1777, when fifty Comcáac families left after Governor Crisanto killed the leader of the Tiburones (Molina Molina 1983).

Juan Bautista de Anza forced many Seris to return to Pitic during his campaigns of 1777–78. But the Seri community at Pitic was abandoned again in 1790, as the document from Intendant Governor Grimarest to the viceroy reveals. As Seri Governor Francisco Verdugo's letter indicates, many of those who fled returned to the mission. By 1796, 204 Seris were once again living there, but the community was brittle. In 1811, only a few Seri families remained as non-Indian families from Pitic began moving into the area. During the Yaqui rebellion of 1825, many Pimas and others from Cumuripa, Suaqui, and Buenavista settled there as well. By 1844, even though the community was known as Pueblo de Seris, there were only fifteen Seri families left (Molina Molina 1983).

The intendant governor and military commander of Sonora reports on the Seri uprising and the measures he has taken.

Most Excellent Lord:

After the mail had closed I received a report from Don Ignacio Urrea, captain of the Pitic presidio. [He informed me] that on the night of [July] fifteenth, all the Seri Indians abandoned this domicile except for one named Chepillo and his family. Ever since 1785, they have lived very peacefully and happily in this location. They had their own system of government like the other pueblos, and had communal wheat and corn harvests. They even had their own mayordomo who managed these goods, and as a consequence the country was not experiencing the hardships that had been suffered at the hands of these [the Seris] when they joined the Tiburones and Tepocas—which is always feared when the tribes join together. I have commissioned Adjutant Inspector Don Roque de Medina,[24] a man of experience and good judgment, to direct the affairs of the dis-

24. Roque de Medina was an experienced military man who had served under O'Conor during his inspection of the northern presidios.

trict over which I have assumed control. I did this so that I could go, with my knowledge and skills, to the presidio [Pitic] to investigate the reasons for this unexpected flight—as the captain [Don Ignacio Urrea] tells me nothing.

If he is guilty of bad management, bad treatment, or some other cause, I will command him to report to me at Arizpe.[25] By removing this obstacle, I can quickly send some commissioners to the mountains, particularly the Cerro Prieto, to try to draw the Seris back and resettle them with their wives and children, who have also fled. As a precaution, I have sent ten men from Arizpe to Bacoachi so that they can set out at once to contact the Seris with the lieutenant and fifteen men from Pitic who are already at Bacoachi, unless the Opatas from Bavispe,[26] who are on maneuvers in Nueva Vizcaya, have already headed in that direction. If they have not already left, their departure should be suspended so that they can reinforce Bacoachi in case the Seris do not return peacefully. With the aid of the forty Opatas, they [the garrison already stationed at Bacoachi] can stave off the insults the rebellious Seris have caused in previous rebellions.

I am reporting this matter today to the commander general because I have the specific obligation to report the results to Your Excellency. I ask that if my solutions do not meet with your superior approval you will direct me otherwise, bearing in mind my good will in directing these matters. I have always tried to apply the quickest and most prudent remedy to end the caprices of Indians who have always caused the greatest harm in the province.

May Our Lord protect Your Lordship for many years. Arizpe, July, 19, 1790.

Enrique de Grimarest[27]

To: the most excellent lord viceroy, Conde de Revillagigedo.[28]

Seri Francisco Verdugo Asks for a Monthly Salary, 1791–92

Most Excellent Lord,

I, Francisco Verdugo of the Seri nation, its captain general and resident of this new mission at Pitic, with great humility prostrate myself at Your Excellency's feet and rely on your great protection. Without heeding my faults but rather stressing my merits, I explain and request the following:

I have been governor of this town for six years. For two years, I have served as captain general for the entire Seri nation. In the company of the Spaniards and the troops of His Catholic Majesty, I have taken part in eight or ten campaigns against our enemies the Apaches. I have been deeply involved in returning the people of

25. Arizpe became the headquarters of the commandancy general of the Provincias Internas and the Intendancy of Sonora in 1779.

26. A presidio composed of Opata Indians was established in Bavispe in 1779.

27. Enrique de Grimarest was a brigadier in the Spanish army who arrived in Sonora in 1789 after serving as military commandant and intendant of the royal treasury. In 1790 he became the intendant governor of the provinces of Sinaloa y Sonora.

28. Juan Vicente Güemes-Pacheco y Padilla, Conde de Revillagigedo (1740–1799), was viceroy from 1789 to 1794.

my nation to their villages after their last uprising. As far as possible, I have convinced the Tiburones and Tepocas to desist from raiding and to live in peace. I have made an effort to persuade them to come and live among Christians and with us (especially since Your Excellency sent a father minister to instruct and catechize our people, and did other favors which we did not deserve).

In short, Your Excellency, I have contributed to the best of my ability so that my Seri nation may be reduced and pacified as I desire. For these reasons, the governor of Sonora was moved to grant me the use of the uniform that the troops of these provinces wear. I hope that my efforts will also move Your Excellency to recognize my poverty and grant me a monthly salary as the compassion of Your Excellency deems proper. Many times in order to carry out my responsibilities I have had to leave my lands uncultivated and lose their harvest. I have no other means to support my poor family. This happened recently when I was on a campaign to bring to the mission some people from here who had fled to Tiburón Island. I accomplished this and brought everyone back.

I would be very grateful for this favor from Your Excellency. I pledge my word to apply whatever methods are necessary to achieve the pacification and reduction of my Seri people. I assume Your Excellency knows that they are very rebellious. Therefore:

I ask and beg Your Excellency to issue fitting orders and to make a decision concerning my request. I will receive it well. Blessings to Your Excellency.

I do not know how to sign my name, so I sign this with a cross.

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Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, 235.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Intendente gobernador y comandante militar de Sonora da parte de la sublevación de los seris, y de la providencia que ha tomado.

Excelentísimo señor:

Cerrado ya el correo he recibido aviso del capitán del presidio del Pitic, Don Ignacio Urrea, de haber desamparado la noche del 15 este domicilio todos los indios seris, a excepción del nombrado Chepillo y su familia que desde el año de [17]85, se lograba viviesen pacíficos en este paraje, con tal felicidad, que tenian su sistema de gobierno a manera de los demás pueblos, con sus cosechas de trigo y maíz en comunidad y aun en particular con un mayordomo que manejaba estos bienes, por lo que el país no experimentaba los rigores que por parte de estos se padecían uniéndose a los tiburones y tepocas, que es el recelo que justamente se teme de que vuelvan a coligarse. El partido que sin perdida de tiempo he tomado ha sido comisionar al ayudante inspector Don Roque de Medina, sujeto de juicio y experiencias, para que con mis facultades pase al expresado presidio a fin de indagar los motivos de que ha dimanado esta imprevista fuga, pues nada me dice el capitán.

Que si resulta culpable por mala dirección o por algún hecho constante de mal trato u otra causa, le mande se me presente en Arizpe, para que quitando este

inconveniente, llame, desde luego por medio de comisionados, que se dirijan a los montes, particularmente al Cerro Prieto, a dichos seris, procurando atraerlos y restablecerlos con sus mujeres e hijos que también se han huído. A precaución he sacado de este destacamento diez hombres para Bacoachi, para que el teniente y quince que se hallan allí del Pitic, marchen al instante a su destacamento tomando sobre mi, si acaso los Opatas de Bavispe que maniobran en la Nueva Viscaya no se hubiesen aún dirigido a ella, el suspender su salida, a fin de que si los seris no vuelven, reforzar el [puesto] con cuarenta de dichos Opatas para precaver los insultos que son [sub?]secuentes como lo han practicado en todas sus rebeliones.

Con esta fecha doy cuenta de este acaecimiento al comandante general, quedando en la precisa obligación de avisar a vuestra excelencia sus resultados, suplicando que si mis resoluciones en el particular no fuesen de su superior aprobación, me las dispon[dra] atendiendo al buen fin con que las he dirigido, que ha sido el de aplicar el más pronto y prudente remedio para atajar el capricho de unos indios que han sido siempre los que más estragos han causado en la provincia.

Nuestro Señor guarde a vuestra excelencia muchos años. Arizpe, 19 de julio de 1790.

Enrique de Grimarest

Excelentísimo señor virrey Conde de Revillagigedo.

Seri Francisco Verdugo Pide un Sueldo Mensual, 1791–92

Excelentísimo señor:

Francisco Verdugo, indio seri de nación y capitán general de ella, y residente en esta nueva misión del Pitic, con la mayor sumisión postrado ante los pies de vuestra excelencia y confiando de su gran protección, suplico y expongo que, sin atender a mis deméritos y sí a los tales cuales méritos que alego, a saber:

Haber sido seis años gobernador de este pueblo, de dos años a esta parte capitán general de toda la nación, y tener hechas en compañía de los españoles y tropas de su majestad católica ocho o diez campañas contra los enemigos apaches, y tenido mucha parte para que en este último alzamiento de mi nación se redujesen las gentes dispersas otra vez a su pueblo, y en cuanto me es posible conteniendo a los tiburones y tepocas para que no hagan incursiones y se estén quietos en sus destinos, y con mis esfuerzos persuadiéndoles a que se vengan a vivir entre cristianos y con nosotros, y más cuando la caridad de vuestra excelencia nos ha destinado un padre ministro para que nos instruya y catequice a nuestras gentes, y hecho otros favores sin méritos algunos nuestros.

Contribuyendo en fin, excelentísimo señor, en cuanto puedo, para que toda esta mi nación se reduzca y tranquilice como yo deseo, motivos que movieron a este señor gobernador de Sonora para concederme el uso de uniforme que gozan las tropas de estas provincias, y que también moverán a vuestra excelencia para concederme mensualmente el sueldo que la piedad de vuestra excelencia tenga a bien consignarme. Y más atendiendo a mi pobreza, y que las más veces, por dar cumplimiento a mi obligación, tengo que abandonar el cultivo de mis tierras y perder los frutos de ellas, sin tener otros arbitrios para mantener mi pobre familia, como me ha sucedido en estos días haciendo una campaña, y por medio de ella

solicitando traer a esta misión a algunas gentes de aquí [?] que se me habían dispersado y pasado a la Isla del Tiburón, como efectivamente lo hice, y conseguí traerlos a todos:

A este favor quedaré muy agradecido a vuestra excelencia, empeñándole mi palabra de aplicar cuantos medios me sean posibles para la tranquilidad y reducción de dicha mi nación seri, tan propensa a los alborotos, de lo que supongo a vuestra excelencia suficientemente instruido. Por tanto:

A vuestra excelencia pido y suplico se digne mandar hacer y determinar como llevo pedido, en que recibiré bien [?] y merced.

Y por no saber firmar pongo una cruz.

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Seri Hostilities at the Turn of the Century, 1798–1803

The irreconcilable differences between the Spaniards and the Seris reasserted themselves once again at the end of the eighteenth century. In the first of the following documents, an ambitious Spanish official, Commandant General of the Provincias Internas Pedro de Nava, proposes a large expedition to Tiburón Island, where 250 Comcáac men with their families have taken refuge. Interestingly enough, most of those soldiers were to have come from the Indian presidial companies of Bavispe, Bacoachi, and Tubac, along with Opata and Eudeve auxiliaries under the command of Opata general Medrano Blas.

But the expedition never took place, even though soldiers gathered on the Sonoran coast during the summer of 1799. One reason given was that the Seris and Tiburones learned of the troops and stockpiled balsas to escape. Another was that English ships entered the Gulf of California; Spain was at war with Britain and allied with Napoleonic France at the time.

Nonetheless, Spanish pressure apparently drove a few Seris to turn westward, exploring the coasts of Baja California. The two final documents note Seri attacks on Cochimí Indians from the mission of Santa Gertrudis in central Baja California. The assailants most likely paddled from Tiburón to San Esteban to Isla San Lorenzo to Baja, looking for even more ways to elude their Spanish foes by taking advantage of their knowledge of the sea as well as the desert. As the non-Indian population of Spanish Sonora increased, old refuges such as the Cerro Prieto on the Sonoran mainland were no longer as secure as they once had been.

Another Proposed Expedition to Tiburón Island, 1798

Report of the military governor of Sonora concerning the attack by sea against Tiburón Island:

I have taken into account all the necessary information to prepare a plan of attack by sea against Tiburón Island, as Your Grace ordered last September 12. I have also considered all of the important objectives necessary for the security of the project, and I have concluded that it cannot be carried out at the present time because we lack the assistance of the supply ships anchored at Guaymas. This situation is evident in the accompanying letter, which is a reply to the one I sent to Don Esteban José Martínez,[29] commander of the frigate *La Princesa.*

29. Esteban José Martínez was a pilot on the Pacific coast in 1774, and in 1777 he was working as a pilot in San Blas. He apparently accompanied Juan Pérez on a voyage of exploration in 1774.

He affirms that, even if they did remain in that port, the current season is not appropriate for the attack because the northerlies predominate, and these winds are so contrary that it is doubtful that ships (even small ones) could remain safely in the Gulf of California.

But let us proceed with the idea of exterminating the families of our declared enemies, the rebellious Seris, Tiburones, Tepocas, and Cimarrones who take shelter on Tiburón Island, where they think they are safe from the punishment of our arms. This makes it easier for them to commit continuous hostilities with all the tyranny and inhumanity that has characterized them in the twenty-some uprisings to date. I agree with the maritime commander [Martínez] and Don José de Tona (who is with me in the capital city to draft a knowledgeable report) that without granting peace under any pretext to those enemies who have provoked us on so many occasions, the execution of the maritime expedition with the assistance proposed by the mariners be delayed until July 1799 in accordance with the assistance proposed by the mariner noted above [Martínez]. If Your Grace agrees with this, you will have time to request assistance from the most excellent lord viceroy of New Spain.

I will briefly explain so that Your Superior Grace might ascertain the facts and have a perfect understanding of this important affair. Tiburón Island is located off our coast three leagues from the mouth of the Río Pitic [Río Sonora]. The island appears to be about twenty-five to thirty leagues in latitude (from north to south) and eight to ten in longitude (from east to west). The island has ten major and minor water holes and an arroyo runs down the center for about half a league before it disappears and ends. The whole island, except the areas around the estuary, consists of broken, rocky terrain without trees or grasses. There is an advantageous place with steep crags where the natives can take refuge in case of invasion. The natives number 250 men with their women and families. However, the Tiburón Indian named Francisco Salgado, who is at the Pitic mission, is loyal to our alliance. He gave us this information and assures us that our troops can easily penetrate [this stronghold] with the advantage of firearms. This is fortunate because it is impossible for the cavalry to maneuver on the island due to its roughness and lack of forage.

Because of these circumstances, when the frigate arrives at the port of Guaymas in June with the three landing craft, the [expedition] can be set for sometime in July. The boats should then be transferred from the port to a place called San Nicolás,[30] where they can remain hidden from the view of the island and are only eight leagues away from the harbor where our troops will assemble. They can then execute the landing in one day since the aforementioned harbor is only three leagues away from the opposite enemy coast.

The number of troops who are dispatched should be three hundred foot soldiers consisting of the Bavispe, Bacoachi, and Tubac companies, together with some of the soldiers who wear leather armor and who are known for their agility on foot, as well as General Medrano[31] with auxiliaries from his pueblos and the

30. There is no harbor immediately south of the Cerro San Nicolás, so Nava is probably referring to the Estero de la Cruz near Bahía de Kino.

31. General Medrano was also known as Medrano Blas. He was an Opata general who was notable for his loyalty to the Spanish government. Apaches killed him and his family in April 1835.

Río Cucurpe [Río San Miguel]. One hundred cavalrymen should remain on this coast [the Sonoran mainland], posted at different locations with sentinels stationed at intervals to prevent the enemies fleeing the attack from reaching our shore. It will be much easier to destroy them on the island.

As soon as the landing is executed, our troops should occupy themselves in finding and burning all the reed balsas they can find on the enemy's coast, thus immediately depriving them of the instruments that might facilitate their flight. Then, divided into three columns, the troops should seek the opponents throughout the entire island using the information which the Tiburón Indian, Francisco Salgado, will provide—as long as we do not suffer the misfortune of his passing away on account of his advanced age, in spite of the fact that he is strong and robust.

At the time of the attack, and before the landing, two or three canoes for [pearl] divers should be stationed with armed men on the west side of Tiburón to prevent the natives fleeing punishment from passing over to the three small islands about six or seven leagues in that direction.[32] The landing crafts can occupy themselves in the same procedure while the operation lasts on the island. The operation will continue until we are certain that all of the inhabitants have been either imprisoned or killed by force of arms. No other favor will be granted to the rebels who have abused piety in so many ways and who have provoked this armed action.

Once the Tiburón expedition is accomplished and everything is paid for, I believe that the three islands mentioned previously and those farther out named Salsipuedes and San Agustín[33] should be scrupulously reconnoitered. Then, certain that no enemy remains in that area, all our attention should be devoted to the Apache frontier. While this project is being carried out, the forces at Buenavista and Altar should not be weakened but should be united in Pitic. Using forty men from Buenavista and Tubac, I have arranged with Don José de Tona to maintain a detachment of fifty men continually on campaign in pursuit of the enemy. I believe, given these precautions, that the [Indians] will be able to cause little damage in our territory, and perhaps the troops may be able to teach them a lesson if the occasion should arise. Thus, seeing that they are pursued on this coast and that our forces do not try to pass over to theirs, they will feel secure on the island and we can expect to succeed in this project.

I have also arranged for the commander of the Buenavista presidio to continually reconnoiter the more common entrances and exits of the Cerro Prieto. If it becomes necessary, he is to pursue the Seri enemies who approach those areas

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32. It is difficult to determine the three small islands to which Nava is referring. Roca La Foca and Isla Turner are too close. Isla Patos is north of Tiburón. He mentions Salsipuedes in the next paragraph. San Esteban must be among the three.

33. Salsipuedes is just northwest of Isla Las Animas and the larger island of San Lorenzo, which was an important landfall between Tiburón and Baja. There is no modern Isla San Agustín, even though Kino referred to Tiburón as San Agustín. A 1705 French map—"De Californie et du Nouveau Mexique"—shows a large "I*a* d. S. Augusti" west of another large but unnamed island, presumably Tiburón. Nava's geography of the Midriff Islands is clearly muddled, but his San Agustín may be San Lorenzo, Isla Las Animas, or perhaps even Isla Angel de la Guarda. According to archaeologist Thomas Bowen (personal communication), wildly inaccurate representations of the Midriff Islands continued to be portrayed on some maps until the late nineteenth century.

with tenacity and constancy and to punish them—although I have been informed that the Indians from Tiburón Island do not nor have they ever made their homes in the Cerro Prieto. The twenty-five fugitives from the Pitic mission—composed of two adult men, ten young men, and the rest women and children—are already on the island, according to their tracks.

If Your Grace approves, I will dedicate myself to collecting donations to help pay for the special expense of the auxiliaries. I do not doubt that the residents of Sonora, Ostimuri, and Cieneguilla, who are so interested in this project, will voluntarily contribute cash, cattle, maize, wheat, beans, etc. In this way, the costs of the expedition to the royal treasury will not be as great.

The latitude and longitude of Tiburón Island as shown on the map I have before me—although I realize that it is not very accurate—are far less than indicated in this report. This discrepancy is the result of information Don José de Tona has provided me. He has seen the island from our coast and has spoken about it with others who are familiar with the territory.

Even though the rebels have not given any sign that they will commit hostilities against our positions, it is only to be expected that they will do so and that they are planning some noisy action, because they are many and knowledgeable about the terrain. Whenever it seems to me that the precautions taken are not enough to contain them, I will increase the forces in those places which are most threatened.

To this end I have ordered back sixty men from those assigned to the campaign detail of Don Nicolás Leyva from the companies at Altar, Tubac, Santa Cruz, and Fronteras. He is thus left with a detachment of only 126 men and is advised not to remain on campaign for more than thirty-five or forty days. Lieutenant Don Marcial de Grijalva is on campaign with thirty-five men reconnoitering the places mentioned in the accompanying note. These are the areas closest to the enemies from Tiburón. I will inform Your Grace of the results of this campaign as soon as he returns to quarters—as well as [the results of] those that occur afterwards in other campaigns being executed.

As long as Your Grace approves of the things I have suggested or improves upon them with your due authority, you may count on my faithful and blind obedience and my devoting all my efforts to ensure their most exact and proper fulfillment.

May God preserve Your Grace for many years. Arizpe, October 9, 1798.

Field Commander
Don Pedro de Nava[34]

Biblioteca Nacional, 36/810.

34. Pedro de Nava was named commandant general of the Provincias Internas in 1790 and assumed the post in 1791. He served until 1802.

SERIS IN BAJA, 1802–3

Marginal note: Some unknown Indians killed an Indian from the mission of Santa Gertrudis[35] and injured others. After committing this outrage, it is believed that they returned to the nearby islands and that they are from the coast of Sonora. It is feared that the consequences which will follow will be unfavorable for the inhabitants of this Antigua California.

Most Excellent Lord:

The reverend father minister of the mission of Santa Gertrudis advised me on October 11 that on the nineteenth of [September] he gave permission to an Indian to go to the beach in the early evening with some women. Five apparently unknown Indians appeared, struck him, and took his clothes. The Indians wanted to do the same to the women, but fortunately they fled with the darkness of night, although some of the women's clothing was also taken.

[The reverend father] sent another two Indians at the beginning of October in search of shells for lime. The [unknown Indians] killed one of them. The other fled after seeing his companion wounded. Nonetheless, they pursued him as he fled and gave him three nonfatal blows. This Indian also did not know the malefactors. He knew only that they wore the clothes of the Indian maltreated in the incident of [September] 19, and those of the women who were in his company. He also noted that there were six in the group.

With this news, I dispatched four soldiers who, together with the soldier stationed at the mission of San Borja[36] and two others who happened to be there, were to proceed in the investigation of the facts and the punishment of the malefactors. I warned them to be careful so as not to be taken by surprise.

In addition, the father minister and the soldier, who is stationed [at the mission] to transport the mail coming from the north of the peninsula, informed me that they had verified the death of the Indian and the wounding of the other. [Later], two of the malefactors came at night to scout the mission. But the vigilant soldier saw them and shot at them. The following morning he followed their tracks with some Indians from the mission, but he could not find them because they had taken to the hills and rocky ground.

The four soldiers I referred to left on [October] 21 to reconnoiter the coast. In the enclosed report, Your Excellency will see the results of [that excursion] and the picture that is forming of the malefactors; you can be more certain that I am much inclined to the same [opinion expressed in the report].

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35. Santa Gertrudis de Cadacamán was founded among the Cochimí Indians by Jesuit missionary Jorge Retz in 1751 after Jesuit Fernando Consag explored the region in 1747 (Crosby 1994). It is located in a valley about thirty kilometers west of Bahía San Juan Bautista and fifty kilometers south of Bahía San Rafael, which are both on Baja's gulf coast. The Jesuits collected about four hundred Cochimí families near the mission, where they planted wheat, cotton, and corn and herded cattle. Because of a series of epidemics, however, only about two hundred Indians remained by the 1800s.

36. The mission of San Francisco de Borja Adac was founded in 1762 by Jesuit Wenceslao Linck in the center of the San Borja Desert at the watering hole of Adac. It lies about thirty kilometers southwest of Bahía Los Angeles on the gulf coast of Baja (Crosby 1994; Jackson 1991).

My speculations are that they could be Indians from Tiburón Island, situated on the coast of Sonora. Three years ago, the Sonoran troops attempted an expedition to the island. They gathered on the coast, where they remained for part of the summer of 1799. The expedition was not carried out because the Indians knew of the superior size of this force.

Without a doubt, the Indians wanted to reconnoiter the islands close to the coast of this peninsula as a retreat [in order to] avoid similar surprises. For this reason, they have come and performed the evil deeds to which I have referred.

There is not the least doubt that this [development] will have disastrous consequences because this coast is completely defenseless. They will continue to make hostile incursions by way of the nearby islands as they please or when the weather is moderate and as they gain knowledge of the water holes afforded by the various islands between Tiburón and California Antigua. All of this I put to Your Excellency's consideration in fulfillment of my duty and in the knowledge that, for my part, I do not see a likely remedy because of the few troops and little assistance that the country provides.

May God guard Your Excellency's important life for many years. Loreto, November 13, 1802.

José Joaquín de Arrillaga[37]

To: Most Excellent Lord Viceroy of New Spain, Félix Berenguer de Marquina[38]

Marginal Note: [This letter] deals with the incident at the mission of Santa Gertrudis. He has not taken and cannot take other actions under the present circumstances, except those of the greatest caution and those necessary to maintain their defense. He also presents the only solution that he considers appropriate as punishment, if it is carried out with caution.

Most Excellent Lord:

Following the message that I sent to Your Preeminence last October 13 regarding the incident at the mission of Santa Gertrudis, in which six unknown Indians killed one native and badly wounded two others, Your Excellency advised me to take the actions that I deemed necessary in order to avoid, if possible, disastrous circumstances. And in the event that Your Preeminence could provide assistance for this purpose, I should oversee it and propose specifically how to allocate it. Your Excellency also notified the commandant general of the Provincias Internas of the event, for whatever purpose it may serve.

In fulfillment of the preceding order, I should inform Your Excellency that until now I have taken only the measures that my present circumstances will permit—which are no more than precautionary. I cannot do otherwise without decreasing the guards on the frontier, some 140 leagues from Santa Gertrudis, because four soldiers are stationed at the mission to scout the coast and defend it.

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37. José Joaquín de Arrillaga was interim governor of the Californias on two occasions: 1792–1794 and 1800–1804. He explored the northern part of the peninsula in 1796 and left a valuable journal.

38. Félix Berenguer de Marquina was born in 1738 in Spain. He became a professor of mathematics at the navy college and then a navy captain in 1780. He served as viceroy of New Spain from 1800 to 1803.

Because this event occurred in October, the season when the gulf becomes rough, my fears diminished somewhat because it is difficult for the Indians to cross in their balsas. But in May the seas grow calm until October, during which time I hope, out of necessity, to augment the vigilance and the guard—though only by three or four men and not in Santa Gertrudis but in San Borja, the adjacent mission which stands thirty-five leagues away. [This will be done] so that the two missions can aid each other, since the malefactors can arrive at either of the two with about the same amount of effort.

Because the coast extends for a great distance and there are various islands, some farther away than others, situated along it running from south to north like the coastline, the Indians can travel with impunity among them all as they please, although some [of the islands] do not have water. Likewise, they can disembark wherever it suits them. They could be driven away if there were adequate vessels for this purpose, but there are not. And when they arrive, the weather will not be propitious because the storms of summer will already have begun.

In spite of this conclusion, I can only say to Your Excellency that for now I believe that it is better to continue with the defense. For next year, that is in the month of May 1804, if it please Your Excellency, consult with the commandant general of the Provincias Internas on the most appropriate means of exterminating once and for all that nation which has caused so much harm in Sonora from 1768 until the present—as the extensive evidence in the comandancia general indicates. In 1799, the comandancia general arranged an expedition to attack Tiburón Island, but—as is recorded in the comandancia general—it did not take place because some English ships entered the gulf.[39]

Such an expedition demands the greatest secrecy, however. The one formed in 1799 failed because the Seris and Tiburones learned, even before the troops gathered at the coast, that they were going to be attacked. It is to be expected that they will not trust us, and I believe this is the reason for their coming to scout this coast last summer. Moreover, I believe that they have made many balsas as a precaution.

This is all I can say to Your Excellency for now about the matter. If something more arises in the meantime, I will forward it to Your Excellency.

May God guard Your Excellency's important life for many years. Loreto, March 22, 1803.

José Joaquín de Arrillaga

To: Viceroy of New Spain
Iturrigaray.[40]

Archivo General de la Nación, Californias, 22.

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39. In 1796, Spain and the French Republic under Napoleon signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso, pledging to come to each other's assistance in time of war. That same year, war broke out between the two allies and England. The war lasted until 1802.

40. A professional soldier who distinguished himself in the Portuguese campaigns, José de Iturrigaray (1742–1815) was born in Cádiz and served as viceroy of New Spain from 1803 to 1808. He was deposed because of his support for the nationalistic aspirations of the criollos prior to the outbreak of the Wars for Independence.

DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

Otra Expedición Propuesta de Isla Tiburón, 1798

El gobernador militar en Sonora informa sobre el ataque por mar premeditado contra la Isla del Tiburón:

Tomadas todas las noticias que me han parecido conducentes para formar el plan de ataque que por mar trata la orden de vuestra señoría de 12 de septiembre último contra la Isla del Tiburón, abrazando todos los objetos que se consideran útiles para la seguridad del proyecto, resulta no poderse efectuar éste en la presente temporada por faltarnos el principal auxilio de las embarcaciones surtas en Guaymas, como lo indica el adjunto oficio que en respuesta al mío he recibido de don Esteban José Martínez, comandante de la fragata del rey nombrada La Princesa, quien asegura que aun en el caso de detenerse en aquel puerto, no es la presente estación a propósito, porque reinan los nortes, y sin duda son estos vientos contrarios para que puedan permanecer con seguridad las embarcaciones, aunque sean chicas, en el Seno de Californias.

Pero llevando adelante la idea de extinguir las familias de los declarados enemigos seris alzados, tiburones, tepocas, y cimarrones que se abrigan en aquella isla, y se contemplan en ella seguros del castigo de nuestras armas, y que esta proporción les facilita hacer continuas hostilidades con la tiranía e inhumanidad que han acostumbrado en veintitantos alzamientos que se cuentan hasta el día, soy de sentir, conformándome con el parecer del comandante marino y don José de Tona (aquien tengo en esta capital para formar con conocimiento el presente informe) que sin concederles paz por ningún título a aquellos enemigos que tan repetidas ocasiones nos han provocado, se dilatase la ejecución de la marítima expedición hasta el mes de julio del año venturo de [17]99, bajo los auxilios que propone el indicado marino, que teniéndolo vuestra señoría a bien, podrán pedirse con tiempo al excelentísimo señor virrey de Nueva España.

Para que la superioridad de vuestra señoría pueda cerciorarse y determinar con perfecto conocimiento este importante asunto, expondré brevemente: que la Isla del Tiburón se halla situada al frente de nuestra costa a distancia de tres leguas donde desemboca el Río del Pitic; que según parece tiene de latitud de veinticinco a treinta leguas de norte a sur, y ocho a diez de longitud de oriente a poniente. Contiene dentro de sí diez aguajes mayores y menores, y en el centro corre un arroyo como media legua, que luego se sume y acaba. Toda ella, excepto las inmediaciones de la marisma, es de terreno quebrado, peñascoso, sin árboles ni pastos, y un paraje o puesto ventajoso, escarpado de peñascos, donde podrán hacerse fuertes los naturales en caso de ser invadidos; y que éstos se componen de doscientos cincuenta gandules, con sus mujeres y familias. Pero el indio tiburón Francisco Salgado que se halla en la misión del Pitic fiel a nuestra alianza, y de quien se han tomado estas noticias, asegura que es fácil de penetrar por la tropa, con la ventaja de las armas de fuego, de suerte que bien considerado lo expuesto, vemos la imposibilidad de que pueda maniobrar en aquella isla la caballería, por su aspereza y falta de forraje. Bajo de estas circunstancias, venida la fragata con las tres lanchas de desembarca al puerto de Guaymas en el mes de junio, estando citados para un día del siguiente julio, deberán trasladarse dichas embarcaciones menores desde el puerto a un paraje nombrado San Nicolás donde se mantendrán ocultas de la vista

de la isla, y sólo distante ocho leguas del embarcadero, punto de reunión de nuestras tropas. Y en un día ejecutan el desembarco, porque sólo dista tres leguas el citado embarcadero de la costa opuesta enemiga.

El número de tropa que desembarque deberá ser el de trescientos hombres de a pie, componiéndose de las compañías de Bavispe, Bacoachi, y Tubac, algunos de los soldados de las de cuera conocidos por ágiles a pie, y el general Medrano, con auxiliares de sus pueblos y del Río de Cucurpe, quedando de esta banda cien hombres de caballería, apostados en diferentes parajes con sentinelas de trecho a trecho a fin de impedir que los enemigos prófugos del ataque tomen nuestra costa donde será más fácil desalojarlos.

Luego que se ejecute el desembarco, deberá ocuparse nuestra tropa en solicitar y quemar todas las balsas de carrizo que se encuentren en la costa enemiga, quitándoles por lo pronto este auxilio que pudiera facilitarles la fuga; y luego, dividida en tres trozos, buscar a los contrarios por toda la isla, bajo los conocimientos que facilitará el referido indio tiburón Francisco Salgado, siempre que no tengamos la fatalidad de que fallezca por su avanzada edad, no obstante de mantenerse robusto y fuerte.

Al tiempo que se ejecute el ataque, y aún antes de efectuar el desembarco, deberán apostarse dos o tres canoas del buceo con gente armada al poniente de la Isla del Tiburón con el objeto de impedir que sus naturales, huyendo del castigo, intenten pasar a otras tres islas muy pequeñas, que a distancia de seis a siete leguas tienen por aquella parte; y en esta misma operación podrán entretenerse las lanchas del desembarco ínterin dure la función dentro de la isla, que deberá ser hasta que quedemos cerciorados de que todos sus habitantes están sujetos a la prisión o muertos al rigor de las armas, sin que se conceda otro partido a unos rebeldes que por tantos modos han abusado de la piedad y provocado la irritación de ellas.

Logrado el fin de la expedición contra el Tiburón, soy de parecer que hallándose todo costeado, se reconozcan escrupulosamente las tres indicadas islas y las que se hallan más distantes, nombradas Salsipuedes y San Agustín, y cerciorado de que ya no nos queda enemigo por aquella parte, se dedique toda la atención a la frontera del apache. En el intermedio de que se efectúe este proyecto, no debilitando la fuerza de Buenavista y el Altar, y reunida en el Pitic la de su dotación, con cuarenta hombres destacados de Buenavista y Tubac, tengo prevenido a don José de Tona mantenga continuamente en campaña un destacamento de cincuenta hombres con que perseguir al enemigo, y considero que con estas precauciones podrán causar poco daño en nuestro territorio, y tal vez escarmentarlos si se proporciona ocasión, con lo que viendo ellos que son perseguidos en esta costa y que los nuestros no procuran pasar a la suya, se asegurarán en ella confiadamente, y podrá lograrse con ventaja el proyecto.

Tengo igualmente prevenido al comandante del presidio de Buenavista haga continuos reconocimientos en las entradas y salidas más comunes del Cerro Prieto, y en caso necesario que persiga con tesón y constancia a los enemigos seris que se aproximen por aquellas inmediaciones, procurando castigarlos, aunque estoy informado que los de la Isla del Tiburón nunca se alojan ni han alojado en el citado Cerro Prieto, pues las veinticinco personas fugitivas de la misión del Pitic, que se componen de dos gandules, diez muchachones, y el resto mujeres y niños, se hallan ya en la isla según indica la huella.

Siendo de la aprobación de vuestra señoría, me dedicaré a colectar donativos para ayuda de gastos de los extraordinarios que deberán causar los auxiliares, y no

dudo que los vecinos de los partidos de Sonora, Ostimuri, y Cieneguilla, como tan interesados, contribuirán voluntariamente con algunas cantidades en numerarios, ganado vacuno, maíz, trigo, frijol, etc.; y con esto no será tan gravosa a la Real Hacienda la citada expedición.

La latitud y longitud de la Isla del Tiburón la manifiesta el mapa que tengo a la vista (no obstante de que lo reconozco poco exacto) mucho menos que lo que indica en este informe. Pero me explico según los que me ha dado don José de Tona, quien la ha visto desde nuestra costa y ha hablado sobre la materia con otros prácticos de aquel territorio.

Aunque hasta el día no dan indicio los rebeldes de hostilizar nuestras posiciones, debe esperarse de que lo ejecuten, premeditando alguna acción ruidosa, viéndose muchos, y con conocimiento del territorio, y siempre que me parezca que las precauciones tomadas hasta ahora no sean bastantes para contenerlo, procuraré aumentar las fuerzas en aquellos puertos que se vean más amenazados.

Para este fin mandé retirar sesenta hombres de los detallados a la campaña de don Nicolás Leyva, de las compañías de El Altar, Tubac, Santa Cruz, y Fronteras, y aquel oficial marchó sólo con el destacamento de ciento veintiséis hombres, previniéndolo no se dilatase en campaña más que treinta y cinco o cuarenta días. El teniente don Marcial de Grijalva se halla en campaña con treinta y cinco hombres, reconociendo los parajes que indica la adjunta nota, y son los más contiguos a los enemigos Tiburones, de cuyas resultas participaré a vuestra señoría aviso luego que se restituya, como igualmente de los que en lo sucesivo sobrevenga en las demás que se ejecuten.

Siempre que vuestra señoría se sirva aprobar lo que llevo insinuado, o mejorarlo con sus acertadas disposiciones, puede contar con mi fiel y ciega obediencia, y que dedicaré toda la eficacia para que tengan el más exacto y debido cumplimiento.

Dios que a vuestra señoría guarde muchos años. Arizpe, 9 de octubre de 1798.

Mariscal de Campo
don Pedro de Nava

Los Seris en Baja California, 1802–3

> Nota al márgen: Participa haber sido muerto un indio de la misión de Santa Gertrudis y heridos otros por unos indios desconocidos, quienes después de haber cometido este atentado se retiraron, según se cree, a las islas inmediatas, y se conjetura puedan ser pertenecientes a la costa de Sonora, recelándose para lo sucesivo contingencias nada favorables para los habitantes de esta antigua California:

El reverendo padre ministro de la misión de Santa Gertrudis, con fecha de 11 de octubre, me avisó que el 19 del mes anterior, habiendo dado licencia a un indio para irse a pasear a la playa con algunas mujeres, a prima noche se le aparecieron cinco indios, al parecer desconocidos, le golpearon y quitaron su ropa, y que lo mismo quisieron hacer con las mujeres, pero estas tuvieron la fortuna de huirse con la obscuridad de la noche aunque, les quitaron también alguna ropa.

Que habiendo mandado a principios de octubre otros dos indios en solicitud de conchas para cal, le mataron al uno, y el otro hizo fuga, a luego que vio herido su compañero; no obstante en la huida le siguieron y le dieron tres jarazos que no han

sido de muerte. Este indio tampoco los conoció a los malhechores, y sólo conoció que traían ropa del indio maltratado el 19 y de las mujeres que iban en su compañía, y añadía eran seis los que le salieron.

Con esta noticia despaché cuatro soldados, que unidos a otros dos existentes en la misión de San Borja, y él que está destacado en dicha misión, procedieron a la averiguación de los hechos y castigo de los malhechores, advirtiéndole toda precaución para no ser sorprendidos.

También me dio noticia dicho padre ministro, y aun el soldado que está destacado con el objeto de conducir el correo viniente del norte de la península, que después que verificaron la muerte del indio, y herido al otro, dos de los malhechores habían venido de noche a reconocer la misión, pero estando el soldado vigilante los vio y les disparó un tiro, y a la mañana siguiente, con algunos indios de la misión, les siguió por el rastro, pero habiéndose metido en sierras y pedregales no pudo alcanzar a verlos.

Los cuatro soldados que remití salieron el 21 a reconocer toda la costa, y por el adjunto parte verá vuestra excelencia las resultas y el concepto que se forman de los malhechores, y tanto más cierto puede ser cuanto me inclino a lo mismo.

Mis conjeturas son de que pueden ser indios de la Isla del Tiburón, situada en la costa de Sonora, pues con motivo de que hace tres años se intentó expedición a dicha isla se juntaron las tropas de Sonora en la costa, que se mantuvieron parte del verano de [17]99, y no se verificó el desembarco por motivos que constan a esa superioridad, cuya noticia tuvieron dichos indios.

Han querido sin duda, por libertarse de semejante sorpresa, reconocer las islas próximas a la costa de esta península para retirarse, y con este motivo han venido, y han ejecutado las maldades que he referido.

No hay la menor duda que esto ha de tener funestas consecuencias, por hallarse esta costa totalmente indefensa, y que continuarán, por la proximidad de las islas, haciendo sus correrías cuando les parezca o tengan tiempos bonancibles, y tomen conocimiento de los aguajes; lo dicho facilitan las varias islas que hay entre el Tiburón y la California antigua. Todo lo cual pongo en la consideración de vuestra excelencia, en cumplimiento de mi obligación, y en la inteligencia de que por mi parte veo el remedio remoto, por la poca tropa y auxilios que presta el país.

Dios guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia muchos años. Loreto, 13 de noviembre de 1802.

José Joaquín de Arrillaga.

Excelentísimo señor virrey de Nueva España, don Félix Berenguer de Marquina

Nota al márgen: Participa que sobre lo acaecido en la misión de Santa Gertrudis no ha tomado ni puede tomar en las actuales circunstancias otras providencias que las de la mayor precaución y mantenerse a la defensiva, y expone el único remedio que considera oportuno para el castigo siempre que se verifique con reserva.

Excelentísimo señor:

Consiguiente al parte que di a esa superioridad en 13 de octubre último acerca de lo acaecido en la Misión de Santa Gertrudis con seis indios desconocidos que dieron muerte a uno de sus naturales y mal hirieron otros dos, se sirve vuestra excelencia prevenirme tome por mí las providencias que me parezcan conducentes para en lo posible evitar funestas consecuencias y, en el caso que esa superioridad

pueda franquear algunos auxilios al intento, los consulte y proponga específicamente para proporcionarlos, advirtiéndome vuestra excelencia haber dado aviso al señor comandante general de provincias internas de aquel suceso por lo que pueda convenir.

En cumplimiento a la precedente superior orden debo expresar a vuestra excelencia que hasta ahora sólo he tomado las únicas providencias que penden de mis actuales circunstancias, y no son mas que de precaución. Pues otras no puedo tomar sin disminuir las escoltas de la frontera distante ciento cuarenta leguas de Santa Gertrudis, por lo que en dicha misión subsisten cuatro soldados con el objeto de reconocer la costa y defenderla.

Como el tiempo en que ocurrió el suceso era por octubre, estación ya en que el golfo comienza a embravecerse, mis recelos algo disminuyeron, a causa de que con sus balsas los indios tienen dificultad en las travesías. Pero entrando el mes de mayo abonanzan los mares hasta octubre, en cuyo tiempo espero por precisión aumentar el cuidado y la escolta aunque sea tres o cuatro hombres más, no [?] en Santa Gertrudis, sino en la de San Borja, misión contigua a la distancia de treinta y cinco leguas a fin de que se presten mutuamente los auxilios ambas misiones, respecto a que los malhechores indiferentemente pueden llegar a cualquiera de las dos.

Como la costa se extiende en mucha distancia, y las islas son varias y situadas frente a la costa unas más arriba que otras en dirección de sur a norte al símil de la costa, pueden los indios impunemente andar por todas ellas como les parezca, sin embargo que algunos no tienen agua, como igualmente pueden desembarcar adonde les acomode. Pudieran ahuyentarse [?] si hubiera embarcaciones propias para el efecto, pero no las hay, y cuando vengan ya no será tiempo porque ya habrán principiado las tempestades del verano.

En tal concepto sólo me resta expresar a vuestra excelencia que comprendo por ahora es mejor mantenerse a la defensiva, y para el año siguiente, esto es, para el mes de mayo de 1804 combine vuestra excelencia, si es servido, con el señor comandante general de provincias internas, el medio más oportuno para exterminar de una vez semejante nación, que tantos perjuicios ha causado desde el año de 68 hasta la fecha a la Sonora, como por extenso consta en la comandancia general, quien el año de 99 dispuso expedición para atacar la Isla del Tiburón, pero no se verificó a causa de haber entrado en el golfo buques ingleses, como consta en esa superioridad adonde se dio parte de todo lo sucedido.

Pero semejante expedición exige la mayor reserva, como se malogró la que se formó el año de 99 de la que supieron los seris y tiburones aún antes que se unieran las tropas en la costa, de que les querían atacar. Es consiguiente se hallen aún con desconfianza y esta es la causa a mi entender el por qué vinieron a reconocer esta costa el verano último, y aun creeré que hayan hecho muchas balsas de prevención.

Es cuanto puedo decir a vuestra excelencia por ahora del asunto, y si algo más se me ofreciese en lo sucesivo, trasladaré a manos de vuestra excelencia.

Dios guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia muchos años. Loreto 22 de marzo de 1803.

José Joaquín de Arrillaga.

Virrey de Nueva España
Iturrigaray.

Epilogue

Because of the Sonora Expedition and its legacy—the discovery of the gold placers of Cieneguilla on the north, the establishment of a Guaymas–Pitic axis on the south—the territory of the Comcáac began to shrink even though no Spaniards settled along the Sonoran coast north of Guaymas. Moreover, distinctions among the Comcáac slowly collapsed as the Seri population declined and boundaries among different Seri groups weakened. The Guaymas and Upanguaymas disappeared as distinct peoples, at least in the documentary record. The Tiburones undoubtedly accepted many Tepoca and Salinero refugees.

This process of attrition accelerated during the nineteenth century after Mexico won its independence from Spain. Guaymas developed into one of the most important ports on Mexico's west coast. Pitic, which was renamed Hermosillo in honor of a hero of the Wars for Independence, became Sonora's most important commercial center, largely as a result of the Guaymas trade. Hermosillo served as the gateway between the outside world and *la serrana,* the mountainous area of central and eastern Sonora where most commercial ranching and mining took place.

As more and more mule trains and freight wagon caravans plodded between Guaymas and Hermosillo, Seris attempted to run off their livestock or attack the caravans themselves. One of those attacks gave rise to numerous legends: In 1850, a Seri named Coyote Iguana carried off a young Mexican girl from Hermosillo named Lola Casanova, who bore him at least one son. The legends, which changed through time, captured the fascination and repugnance with which "white," Victorian Sonora viewed the Seris in particular, and Indians in general. Miscegenation, an intimate part of Sonoran life since the arrival of the Spaniards, resonated with lurid power when a Mexican woman from "good society" had sexual relations with one of the "barbarous" Indians.

But the biggest impact upon the Comcáac occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century when Pascual Encinas established his ranch headquarters of San Francisco de Costa Rica near Siete Cerros on the margins of Seri territory. At first Encinas attempted to employ the Seris as ranch hands, but as his cattle

spread through Seri territory, Seris rustled more cows. Encinas therefore unleashed his cowboys, who hunted the Seris down with repeating rifles, like predators. Years later, when W J McGee of the Bureau of American Ethnology interviewed the old rancher, Encinas estimated that his cowboys killed about half the Comcáac during the "Encinas War."

By the early 1900s, the Seris had been hounded to the brink of extinction. Only the relentless aridity of the Sonoran coast prevented them from being overrun by the Mexican military, which was carrying out a genocidal campaign against the Yoemem (Yaquis) to the south. In 1941, when archaeologist Julian Hayden visited Tiburón Island, the Seri population had dropped to 160. Hayden and others believed that it was only a matter of time before the Comcáac disappeared.

But the Seris, as resilient and opportunistic as ever, survived. They learned how to make and use wooden plank boats (*pangas*) and became commercial fishermen. In 1938, the Mexican government under President Lázaro Cárdenas even organized them into a fishing cooperative at their old camp of *Haxöl Ihoom* ('Place of the Clams'), which developed into the village of Desemboque. Then, during the 1960s, hundreds of North American tourists began wintering in Bahía de Kino. The Comcáac responded by making and selling baskets, necklaces, and dark, lustrous carvings of sea turtles, pelicans, quail, and other animals of the desert and sea from ironwood, one of the hardest woods in North America.

There are more than five hundred Seris now. Despite the assimilative pressures of the Mexican government and the market economy, the Comcáac still make their living from the desert and sea. And they still fight to retain control over Tiburón Island and their stretch of the Sonoran coast. The Seris responded to Jesuit missionization on their own terms and kept the Spanish Empire and later the Mexican nation-state at bay until the twentieth century. Even today, the Comcáac take what they want from the modern world more or less on their own terms. Humor, stubbornness, pride—and an ability to live where few others want to live, at least until recently—have made the Seris one of the enduring peoples of northwestern Mexico.

Glossary

agave. Century plant; a succulent the hearts of which were pit baked as food or fermented and distilled to make mescal.

alcalde. Municipal officer with administrative and judicial functions. The *alcalde mayor* was the principal municipal official of a city or district.

alcaldía mayor. Administrative jurisdiction of an alcalde mayor.

alférez. The lowest-ranking commissioned officer, roughly equivalent to an ensign or second lieutenant in the army.

alguacil. A constable, usually on a municipal level.

almud. A dry measure frequently used in relation to agricultural seed such as corn or beans. The measure usually was equivalent to five liters but varied considerably throughout colonial New Spain.

Angelus. Prayer commemorating the Incarnation; said at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. It was usually announced by the ringing of a bell.

atole. A porridge made from cornmeal.

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.

auditor de guerra. Special assistant to the viceroy in military affairs who often was an oidor (judge) of the audiencia himself. In matters of military justice, he served as legal counsel to the viceroy.

auto. Judicial or administrative decree.

bachiller. Recipient of a first university degree; often a parish priest.

balsa. Seri canoe made from three bundles of giant cane (*carrizo*) and propelled by a double-bladed paddle.

batea. A wooden tray or trough used for panning gold.

batequi. Well or water hole. Along the coast of the Gulf of California, it was employed more specifically to denote freshwater springs occurring below the high-tide line.

cabecera. Administrative head or central town of a region or mission district; headquarters; chief mission in a district.

cabecilla. A ringleader or a leader of rebels.

cabo. Corporal; squad leader.

cámara. Chamber, board, or council.

camino real. A patrolled route or road linking places where the crown had operations.

capitán a guerra. Head of military operations in an area smaller than a province—usually on a frontier subject to Indian attacks.

capitán general. Captain general. Chief military officer. In the colonies the title belonged to the viceroy, although in a province the superior commander held this title. In frontier areas this rank was often filled by the governor of the province. Of necessity, the rank was sometimes a brevet type.

capitán vitalicio. Captain for life. As presidial commander, the captain often held civil authority as alcalde mayor of a region.

carga. A unit of weight equal to about 150 pounds, the average load of a pack animal.

carrizo. A bamboo-like cane or reedgrass that grows wild on the edges of springs, marshes, and rivers. In northern New Spain, especially Sonora, it was a common material used for the construction of ceilings and roofs.

casa de comunidad. Communal mission storehouse.

casa de la misión. Priest's residence; mission complex where the law of sanctuary prevailed.

caudillo. Leader or commander; the military rank varied.

charco. Tank dug in an arroyo to impound runoff.

colegio. School or college; often a seminary for educating religious.

comisario de justicia. Deputy magistrate.

compadre. Godfather; a very important social institution establishing ties between parents of a baptized child and the child's godparents. Also commonly used to describe a close friend.

compañía volante. Military unit on detached or roving duty; a "flying company."

contador. Accountant, bookkeeper, treasurer. The *contador general de real tributos* was a royally appointed accountant responsible for monitoring the collection of tribute.

coyote. A person of mixed mestizo and mulatto ancestry.

criollo. Spaniard (non-Indian, not of mixed blood) born in the New World.

decano. A senior oidor of an audiencia.

diligencia. General title or category of documents. They could be either administrative or judicial.

doctrina. An ecclesiastical district served by a missionary, generally a regular cleric. A group or pueblo of Indians not yet at the status of parish; also, catechism.

encomienda. A grant of specified land and Indian labor made to a colonist; in return the grantee, an *encomendero,* agreed to provide for the Indians' welfare and instruction in Christianity.

entrada. Expedition into unknown or unsettled areas. Often associated with military expeditions whose purpose was to confront unpacified natives.

establecimiento de paz. A settlement of pacified Indians, usually Apaches.

estancia. Landed property; a livestock ranch.

fanega. Common unit of dry weight that varied according to the produce being measured. It equaled about 55.5 liters or 1.575 bushels.

fiscal. Attorney; official of lower rank (highly variable).

gambucino. Prospector.

gente de razón or *hombres de razón.* Literally, "people of reason." A term denoting social or economic superiority, usually reserved for Spaniards or mestizos, distinguishing them from Indians, who were considered uncivilized, and therefore called *gente sin razón,* "people without reason."

gentile. Indians who had not been converted to Christianity.

gobernación. The government; also an area controlled by a governor.

hacienda. Literally, a "doing," which might refer to a ranch, factory, or investment. Commonly, a large privately owned estate, usually in a rural setting.

informe. A formal statement or report.

jacal. A hut, generally made of brush.

juez pesquisidor. A judge who conducted inquiries or investigations.

juez receptor. A judge in charge of collecting evidence or proof of payments.

junta. A gathering of people for a specific purpose.

junta de guerra. Council of war. A committee of the Council of Indies that supervised all aspects of military and naval affairs regarding the Americas, including military finances. It was composed of the president and three councilors of the council itself as well as four members of the *consejo de guerra,* an advisory council based in Castile.

justicia. Magistrate; officer of the law.

justicia mayor. Judge; member of a cabildo, or town council, who acted as the governor's deputy.

ladino. A Spanish-speaking Indian.

legua. A measure of distance equaling 5,000 varas or 4.19 kilometers.

licenciado. One who has become lettered through study at a university, and has been awarded a specific degree.

marco. A unit of monetary weight equal to about 230 grams.

mayordomo. A municipal official attached to the cabildo (town council), serving as the custodian of civic property. Also a superintendent or foreman of a hacienda.

medidor de tierras. Land surveyor.

mescal. A generic term for the distilled liquor made from various species of the genus *Agave. Bacanora* is mescal made from *Agave angustifolia. Lechuguilla* is distilled from *Agave palmeri.*

mestizo. A person of mixed European and Indian blood.

milpa. In Sonora, an irrigated field; farther south in Mexico, a cornfield.

mulatto. Person of mixed blood with European and Negro ancestry.

oidor. Member of an audiencia who served as a judge. An oidor often performed other duties, the most important being the administration of *residencias.*

olla. A clay pot with a narrow neck for holding water.

operario. Religious who assists the sick and dying.

padrino. Godfather.

paraje. General term for a place or location.

partido. Administrative district within a province or intendency.

peso. A Spanish colonial monetary unit. There were several types of pesos (*de oro, de minas,* etc.) but the most common was the silver peso, valued at eight *reales.*

pinole. Ground cornmeal or parched wheat. Carried dry and consumed after being mixed with water or other liquid.

pitahaya. Organ-pipe cactus.

plaza. Military post; a military position in a presidio.

plaza de armas. Usually a designated area where soldiers gathered and where arms and munitions were stored.

provincial. The religious superior in charge of overseeing all activity of a province.

quintal. Unit of dry weight roughly equal to one hundred pounds.

ranchería. Native encampment or Indian settlement in which dwellings usually were not permanent and were scattered some distance from one another.

rancho. Small privately owned ranch or farm.

real. Any place flying the royal banner; a military force or any place it might be stationed (distinct from real de mina).

real de mina. Town or district specializing in mining.

reales. Monetary units worth one-eighth of a silver peso.

rectorado. Geographical subdivision within the Jesuit mission system composed of several *partidos,* or districts, and under the control of a rector.

remuda. An exchange or re-exchange; a relay of horses.

residencia. An official review held at the time an officeholder came to the end of his term.

sargento mayor. A major; the third in command of a regiment. In frontier areas, this post was often filled by a nonprofessional soldier who was in command of local forces under the lieutenant captain general.

secretario de gobernación y guerra. Notary and advisor to the governor of a province. The person holding this position certified all official documents issued in the governor's name.

tapisque. A Nahuatl term incorporated into Spanish, referring to the forced labor drafts of Indians under the repartimiento system.

teniente. Literally, a lieutenant. A soldier authorized to exercise the powers of a ranking officer in whose place he served (see also *alférez*).

teniente alcalde mayor. An assistant to the alcalde mayor.

tinaja. Natural rock tank that held water after rains.

tlatole. (Nahuatl) Conference, discussion; message stick. The word was frequently used by missionaries and Spanish officials in reference to Indian convocations designed to stir up rebellion.

vaquero. A cowboy.

vara. Common unit of linear measure approximately equal to 33 inches. A *legua,* or Spanish league, consisted of 5,000 varas or 4.19 kilometers.

vecino. Citizen of good standing; usually a property owner.

villa. Chartered settlement with royally defined privileges; town.

visita. (1) Official visit or inspection made for the purpose of gathering information. (2) A visiting station, church, or settlement on the circuit of a priest or missionary.

visitador. Person making a visita; an inspector.

visitador general. Individual making an inspection of an entire kingdom or province. The inspection could be conducted by an oidor of the viceregal audiencia. Ideally, however, such a general inspection would be presided over by a person appointed in Spain who had no ties of any sort with the colony.

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